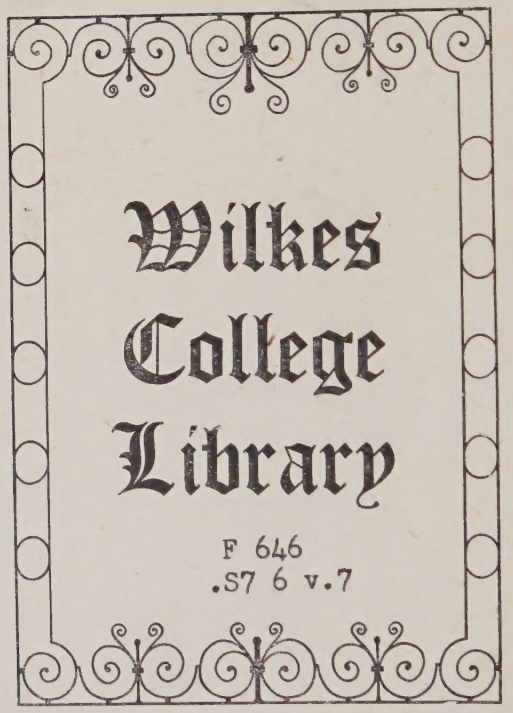
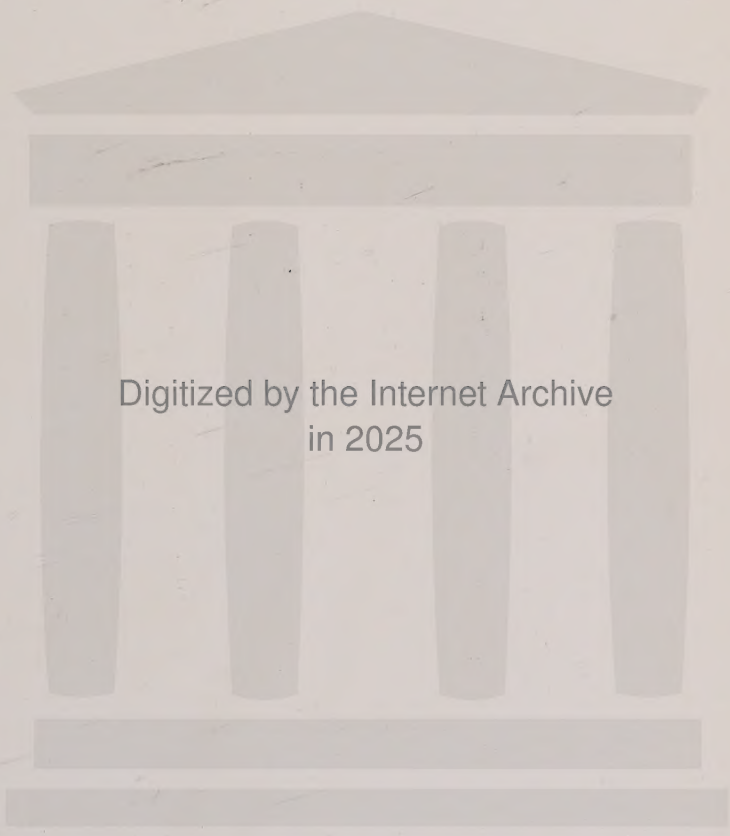
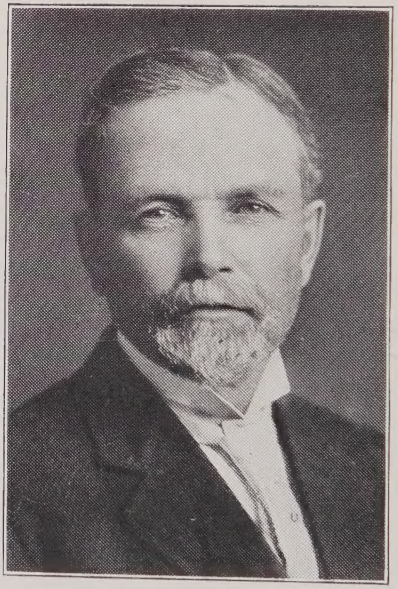

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Gov. Frank M. Byrne
1913—

SOUTH DAKOTA
Historical Collections

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS AND ENGRAVINGS

COMPILED BY THE
STATE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

VOLUME VII

1914

STATE PUBLISHING COMPANY,
Pierre, South Dakota.

LIBRARY

976
.7

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Hon. Frank M. Byrne, Governor,
Pierre, South Dakota.

Sir: I have the honor to hand you herewith the Seventh Biennial Collections of Materials of History as required by Section 3285 of the Revised Political Code, being for the biennium ending June 30, 1914.

Doane Robinson, Sec'y & Supt.



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Acknowledgement is due Dr. Homer N. Derr, state engineer, and to Mr. Elwin H. Quinney, his assistant, for many maps and drawings used in this volume.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Receipts

Balance on hand July 1, 1912	$ 1.37
Appropriation for 1912	6,360.00
Appropriation for 1913	6,590.00
Books sold	250.00
Membership fees	40.00
Other fees	10.75
Refund railway ticket	35.46
Total receipts for two years	$13,280.68

Disbursements

Salary of Secretary, two years	$ 3,300.00
Salary Librarian, two years	2,400.00
Stenographer and two clerks, two years	4,500.00
Freight and express	186.32
Stationery and postage	305.12
Vital Statistics supplies	463.82
Museum	23.07
Library	1,452.56
Gallery	114.74
Furniture and fixtures	210.95
Railway fares and livery	121.63
Hotel bills	22.66
Extra help	178.57
Reverted to treasury	.04
Cash balance	7.99
Total	$13,280.68

MEMBERSHIP.

The State Historical Society of South Dakota was duly organized on January 21, 1901, and was chartered as the Department of History on February 5, 1901, by act of the legislature. It is composed of the following life, annual, honorary, and corresponding members:

LIFE MEMBERS

Ainsworth, Frank, Minnekahta
Albright, L. B., Pierre
Aldrich, Irwin Dayton, Big Stone
Anderson, John Q., Crow Creek
Ash, Ben C., Faith
Ashley, Edw., Aberdeen
Ayers, George V., Deadwood
Batterton, John J., Sisseton
Bennett, Cassius C., Pierre
Billinghurst, Charles B., Pierre
Boettcher, F. W., Aberdeen
Bullock, Seth, Sioux Falls
Burke, Chas. H., Pierre
Brown, James M., Aberdeen
Cheever, Walter M., Brookings
Chilcott, Ellery C., Denver, Colo.
Collins, E. E., Vermillion
Cook, Edmund, Wilmot
Crane, Frank, Watertown
Crawford, Coe I., Huron
Cummins, Burton A., Pierre
Daley, Charles Mott, Great Falls, Mont.
DeLand, Charles E., Pierre
Dewell, Samuel Grant, Omaha, Neb.
Groppers, Garrett, Athens, Greece
Dunlevy, William Peake, SanDiego, Cal.
Eastman, David, Seattle, Wash.
Ellerman, Herman, Yankton
Elliott, James D., Sioux Falls
Elrod, Samuel H., Clark
Farr, Edward P., Pierre
Farr, Mary Noyes, Pierre
Finch, Nelson L., Broadalbin, N. Y.
Foncannon, Charles Boyd, Aberdeen
French, Kathryn M., Elkpoint
Gamble, Robert J., Yankton
Goddard, Thomas M., Vermillion
Goodfellow, Ferd J., N. Dak.
Halley, James, Rapid City
Haney, Dick, Mitchell
Hansen, Niels E., Brookings
Hanson, Joseph Mills, Yankton
Hayes, John, Fort Pierre
Hedger, Samuel C., Aberdeen
Herried, Charles N., Aberdeen
Hipple, John E., Pierre
Howard, Charles A., Aberdeen
Hyde, Charles L., Pierre
Johnson, Nathan P., Beaverton, Ore.
Kean, John T., Minneapolis, Minn.
Kennedy, Charles Bartlett, Madison
Kerr, Robert F., Brookings
Lange, Moritz A., Rapid City
Lasell, George G., Waubay
Lavin, John D., Annakeem, Cal.
Lawrence, Philip, Huron
Lincoln, Isaac, Aberdeen
Lloyd, David E., Yankton
Logan, John D., Montreal, Can.
Lord, Louis K., Parker
Marble, A. H., Cheyenne, Wyo.
March, George Kieth, Spokane, Wash.
McClure, Pattison F., Pierre
McKinney, Charles E., Sioux Falls
Mertens, John J., Gettysburg
Morris, Frank A., Rathdrum, Idaho
Mundt, Wm. F., Pierre
Nash, George W., Bellingham, Wash.
Nelson, Wilmer D., Pierre
Notson, Gary T., Huron
Ochsenreiter, Louis G., Webster
O'Gorman, Thomas, Sioux Falls
Parmley, Joseph W., Ipswich
Person, Robert E., Washington
Puckett, Benj. F., Hosmer
Reeves, James D., Groton
Richmond, Myrtle, Ree Heights
Riggs, Theodore F., Pierre
Riggs, Thomas L., Oahe
Robinson, Doane, Pierre
Roddle, William H., Brookings
Shober, Howard C., Huron
Schamber, John, Rapid City
Smith, Richard L., Miller
Snow, George W., Springfield
Spafford, Dr. F. A., Flandreau
Sterling, Thomas, Vermillion
Sutherland, John, Pierre
Swenson, O. S., Sioux Falls
Thrall, W. Herbert, Huron
Tilton, Horace G., Vermillion
TreFethren, E. B., Ipswich
Trumbo, Frank, Belvidere
VanOsdel, Abraham L., Mission Hill
Waggoner, Alvin, Philip
Warner, E. J., Wash.
Williams, David, Duluth, Minn.
Wilson, E. H., Salem

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Williamson, John P., Greenwood

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

Clay, M. J., Evanston, Ill.
Head, Idress, St. Louis, Mo.
Libbey, O. G., Grand Forks, N. Dak.
Paine, C. S., Lincoln, Nebr.
Qualfe, Milo M., Madison, Wis.
Sampson, F. A., Columbia, Mo.
Shambaugh, Benj. F., Iowa City, Iowa
Upham, Warren, St. Paul, Minn.
Weber, Jesse P., Springfield, Ill.

DECEASED MEMBERS

Ainsworth, Cephas W., February 17, 1908
Armstrong, Moses K., January 11, 1906
Beebe, Marcus P., April 1, 1914
Berg, Otto C., August 1, 1905
Brauch, Emiel, November 24, 1912
Chouteau, Pierre, 1911
Gold, Sidney Russell, March 6, 1905
Green, Joseph M., July 6, 1908
McDowell, Robert E., June 26, 1908
Nash, Newman Curtis, February 8, 1905
Pyle, John L., February 21, 1902
Robinson, DeLorme W., September 26, 1910
Schellenger, George J., October 9, 1913
Shanafelt, Thomas M., August 17, 1909
Snow, Alberta Mead, April 28, 1912
Westdahl, John, April 7, 1913

ERRATA

Page 54, substitute "largess," for "largeness," in line 13 from bottom.

Page 67, insert in line 1, after the word "which" the word "is."

Page 72, insert in line 13, before word "Completely" a quotation (") mark.

Page 129, commencing on line 6, read remainder of paragraph beginning with word "However" as if inserted after word "family" in line 22.

Page 146, insert in line 8, after word "following" the word "in."

Page 153, substitute a comma for period after word "agreed," in line 11.

Page 204, substitute, in line 2, for the words "so and," the words "to add."

Page 225, substitute in line 9, from the bottom for the words "it is," the words "is it."

Page 235, insert in line 18 from bottom, after the word "find," the word "him."

Page 275, substitute, in line 12, for word "promise," the word "premise."

Pages 326 and 330, the name "Lariviere" should be changed to "Louviere." There were two important familes in Canada, the one Lariviere and the other Louviere. In the Brymner translation of the Verendrye Journal of 1738-39 made, Parkman says from a very badly written manuscript the name of this clerk is given at page 7 as Lariviere and at page 9 he is called Louviere. To keep the text consistent we adopted the first, but since the body of the book was printed Mr. Benj. Sulte has identified the man as Louis-Michel Louviere, son of Charles Damours, born at St. Foye, Canada, in 1707. The Louvieres were a noble French family.

Note

At page 29 in the outline of the contents of this Vol. VII., is included the "Ending of the Outbreak, Gov. Edmunds' Work." Owing to the limitation by law of this volume to 600 pages this interesting paper and several other very important ones are necessarily omitted.

South Dakota Department of History

Its Work



B. A. Cummins, President.

THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY.

This department was created by Chapter 135 of the laws of 1901 and was commissioned thereby "to collect, preserve, exhibit and publish materials for the study of the history of South Dakota and adjacent states; to explore the archaeology of the region and to maintain a gallery of historical portraiture and an ethnological and historical museum."

Chapter 63 of the laws of 1905 added the divisions of state census and of vital statistics to the department.

Chapter 164 of the laws of 1905 made the department the custodian of the state library, and the secretary of the department, exofficio, State Librarian.

Chapter 185 of the laws of 1907 created the legislative reference division for the purpose of supplying material and information pertaining to pending legislation.

Chapter 217 of the laws of 1913 created the Free Library Commission and made the Secretary of this department exofficio secretary of the commission and provided that the Commission's office should be maintained in the state library.

Under the authority of these several acts the department has prepared and published seven volumes of the materials of history.



Publications of the Department.

It has published thirteen annual reviews of the progress of the State of South Dakota.

It conducted the Second Census of South Dakota in 1905 and published the results in a volume of 575 pages.

It has superintended the vital statistics of the state since July 1, 1905 and has received, recorded, indexed, classified and published, seven annual reports upon the Births, Deaths, Marriages, Divorces and Naturalizations occurring in the state.

It has established and maintains a state museum.

It has established and maintains a state gallery of portraiture.

It has assembled, classified and keeps available to the public a state library of 53,000 volumes.

It maintains a division of legislative reference, which is in fact a general bureau of information for the public and for the members of the legislature and state officials.

It has rendered much assistance in the organization of the Free Library Commission and the Circulation of one hundred traveling libraries in this state.

It is the purpose of this paper to set out in some detail the history and work of the department since its creation on January 23, 1901.

The movement for the organization of the department had its inception in a circular sent out under date of January 8th 1901, in the following form:

State Historical Society.

"You are cordially invited to attend a meeting for the organization of a State Historical Society, to be held in the Hall of the House of Representatives, at Pierre on Wednesday, January 23rd 1901 at 7:30 p. m.

"The Fee for life membership will not exceed $10, and for annual Membership, $2. Great interest has been aroused among leading citizens and a strong society is assured.

Charles N. Herreid,
Doane Robinson,
Charles E. DeLand,
Committee on Temporary Organization."

The response to this invitation was very encouraging and a large gathering of citizens attended the meeting, Lieut. Gov. George W. Snow presided at the meeting and a life membership of 76 was enrolled. Dr. Thomas L. Riggs was chosen president, Dr. Thomas M. Shanafelt, vice president, and Doane Robinson, Secretary.



Thos. M. Shanafelt 2. Robert F. Kerr 3.

Thomas L. Riggs 1.

Delorme W. Robinson 4. Charles E. DeLand 5.

The Former Presidents.

On the 5th of February following, Gov. Herreid approved Chapter 135 creating the Department of History and placing its management in the officers of the newly created State Historical Society. The law made the Governor, Secretary of State and State Auditor, members of the Executive Committee, to which was added by election, Louis G. Ochsenreiter, Thomas L. Riggs, Hans Myron, Seth Bullock, Thomas M. Shanafelt, Robert F. Kerr, Delorme W. Robinson, Charles E. DeLand, Burton A. Cummins, John Hayes and Charles M. Daley.

The legislature appropriated $500 for each year, 1901 and 1902, and from this small beginning the growth of the department has been constantly progressive until its activities are comprehensive and important.

Dr. Riggs served as president for four years, 1901 to 1905,

Dr. Thomas M. Shanafelt, was president two years, 1905-1907,

Prof. Robert F. Kerr, from 1907 to 1909,

Dr. Delorme W. Robinson, 1909-1910, dying while in office.

Charles E. DeLand, 1910 to 1913 filling unexpired term of Dr. Robinson and being elected his own successor,

Burton A. Cummins, 1913, present incumbent.

Each of these gentlemen has rendered great service to the department and much of the success of the work is attributable to their disinterested and unremunerated services.

Great credit is due the following gentlemen for their continued interest and assistance as members of the executive committee of the Department:

Governors, Herreid, Elrod, Crawford, and Byrne,

Secretaries of State, Berg, Wipf, Polley and Glasner,

Auditors Reeves, Halliday, Hirning and Anderson.

In addition to these ex-officio members the following have served by election:

Charles B. Billinghurst, 1911 to date,

Seth Bullock, 1901-1903,

Burton A. Cummins, 1901 to date,

Charles M. Daley, 1901 to 1907,

Charles E. DeLand, 1901 to date,

Edward P. Farr, 1909 to date,

John Hayes, 1901 to 1913,
Robert F. Kerr, 1901 to date,
L. K. Lord, 1903 to 1909,
Pattison F. McClure, 1909 to date,
G. W. Nash, 1903 to date,
Gary T. Notson, 1911 to date,
Thomas L. Riggs, 1901 to date,
Delorme W. Robinson, 1901 to death in 1910,
Thomas M. Shanafelt, 1901 to death in 1909,
Herbert W. Thrall, 1911 to 1913.

Each of these has rendered splendid service without reward.

Bureau of Information.

The Department of History is, above every thing else, a bureau of information, equipped to provide the South Dakota public with information upon those matters not usually available to the people in their homes. With the State Library, the collections of the department and access to all of the other departments of the state government there are but seldom, matters brought to its attention upon which it cannot give reliable information, and the public very generally avails itself of the opportunity afforded. Last year the superintendent wrote more than 4000 letters, chiefly answering the requests of citizens for information.

Conservation Commission.

Upon appointment from Governor Crawford, the secretary and superintendent of the Department of History, was secretary of the State Conservation Commission, from August 1908 until February 1913, during which time he compiled the preliminary report upon the Resources of South Dakota and promoted four State Conservation Congresses.

The State Library.

Under the care of the Department the State Library has grown to be an institution of substantial value, covering the realm of human knowledge to an extent that makes it reasonably certain that the seeker for information will find in it that for which he seeks. For convenience the library,

owing to the scattered rooms in which it must be housed, and the different interests it serves is divided into five sections:

The General Library, containing miscellaneous material in every division of knowledge, classified under the Dewey decimal system.

The South Dakota Library, containing distinctively South Dakota material, in all fields, classified and shelved separately



The Secretary's Office.

from the general library. This division contains the bound newspapers of the state of which the number of volumes now exceeds 4000.

The Legislative Reference Library, made up of state documents, legal publications and special articles and works pertaining to legislation and the subject matter of legislation.

The Documentary Library, chiefly the publications of the United States and foreign Governments.

The Traveling Libraries. These are not a division of the Department of History proper, but are housed in the department rooms and the secretary and superintendent of the department is ex-officio secretary of the Library Commission, and it has been necessary for the working force of the Department to contribute a good deal of assistance, in order to make the Traveling Library fund provide the necessary books for circulation.

On April 30th 1914, the State Library contained the following number of volumes and pamphlets:

	Volumes	Pamphlets
General Library	7,439	2,543
So. Dakota Library	549	2,278
Legislative Reference	5,759	3,998
Newspapers (bound vols.)	4,403	
Documentary Library	10,392	6,452
Traveling Libraries	6,076	
Duplicate books, (on sale)	1,768	125
Total	36,386	15,396
Total May 17, 1913	29,074	13,501
Gain for year	7,312	1,895

The Newspapers.

About 300 newspapers published in the state are regularly received, preserved and bound by the Department of History, making an invaluable reference library in South Dakota affairs. These papers, when received, are checked upon a reception record and then placed, each in a compartment, provided by the capitol commission, which holds a year's numbers of the weeklies and a months numbers of the average daily. At the end of the year these papers are substantially bound and assembled upon roller shelves in the library in the basement of the capitol. They are constantly resorted to by the public.

Chapter 133 of the laws of 1907 empowers the officers of the Department of History to make certified copies of any material in its possession which shall be received as evidence in

the courts of the state. This chapter further provides that the officers of the department may make, nunc pro tunc, affidavits of publication of legal notices, in cases where complete files showing the actual publication of such notice is in the custody of the Department, and the publisher of the same is not available. This latter provision is resorted to by attorneys to clear titles to real estate, where affidavits of publication were not filed at the proper time in foreclosure and execution sale proceedings. ,



A Glimpse in the Office.

Material for Debates and Addresses.

From the material here the department, and the Library Commission have constantly supplied, students, citizens and clubs with material for debates, addresses and theses. Particular attention is given to this line of work and the material at hand has become fairly comprehensive.

Genealogy, Family History and War Records.

The Department is fairly prepared to meet the growing demand for genealogical and military records. The library contains the Revolutionary Rolls, Heads of families census of 1790, and a great deal of genealogical material, biography records, etc.



Legislative Reference Library.

Legislative Reference.

This division was created by Chapter 185 of the laws of 1907, and, in the new capitol, is accomodated in a room in the east end, separate from the main rooms of the Department

of History. In this division has been assembled the public documents of all of the states, and a very great deal of additional material pertaining to legislative matters, public questions of current interest, legal opinions relating to legislation, in this and other states, that is likely to occupy the attention of our legislature. So far as possible the librarian in charge, anticipates the work of the coming legislature and so far as can be done, prepares in advance the material which will assist the legislators to intelligently act upon the many questions under discussion. An extensive system of indexes makes the material at hand immediately available upon demand. In co-operation with the legislative reference divisions of other states a vast sum of material upon current problems is worked out during the recesses.

During the sessions of the legislature, so far as is possible the entire force of the department of history is devoted to the legislative reference work. During the last session, only 45 days of which were actually devoted to legislative work, 345 matters of substantial importance were submitted to the legislative reference division, many of them of the most complex character and necessitating exhaustive work; one interrogatory alone requiring the work of two clerks for a solid week and many others requiring days of hard work. One of the simple propositions, regularly put up to the division, was to ascertain and report the statute law of all of the states upon a given topic. The division has compiled and published three important bulletins;

1. A complete annotation of the constitution with reference to the constitutional debates and supreme court decisions.
2. A topical analysis of all of the governor's messages.
3. Tables showing the appropriations for support of each office department and institution since statehood.

The Census.

Chapter 163 laws of 1905 makes it the duty of the Department of History to take a census of the population and Agriculture of the state in the year 1905, and every ten years thereafter. Under this authority the Second Census was taken in 1905 and the results published in a volume of 575 pages. Forty-two tables are presented pertaining to the popu-

lation of the state, showing number, sex, literacy, occupation, nativity, age classes, defectives, urban and rural and much other interesting phenomona pertaining to the people, including the population of each minor civil division.

There are 25 tables pertaining to Agriculture, showing number of farms and tenure of occupants, acreage, and production of all crops; number of live stock of every description and complete returns of all farm and garden products by



The North Office.

Mrs. Hardy Mr. Stevenson Miss Brown

minor civil divisions. The law makes the assessors enumerators of the census.

The Third Census must be taken in 1915 and already the Department has begun preparations for it. The legislature of 1913 appropriated $2,000 to pay the preliminary expense of the coming census. The labor involved is prodigious. Only the experienced can have any conception of what it means to gather the material for a census and arrange and tabulate and publish the same. A by product of the Second census

is a case in the Department in which are placed the population enumeration cards thus conveniently providing information of the residence, age, birthplace, marital condition, literacy, physical condition and parentage of every person residing in South Dakota May 1st 1905. This record of itself, is actually worth a greater sum than the entire census cost. The cards for the Third Census will be similarly alliterated and preserved, if present plans materialize.

Vital Statistics.

The Vital Statistics act went into operation July 1st 1905. The Department of History, from its expense appropriation, purchases and supplies to the counties, physicians and justices of the peace, all of the blanks and blank books required for the vital statistics work and records.

In this department is received and recorded in substantial books of record, every birth, death, marriage, divorce and naturalization occurring in South Dakota. The primary reports received are after record, arranged by numbers and substantially bound in books of one hundred each. Index cards are made and carefully alliterated for each case, and for marriages two cards are made, one each for husband and wife. Through this index the information in each case becomes immediately available upon demand. As there are already 245,571 cards in this index the care required to properly alliterate the cards will be appreciated only by those who have had experience in so particular work; for a card that is not in its proper place is of course wholly worthless, and when it comes to correctly deciphering every name, the expert knowledge of handwriting required is very considerable. To illustrate: Very many people make an "a" and "o" precisely alike, but the indexer must know infallibly that a certain name is B-a-n-e and not B-o-n-e, for when the Banes come to inquire about the date of their marriage the index must tell where to find the record, which could not be done if the card got in with the Bones. Constantly handling so tremendously large a number of names the indexer comes to have a sort of intuitive knowledge that rarely fails to discover the right spelling.

The magnitude of the work in this division will be understood when it is known that up to May 1st 1914 there had been recorded 103,698 births, 37,963 deaths, 40,845 marriages, 4,640 divorces and 17,570 naturalizations. The great importance of preserving the vital statistics is daily exemplified by the use of them by the people in matters of inheritance, tracing family lines and the like. If this be true before the end of the



Library Commission's Office.

first ten years of record the ultimate value will be appreciated.

The effort required to keep the public aroused to the necessity for compliance with the law is great. It is a case where eternal vigilance is required. Circulars, newspaper publicity, personal letters and in aggravated cases the assistance of the attorney general are resorted to, and the results obtained are fairly satisfactory.

An annual report of the vital statistics division is required; and all of the material is carefully classified and arranged

in tables showing the total number of births by counties and by sex, deaths by sex, diseases, age at death and deaths by counties; marriages and ages of contracting parties, divorces and the causes thereof by counties, naturalizations, both declarations of intention and final certificates of citizenship, with countries from which the new citizens came. The classification of the vast mass of material is a laborious and difficult work requiring much time and a great deal of care.

Annual Reviews.

At the end of each year the Department compiles and publishes a Review of the Progress of the State for the preceding year. This review briefly notes all matters of special interest, showing general conditions, legislation, politics, health, and summarizes in condensed form the assessment, bank deposits, state debt, rainfall, productions, marketings and much other matter of which a brief and comprehensive record is deemed desirable. This review has proven to be one of the most popular publications of the state and its appearance is always eagerly looked for. Formerly an effort was made to show the productions annually by counties, but in the absence of a farm to farm enumeration such approximations as could be made were not sufficiently accurate to justify the labor involved, and in the latter years the estimates for the whole state made by the Federal Department of Agriculture have been adopted.

Constitutional Debates.

Pursuant to the direction of Chapter 98 of the laws of 1907 the superintendent compiled and published the Debates of the Constitutional Conventions of 1885 and 1889. These debates are published in two volumes of 581 and 575 pages respectively. The debates of 1885 were fortunately rescued after they had been thrown upon a manure heap from a livery barn in Sioux Falls.

Archealogy.

One of the divisions of work assigned to the Department by its charter is "to explore the archaelogy of the region." To carry out this mandate the Department has endeavored to secure accurate measurements of the numerous boulder effigies

and memorials left by the aborigines. The results to date have been published in two papers in the Collections, the first in Volume VI being entitled "Boulder Mosaics in Dakota" and the second in Volume VII, "More Boulder Mosaics."



A Case of Geology.

The assistance of public-spirited citizens in every portion of the state is solicited to make measurements of such effigies and to send the department descriptions of them to the end that an interesting feature of the aboriginal life may be preserved.

The Collections.

The Department has published seven volumes of Collections of the Materials of History, as directed in its charter from the

state, the contents of which generally are revealed in the following table:

Volume I. 1902, 481 pages. Fully illustrated.

Contains Organic act of Department.

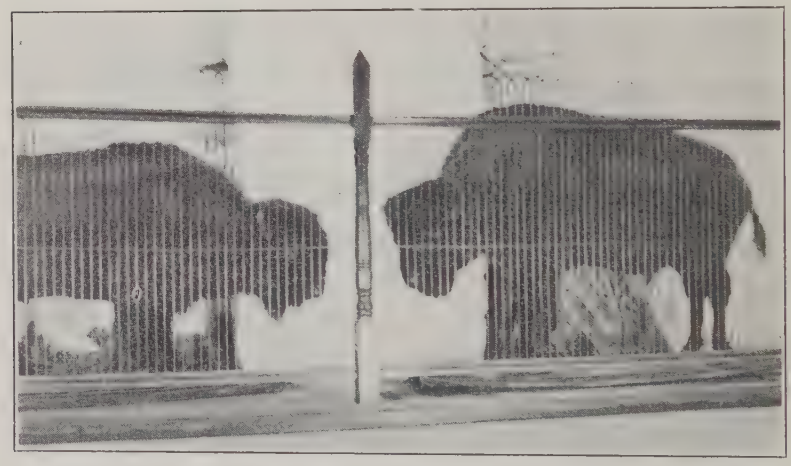
Chart showing original tribal divisions of Sioux.

Obituary sketch of William M. Blackburn, by Thomas L. Riggs, D. D.

History of Dakota Territory, by Dr. W. M. Blackburn, with copious notes by Dr. Delorme W. Robinson.

Radisson and Grosseiliers travels in the West, with notes by Robert F. Kerr.

Official correspondence of the Leavenworth Expedition into



Buffalo in Museum.

South Dakota, 1823 with notes by Doane Robinson.

"Old Fort Pierre and its neighbors," by Major Frederick Wilson, with notes by Charles E. DeLand.

Official correspondence pertaining to the purchase of Fort Pierre by the government.

Text of all Treaties opening Dakota soil to settlement.

Volume II. 1904, 653 pages, illustrated.

Part. 1.

Excerpts from official Correspondence of Department, containing miscellaneous historical data.

Annual Reviews of the progress of South Dakota, 1901, 1902, 1903.

Bibliography of South Dakota Official publications.

Descriptive catalogue of South Dakota bound books exhibited at Louisiana Exposition.

Sketch of South Dakota prepared by Doane Robinson for Louisiana Exposition Commission.

Bienniel Address of Dr. Thomas L. Riggs, president, chiefly upon the memorials left by the Sioux.

Address by Bishop Thomas O'Gorman, anticipating the discovery of the Verendrye plate.

Part 2.

A Comprehensive History of the Sioux Indians, by Doane Robinson.

Volume III. 1906, 592 pages illustrated.

Formal reports of the department.

Annual Reviews of the progress of South Dakota, 1904, 1905.

Outlook for South Dakota, biennial address by Dr. John P. Williamson.

Memoirs to John L. Pyle, Newman Curtis Nash, Sidney Russell Gold and Otto Christopher Berg.

Memoirs of William H. H. Beadle, edited by Doane Robinson.

Comprehensive History of the Arickara Indians, by Charles E. DeLand.

Volume IV. 1908, 748 pages, illustrated.

Departmental reports.

Catalogue of South Dakota Material in State Library.

Annual Reviews of South Dakota 1906, 1907.

Address by Thomas Sterling.

Appreciation of Robert E. McDowell, by Ralph Case.

Rescue of Fanny Kelly, captive among the Sioux, by Doane Robinson.

Manual Lisa, a history, by Kathryn M. French.

Did the Norsemen visit Dakota? Lars J. Hauge.

Journal of Charles LeRaye, edited by Doane Robinson.

Capture of Sitting Bull by Col. Fechet.

Appreciation of Col. C. W. Ainsworth, by his brother.

Autobiography of Louis Lettelier, edited by C. R. Marks.

Pioneers of Sioux City and South Dakota, by C. R. Marks.

Theophile Brughier, by C. R. Marks.
History of the Mandan Indians, by Charles E. DeLand.

Volume V. 1910, 444 pages, illustrated.

Formal papers.
Catalogue of the Legislative Reference Library.
Annual Reviews of South Dakota, 1908 and 1909.
Biennial Address, by President Robert F. Kerr.
Territorial Pioneers, by Frank Trumbo.



Natural History.

Big Winter of 1880, C. S. Amsden.
A Buffalo Hunt, by Dr. Thomas L. Riggs.
Dedication of Log School House monument.
Appreciations of Dr. Thomas L. Shanafelt, and Joseph M. Green.
Capital and Capitol History of South Dakota.
Reminiscences of John Pattee.
Early Land Surveys of South Dakota

Volume VI. 1912, 603 pages.

Formal papers.
Annual Reviews of the Progress of South Dakota, 1910 and 1911.

Memoirs Dr. Delorme W. Robinson, Alfred Beard Kittredge, Bartlett Tripp, Robert Dollard and Franklin Taylor.
South Dakota Literature, by Doane Robinson.
Dedication Beadle Statue.
Fenians in Dakota.
The Settlement at Sioux Falls.
The Nobles' Trail.
A Pioneer's Letter 1859.
Boulder Mosaics in Dakota, Dr. J. E. Todd.
Ancient Fireplaces in the Badlands, A. E. Sheldon.
Crazy Horse's Story of the Custer Battle.
Sitting Bull papers by E. H. Allison.
Black Hills Names, by V. T. McGillicuddy.
Primitive Sioux Customs, Thornton Babcock.
Yankton Jubilee, 1911.
Swiss Germans in Dakota, by John J. Gering.
History of Dakota Militia and South Dakota National Guard, by Wright Tarbell.
Battle of Slim Buttes.

Volume VII. 1914, 600 pages, illustrated.

Formal Departmental papers.
Annual Reviews of the Progress of South Dakota, 1912 and 1913.
Appreciations of Marcus P. Beebe, George J. Schellinger, John Westdahl and Emiel Brauch.
Trudeau's journals of a visit to South Dakota 1794.
The Vernedrye Plate and comprehensive history of the Vernedrye family and its enterprises.
More Boulder Mosaics.
Along the Missouri in the seventies, by Charles F. Hackett.
The Discovery of the Black Hills.
Ending of the War of the Outbreak, Gov. Edmunds' work.
Colonial Claims and South Dakota, Charles E. Deland.
General John Smith Blair Todd, Papers and Speeches.
Some Pioneers of the Upper Sioux, Will C. Robinson.

All of the above volumes are for sale by the state at $1.50 per volume, except Vol. 2, which is sold at $3.

The Gallery of Portraiture.

This very interesting section of the work of the Department of History, chiefly occupies the walls of the main corridor of the ground floor of the capitol and is the constant admiration of visitors. The corridor is not well lighted for such an exhibition but is nevertheless reasonably satisfactory for the purpose. The chief features of it are the following paintings in oil:



A Glimpse in the Portrait Gallery.

Joseph M. Bailey, Jr., the last territorial treasurer, by Francis Littlefield. Presented by Hon. C. O. Bailey, Sioux Falls.

Granville G. Bennett, sometime delegate in congress and judge of the territorial court, by H. K. Saunders, presented by the Bennett family.

Philemon Bliss, first chief justice of the territorial court, by F. H. Morse. Presented by W. H. Bliss, son of the judge.

William F. T. Bushnell, founder Dakota Farmer, by Nicholas R. Brewer, presented by Mrs. Bushnell.

Dighton Corson, judge supreme court 1889-1913, by Brewer, presented by Mrs. Corson.

Coe I. Crawford, former governor; United States Senator, by Saunders. Loaned by Mr. Saunders.

Charles Hall Dillon, M. C. by Brewer. Presented by Mrs. Dillon.

Newton Edmunds, second territorial governor, by Brewer. Presented by Charles and William Edmunds.

Samuel H. Elrod, fifth governor, by Saunders. Purchased by state.

Edward Charles Ericson, regent of education, by Brewer. Presented by Mrs. Ericson.

Andrew J. Faulk, third territorial governor, by Brewer. Loaned by Mr. Brewer.

Charles A. Howard, major First Regiment Philippine War, by Brewer. Presented by Mrs. Howard.

Charles L. Hyde, by Brewer. Presented by Mrs. Hyde.

Edward C. Issenhuth, legislator, by Brewer. Presented by Mrs. Issenhuth.

Robert Floyd Kerr, legislator, educator, by Brewer. Presented by Prof. Kerr.

Alfred Beard Kittredge, former U. S. Senator, by Saunders. Presented by Friends of Senator Kittredge.

Martin Marty, first Bishop of Sioux Falls, by Brewer. Presented by his friends.

Arthur C. Mellette, first governor, by Samuel C. Hayes. Purchased by State.

Peter Norbeck, state senator, by Brewer. Presented by Mrs. Norbeck.

Thomas O'Gorman, D. D., second Bishop of Sioux Falls, by Brewer. Presented by Friends.

Old Fort Pierre, painted by Rev. D. R. Landis. Loaned by Mrs. B. C. Ash.

James (Scotty) Philip, pioneer, by Brewer. Presented by his family.

Thomas Lawrence Riggs, D. D., LL. D., missionary, by Harriet Blackstone. Loaned by Dr. Theodore F. Riggs.

William H. Stokes, pioneer miller, by Jean Mannheim. Loaned by Mr. Stokes' family.

Charles H. Sheldon, second governor, by Hayes. Purchased by state.

Ellison G. Smith, judge supreme court, by Brewer. Loaned by Miss Agnes Smith.

Bartlett Tripp, judge territorial court; ambassador to Austria; President Samoan High Joint Commission, by Brewer. Presented by Mrs. Tripp.

Sepias.

There are the following sepia process portraits:

Frank Crane, once superintendent of public instruction and clerk supreme court. Presented by Mrs. Crane.

Charles N. Herreid, fourth governor, by Charles T. Greener. Presented by George Jarvis.

John T. Kean, fifth lieutenant governor. Presented by Gov. Kean.

Gilbert A. Pierce, eighth territorial governor. Presented by his sons.

Crayons.

Block House No. 4, near Manila, where the First South Dakota distinguished itself in the Philippine War. By Hodson.

First South Dakota Infantry, at Presidio Camp, San Francisco. By Hodson.

Albert B. Frost, colonel First South Dakota Infantry. Hodson.

Col. Frost and Staff. Hodson.

Charles A. Howard, Major First South Dakota, by Hodson.

Jonas Lien, adjutant First South Dakota Infantry; killed at Mariloa. Hodson.

Lee Stover, lieutenant colonel First South Dakota. Hodson.

Large Framed Photographs.

Moses K. Armstrong, delegate in congress.

William H. H. Beadle, educator, President Madison State Normal.

John A. Burbank, fourth territorial governor.

Thomas H. Fessenden, veteran of the Civil War; pioneer.

James H. Fletcher, first lieutenant governor.

Robert J. Gamble, former United States Senator.

John R. Gamble, former member of Congress.

John Grass, notable Sioux.

Gall, notable Sioux fighting man.

Daniel Hinman, fourth lieutenant governor.

Geo. H. Hoffman, second lieutenant governor.

James H. Kyle, former United States Senator.

Eben W. Martin, member of congress.

James E. McDougall, seventh lieutenant governor.

Otto Poemiller, United States marshal under president Cleveland.

Richard F. Pettigrew, former United States senator. Photo by Brady.

Delorme W. Robinson, M. D., former president State Historical Society.

Sitting Bull, famous Sioux Medicine Man. Photo by Barry.

Howard C. Shober, eighth lieutenant governor.

Notable Groups.

There are the following framed photographic groups of notable South Dakotans:

Constitutional Convention of 1889. Entire membership and officers.

Sioux Delegation of 1891. Contains many of the notable men.

State Railroad Commission. Messrs., D. H. Smith, W. G. Smith, and Frank LeCocq; also Secretary W. H. Stanley, attorney P. J. Rogde, and Scale Inspector. D. C. Ricker.

Territorial Supreme Court, 1865. Ara Bartlett, chief justice, Judges, Jefferson P. Kidder and John W. Boyles; U. S. Marshal Laban H. Litchfield, U. S. Attorney W. E. Gleason and Gov. Newton Edmunds.

The gallery also contains about one hundred additional framed pictures, of public buildings, frontier scenes, etc.

There are likewise innumerable photographs of citizens, buildings and scenes carefully arranged for reference.

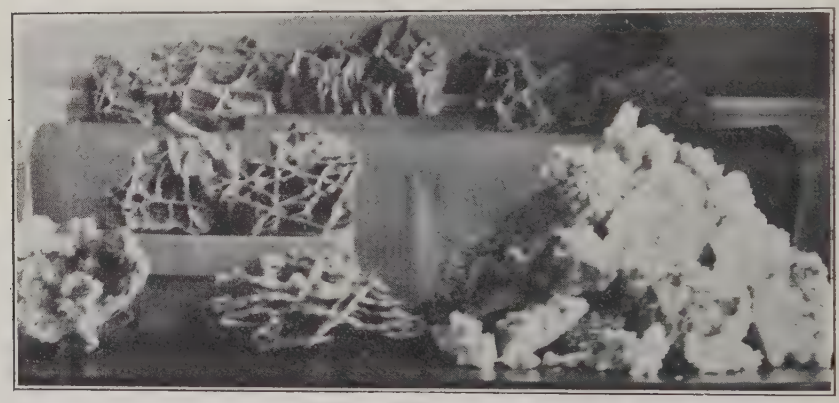
The State Museum.

"To maintain an Ethnological and Historical Museum," is one of the duties devolving upon the Department of History by the law creating it. The facilities for the exhibition of such material have been so limited that no great effort has been expended in this direction. The capitol commission however

provided seven excellent exhibition cases and placed them in the corridor of the lower floor of the capitol, and from the first the Department has endeavored to preserve all interesting material which conveniently came to it.

Such material has been roughly classified, as 1. Curioso, 2. Geology; 3. Military; 4. Natural History; 5. Oriental; 6. Aboriginal.

Curioso: In this division of the Museum is placed articles of unique interest, relics of notable individuals, posts and places; ancient utensils and implements illustrating the means and methods of our ancestors. It is interesting though not a very elaborate section.



Specimens from Wind Cave.

Geology: In this section is shown: A very complete exhibit of the ores of the state, representing the principal mines of the Black Hills, and the stone and lignites of the state.

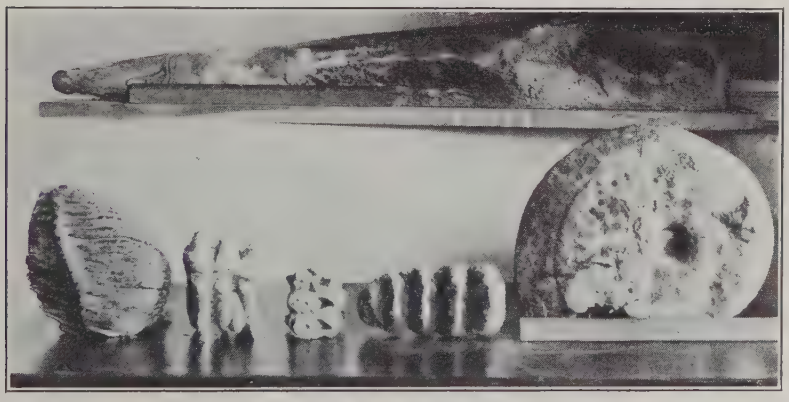
A splendid collection of stalactites and stalagmites, box work etc., from Wind Cave. This collection was made by Dr. F. W. Calkins, many years ago, before the protection of the cave was undertaken by the Government and is one of the finest extant.

Fossils found within the state, including some of notable interest, as the upper jaw of a Zeugladon, (a carnivorous whale of the Eocene). This jaw is five feet in length and very perfect. A tooth of a quaternary elephant, found near Fort

Pierre. This tooth is 5 x 8 x 9 inches in size, perfectly preserved. Ten feet of the vertebra of the neck of a plesiosaurus. Fossil oysters, sponges, baculites, ammonites and a great variety of other fossils representing a large number of geological periods.

Military: This division contains relics of our Territorial and state military organizations and distinguished individuals; regimental flags, guns captured in battle; uniforms of distinguished soldiers and similar material.

Natural History: In this section have been preserved a good deal of the representative native fauna of the region, among other things, two buffalo, many native birds and a very



Fossils.

Middle: Mastodon's teeth. Top: Zeugladon's snout. Right: Giant Ammonite. Left: Tooth Quaternary Elephant.

complete set of the eggs of the birds of South Dakota. One very notable specimen is the skull of a Bos Occidentalis, (an extinct ox) found embedded in the bottom of the Missouri river, by the bridge builders at Pierre. The animal was a monster, perhaps twice as large as the largest buffalo.

Oriental: The exhibits in this section are chiefly relics brought from the Philippines and Japan by the members of the First South Dakota Infantry in 1898. In this section are the large private collections of oriental material brought home by Chaplain C. M. Daley and Edward Phares.

Aboriginal: Dr. Delorme W. Robinson, was an inveterate collector of Sioux Indian relics and before his death he trans-

ferred all of his material to the Department of History and by resolution of the executive committee this material has been kept as the "Delorme W. Robinson, Sioux Indian Museum," to which has been added a good deal from other collectors. The section contains a fair representation of the domestic utensils and implements of the primitive Sioux, including their stone work; the paraphernalia for their sports and games; articles of dress; ornaments and many relics of notable men, among the latter being the Buffalo's head used by Sitting Bull in his heathen worship and which hung upon his prayer tree at the time of his death. His son identifies it as having been in his possession at the Battle of Little Big Horn and



Primitive Sioux Utensils.

17. Maul. 18. Hammer. 19. Axe. 20. Rattle. 21. Spoon. 22. Flesher. 23. Wooden Vessels. 24. Mortar. 25-26. Dinner Plates.

much earlier than that event. Sitting Bull placed great faith in its efficacy and it was well known to his people as his principal fetich.

The Sanders Collection.

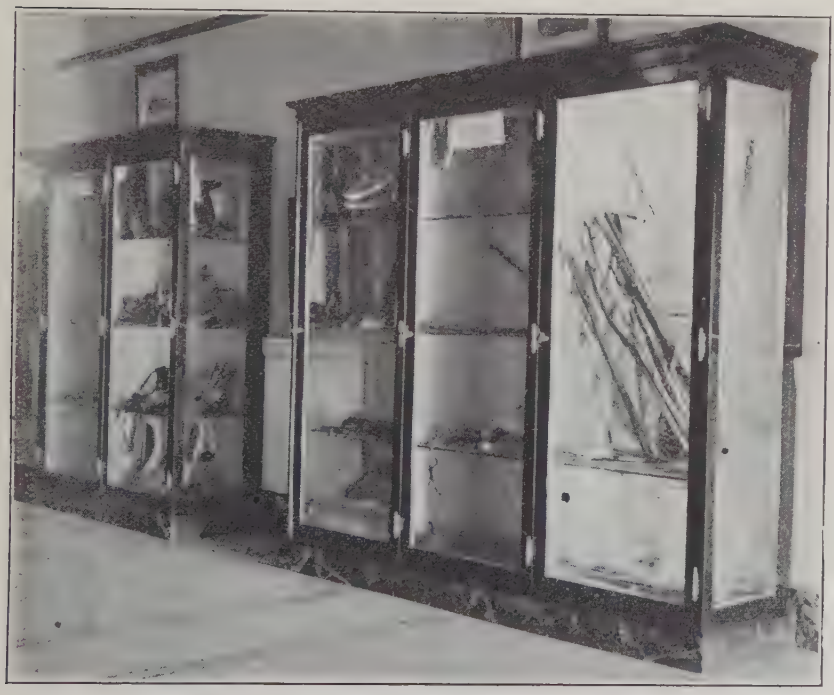
An intensely interesting feature of the Aboriginal section of the museum is the large case containing the Collection of Relics of the Arickara, made by Mr. Russell B. Sanders, the custodian of the Capitol, and his wife. This collection has absorbed much of the leisure time of the Sanders' for twenty years and was made entirely from the mounds in the vicinity of the capital. It contains more than two thousand specimens of arrows, thumb scrapers and other stone work, shards of

pottery etc., all attractively mounted for exhibition by Mrs. Sanders.

The Staff.

The working force of the Department of History consists of five persons:

Doane Robinson, Secretary and Superintendent, who con-



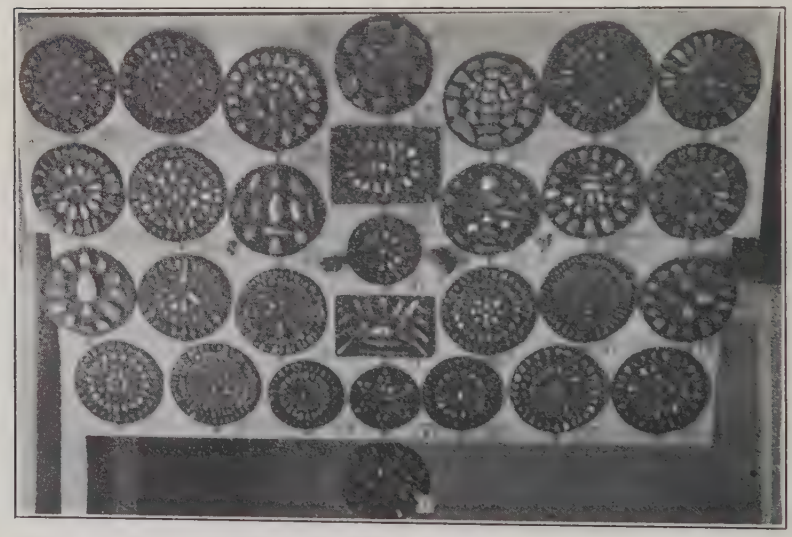
Delorme W. Robinson, Sioux Indian Museum.

ducts the correspondence, prepares most of the manuscripts, reads proofs and takes general supervision of the establishment, and responds to calls for public addresses upon historical and development matters.

Ida M. Anding, has served the Department since Aug. 17, 1906 and as Legislative Librarian, has charge of the legislative division, collects the material, indexes it, conducts the legislative correspondence and helps out in any other division where the work is most pressing.

C. Stanley Stevenson, since 1912 officially stenographer, but who works at every thing else but stenography. (The superintendent does his own typewriting). Mr. Stevenson classifies the vital statistics, handles the books in the library, translates documents, and makes himself generally useful wherever his work will count for the most for the day, being in fact assistant superintendent.

Florence H. Brown came August 1, 1907. She records the vital statistics, making 25,000 or more complete records annually, indexes a portion of them and assists Mr. Stevenson in the compilation of the reports. The record made by Miss



Sanders' Ree Relics.

Brown, in transcribing so large a number of separate instruments perhaps is not equalled in the state, by any single individual.

Mary Hardy since Oct. 1, 1907 has had charge of the newspapers which she arranges, checks and puts away daily, indexes the births, accessions all material coming to the Department of History in the form of books and manuscripts, and classifies and shelves the same.

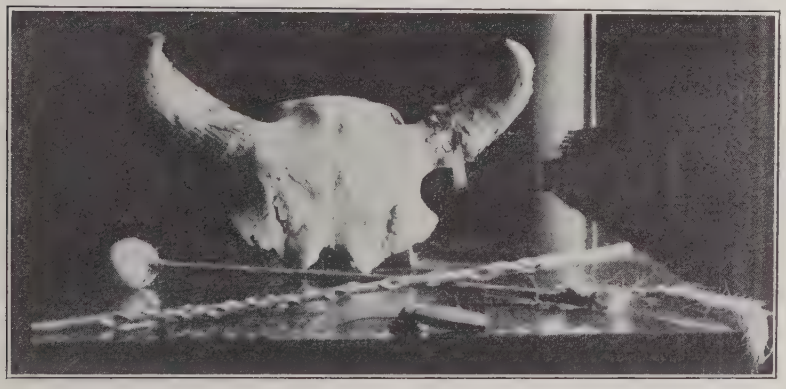
Since the creation of the Free Library Commission it has

been necessary for the Department force to contribute a good deal of labor to help prepare the new books for circulation.

Every member of the force is loyal and industrious, working cheerfully at whatever is the most pressing demand of the moment. In no other way could the many activities be conducted with so small a force.

The Cost.

For all of the activities of the Department of History, except the State Census, when taken once in ten years, the state appropriates the sum of $6,590 annually. In addition



Relics of Sitting Bull.

1. Sacred Buffalo Skull. 2. Skinning Knife. 3. Walking Stick (made while at Fort Randall.) 4. Rain-in-the-Face's War Club.

the Department has fees and proceeds of books sold amounting in the average to, about $100 per year.

Of the foregoing $5,340 is paid in salaries to the five employes leaving $1,250 of the appropriation for the purchase of the vital statistics supplies for the whole state, the purchase of stationery, the binding of newspapers, postage, and for freight, express, drayage and all of the incidentals of the establishment. A small amount is annually reserved for the purchase of books, indispensible to the administration of the department.

Officers and Executive Committee.

The officers and executive committee for the current biennium.

President, Burton A. Cummins.
Secretary, Doane Robinson.

Executive Committee.

Frank M. Byrne, Governor,
Frank P. Glasner, Secretary of State,
Henry D. Anderson, State Auditor,
Pattison F. McClure, term expires 1915,
Edward P. Farr, term expires 1915,
George W. Nash, term expires 1915,
Thomas L. Riggs, term expires 1917,
Robert F. Kerr, term expires 1917,
Gary T. Notson, term expires 1917,
Charles B. Billinghurst, term expires 1917,
Charles E. DeLand, term expires 1919,
Burton A. Cummins, term expires 1919,
Moritz A. Lange, term expires 1919,
Doane Robinson, ex-officio.



Ree Vessel, Partially Restored

COLONIAL CLAIMS AND SOUTH DAKOTA.

Biennial Address of President Charles E. DeLand.

The aim of this paper is to point out and assemble the principal European colonial charter or other authorities which, either in terms or potentially, in connection with exploration, trade and settlement thereunder, formed a basis of territorial claims or pretensions to some portion of South Dakota's domain; to incidentally refer to some of the great world-influences involved, as affecting the possible destiny of our Commonwealth; and to present some outline of the influences on the fate of Europe itself and of world-trade, which operated in the process of acquisition of Louisiana by the United States.

In the rivalry of European claims and pretensions upon the North American continent in the process of discovery and of colonial development, the courtship which involved the sovereignty over South Dakota ranged all the way from remote flirtations to sudden and triumphant conquest.

And the dreamy flightiness of some of those operations in contrast with the substantial policy and progress of others, is not more vast or romantic than is the tremendous import of the whole as affecting the destiny of both Europe and America.

Let us at first briefly mention some of the earliest events connected with this subject, with a few incidents by way of characterization, and some comments among the historical accounts as at once lending relish to and indicating the significance of those strenuous strides of fancy and of fact.

No sooner had Columbus returned to Spain from his first famed trip across ocean in quest of India and reported his astounding discovery of islands and his scouting along the shores of what he believed to be Asia but which was in fact Cuba, than Ferdinand and Isabella, says a writer upon the history of the Papacy, "thought it wise to secure a title to all that might ensue from their new discovery. The Pope, as Vicar of Christ, was held to have authority to dispose of lands inhabited by the heathens, and by papal Bulls the discoveries

of Portugal along the African Coast had been secured. The Portugese showed signs of urging claims to the New World, as being already conveyed to them by the papal grants previously issued in their favor. To remove all cause of dispute, the Spanish monarchs at once had recourse to Alexander VI., who issued two Bulls on May 4th and 5th (1493) to determine the respective rights of Spain and Portugal. In the first the Pope granted the Spanish monarchs and their heirs all lands discovered or thereafter to be discovered in the western ocean. In the second, he defined his grant to mean all lands that might be discovered west and south of an imaginary line, drawn from the North to the South Pole, at the distance of a hundred leagues westward of the Azores and Cape de Verde Islands. In the light of our present knowledge we are amazed at this simple means of disposing of that vast extent of the earth's surface." An editorial comment on the above-quoted passage declares: "Under the Pope's stupendous patent, Spain was able to claim every part of the American continent except the Brazilian Coast."

That alleged claim embraced the fair savannas and the Golden Hills of South Dakota, whose local monarch was the buffalo and whose denizen was the red man—part of a continent on which Columbus had not and did not thereafter set foot. As regards public authority in Europe, it was certainly the initial claim.

England, disappointed and chagrined over her own failure to close with the Genoese when he had applied for her patronage prior to making his voyage, commissioned the Venetian John Cabot, March 5, 1496, who, under the British flag discovered the American continent June 24, 1497. This, says Bancroft, was "almost fourteen months before Columbus on his third voyage came in sight of the main, and more than two years before Amerigo Vespucci sailed west of the Canaries." We shall have occasion to refer later on to Vespucius' exploration wherein, according to some recent authorities, it may form the basis of serious question regarding who first discovered the mainland in the New world. Bancroft finds Cabot's discovery to have been in the latitude of "about fifty six degrees, among the dismal cliffs of Labrador;" King

Henry VII. having granted "himself and his three sons, or either of them, their heirs or their deputies, to sail into the eastern, western, or northern sea with a fleet of five ships, at their own expense, in search of islands, provinces, or regions hitherto unseen by Christian people, to affix the banners of England on city, island, or continent; and, as vassals of the English crown, to possess and occupy the territories that might be found. It was further stipulated in this 'most ancient American state paper of England,' that the patentees should be strictly bound, on every return, to land at the port of Bristol and to pay to the King one-fifth part of their gains; while the exclusive right of frequenting all the countries that might be found was reserved to them and to their assigns, without limit of time."

This was a paper pre-emption of America for English quest, trade and possession with a vengeance. But its mighty territorial sweep, which certainly did not miss the Coyote State, was reinforced as to claimants by an incident of Cabot's fateful visit, since the same account records: "He planted on the land a large cross with the flag of England, and, from affection for the republic of Venice, he added the banner of St. Mark, which had never been borne so far before."

Thus was recorded, in document and in actual discovery and symbolic dominion, the primary claim to the American Continent on behalf of Anglo-Saxon civilization, but by a Venetian whose country, by the auxiliary standard set up beside that of St. George, threw a kiss, as it were, at the future America whose alias is Columbia. Could anything be more fitting? It was indeed, to Cabot, something like a family affair. For though the feat was Albion's, the servant was of Venice; and it was the Florentine, Americus Vespucius, whose adopted home was Venice, whose name and fame was affixed to both continents of the New World in a dominion that time will not dethrone; while to the Genoese whose genius first pierced the gloom of distance and of doubt has come the diadem of Fair Columbia—both to the renown of Spain. And thus were the exploits of Northern and Southern Europe—the Saxon and the Latin—mingled in the great theatrical

which still dominates the stage of history in a career whose destiny means subjection of the whole world.

But neither did Cabot think otherwise than that he had found India in his exploration for some three hundred leagues along the Atlantic coast before landing on what he supposed was "the teritory of the Grand Cham." His real objective, like that of Columbus, was to reach Asia; and while it has not infrequently been averred by historians that those immortal pioneers, and especially Cabot, really sought passage through the mazes of island, bay and mainland to the Indies and the famed realms of which Marco Polo told, it seems to be settled by more matured research into the evidences that such a quest was not born until Magellan had passed the Straits and he or his survivors had discovered and partially exploited the Philippines and Borneo, had touched at the Moluccas—thus proving a western route from Europe to the Spice Islands,—had encircled the globe by continuing on over the Portugese water trail back to Spain, and in 1522 had reported these remarkable discoveries to Christendom.

The second voyage of the Cabots—whether John or his son Sebastian is not entirely clear—on which a landing was made somewhere south of the first one and exploration was made of "the northeast coast of the present United States as far as Florida," as one critical writer affirms, or "as far as the entrance to the Chesapeake " by the account of Bancroft, resulted in materially strengthening England's continental claims in America. Says Bancroft: "The successors of Henry VII recognized the claims of Spain and Portugal only so far as they actually occupied the territories to which they laid pretensions; and, at a late date, the English Parliament and the English courts derided a title founded not upon occupancy, but upon the award of a Roman pontiff."

Nevertheless, it is not entirely clear that John Cabot first set foot on the Western Continent, nor that his landing on the North American coast preceded by more than a few months that of Vespucius. The latest authorities make Britain and Spain nearly equal claimants to that highest conquestial honor. Fiske, Harrisse and Varnhagen aver, with no small show of reason based upon masterly assembling and a

critical analysis of priceless evidences, many of which are new-found, that on the trip made by Pinzon and other Spaniards in 1497—Vespucius being one of his pilots and his astute cosmographer on the voyage—the coast of Honduras was first discovered by those redoubtables, and that the fact that the Bay of Honduras was by them named Navidad may not improbably be explainable by the coincidence of the **nativity** of John the Baptist (June 24th) with the date of this discovery in 1497; the birthdays of saints being a not uncommon subject of christening localities in this general connection. Honduras must certainly have been visited on that expedition on or about that date, if these later researches are rightly interpreted as proving the Vespucian voyage in question to have begun in that year. And the observation of one of these writers that a landing doubtless preceded by a few days the naming of the bay seems not unwarranted. That narrative brings Vespucius around the Yucatan coast touching at Tabasco, thence to near Tampico in Mexico, thence over 870 leagues of "crooked coast" to "the finest harbor in the world"—which Fiske believed was very probably between Cape Charles and Cape Canaveral (on the north-Floridan coast); they having arrived there in June, 1498; that they must have sailed between Cuba and Florida and therefore have discovered that the former was an island and not, as Columbus supposed, part of the mainland. And thus the long-standing belief that it was Ponce de Leon who first visited Florida in 1513, seems to be discredited if not disproved. Indeed, the evidences render it all but certain that Florida was mapped as early as 1500 and 1502 by Spaniards and Portugese..

Now, while it does not appear that the Vespucian party, who remained in that fine harbor thirty-seven days and mingled with the Indians, made formal claim to the continent, yet, according to Fiske, the voyage was made pursuant to a degree of the Spanish monarchs of April 10, 1495, "throwing open the navigation to the Indies and granting to all native Spaniards, on certain prescribed conidtions, the privilege of making voyages to the newly found coasts;" and although Columbus in 1496 protested against this decree as "an invasion of his monopoly," and that decree was probably

revoked, yet the squadron in question had previously sailed. Is it unsafe to premose that Pinzen not improbably laid informal claim to America, for Spain? Fiske says: "It is plain that the 1497 voyage of Pinzen and Solis was not followed up for precisely the same reason that prevented the voyages of the Cabots from being followed up," namely, the failure to find "gold or jewels or spices," and the successful return voyage of Gama via Cape of Good Hope from Hindustan in 1499 "laden with the riches of the east." But, as Spain could not go east of the papal meridian, she must go west in seeking a passage to the Indian Ocean, near the famed Hindustan; and this was the quest of Pinzon, as it was of Columbus on his fourth voyage in 1502, when he took with him one of the pilots of said Vespucian voyage. But the point here vital is, that Pinzon and Vespucious may have been the first to bring South Dakota's domain within Spanish pretention.

The brothers Gaspar and Miguel Cortereal founded whatever original pretensions or claims Portugal may have had to North America, when in 1501 they voyaged westward, dispatched by King Emanuel, who before 1500 had information of Cabot's voyages and "was led to try what could be accomplished by a voyage to the northwest."—and Miguel (1502) searched in vain for his brother who had disappeared during the last of his previous trips; the Atlantic coast visits by Gaspar having been, according to Fiske, "mainly within the region already explored by the Cabots, from Labrador perhaps as far south as the bay of Fundy" and touching the eastern Newfoundland coast; part of which coastlines was declared to lie to the east of the papal meridian and to belong to Portugal." Bancroft says Gaspar "ranged the coast of North America for six or seven hundred miles, till, somewhere to the south of the fiftieth degree, they were stopped by ice;" and that the term "Labrador," transferred from territory south of the St. Lawrence, "is perhaps the only permanent trace of Portugese adventure within the limits of North America." Indians were captured and sold as slaves in Portugal. We have seen that England recognized the fact that Portugal made territorial claims, however much she may have scouted them; and that at least pretensions were made

to whatever was discovered by Columbus on his first voyage, before the pope issued his famous Bull. And so the possibilities of Portugal's Atlantic seaboard visits "south of the fiftieth degree," coupled with her claims under the ante-Columbian Bull, may add another nation to the assembly of wooers of South Dakota's domain.

A considerable number of expeditions under Spanish authority of later dates but within the first half of the sixteenth century would, or might under the indefinite areas comprehended, consciously or unconsciously, by ardent and more or less fanciful explorers or adventurers, embrace the territory of South Dakota as part of North America. If Ponce de Leon's wanderings in Florida in 1513 were later than the probable rounding of that peninsula by Vespucius, he, although in quest of the "elixir of life" amid the wealth of flowers of that land, claimed the territory "for Spain," although after landing north of St. Augustine and thereafter doubling the Cape, he supposed the land to be an island His attempt in 1521 to colonize the country pursuant to his sovereign's command as a condition of his governorship, was unsuccessful. Garay's expedition of 1519 under Pineda over the Gulf Coast resulted in the first definite mapping of the Mississippi's mouth. The setting up of "a pillar as a landmark" of his discoveries, on the Mexican border, and a grant from Charles V. to colonize the region thus explored "from a point south of Tampico to the limit of Ponce de Leon, near the coast of Albama"—a privilege disregarded because of the more coveted wealth of Mexico in quest of which he in a personal encounter lost his life.

Vasquez de Ayllon, who in 1520 sailed with slave ships from St. Domingo to the coast of South Carolina known as Chicora, named several rivers and treacherously abducted Indians away, and returned to Spain and "boasted of his expeditions, as a title to reward; and the emperor acknowledged his claim," and was finally, after the fashion of those days, "appointed to the conquest of Chicora;" returning to said coast he met disaster in conflict with the natives. Bancroft adds: "Yet it may be that ships, sailing under his authority" discovered the Chesapeake and the Delaware bays. Narvaez,

commissioned by the emperor to "explore and reduce all the territory from the Atlantic to the river Palmas" (a stream east of the Mississippi in western Florida), in 1527 wandered in the Floridan peninsula and the mainland northward and westward, and after years of untold hardships finally reached a Mexican settlement after his expedition had lost nearly all its men. De Soto, who in 1539 landed at Tampa Bay en route from Cuba—of which island he had been made governor "with absolute power over the immense territory to which the name of Florida was still vaguely applied"— to "conquer Florida at his own cost," launched forth to realize his dream of outdoing in fame Cortez and Pizarro, he having been among the foremost in the Spanish exploits in Mexico and Peru. Discovering the Mississippi in 1541 (its mouth had been identified for years), he crossed the stream in the Chickasaw country near the 35th parallel, proceeded north, thence west, thence southward to the Hot Springs on the Wichita; in 1542 descended that stream and the Red to the mouth of the latter, where he died, the survivors proceeding down the Mississippi and reaching a Spanish Mexican settlement.

From Mexico itself was the point of departure of many northward expeditions. Melchier Diaz in 1540 went from Sonora westward to meet Alarcon, who had discovered the Colorado river after twice ascending it, the last time to 85 degrees or nearly 100 miles above the present boundary of the United States, and "took formal possession of the country for Charles V." Proceeding down the Colorado, Alarcon deposited a letter showing his discoveries—this was found by Diaz, who himself ascended the river five or six days, then crossed "and examined the country that stretches toward the Pacific." Coronado had left Sonora, going north. Another Spanish party discovered the Colorado "much farther to the north." Garce Lopez Cardenas was sent to explore the river; in the summer of 1540 he "reached an upland plain, through which the waters of the Colorado have cleft an abyss for their course"—the Grand Canon in Arizona. Alvarado discovered the Rio del Norte "just below Albuquerque." Here Alvarado heard of that Quivira which became Coronado's quest. Long before, in 1528, Cabeza de Vaca who had been

with Narvaez, discovered a mouth of the Mississippi, and amid incredible suffering among the Indians who had him in virtual captivity for years, had in 1534 escaped from them, and pioneered across the continent by way of the Canadian river in northern Texas to Sonora, whence he and his few surviving partners in misfortune were escorted by Spanish soldiers to Mexico city and "entertained as public guests." Coronado in 1539 dispatched, but in vain, Estevanico—of the Vaca party—and some friars to find "the seven cities of Cibola, the Land of Buffalos, that lay at the north between the oceans and beyond the desert, and abounded in gold and silver," and in 1540 himself took command of three hundred Spaniards, who set out "with flying colors and boundless expectations;" of whom Bancroft says "more young men of the proudest families in Spain rallied under his banner than had ever acted together in America," adding: "Never had so chivalrous adventurers gone forth to hunt the wilderness for kingdoms." The famed Cibola proved to be the poor village of Zuna in northern New Mexico—and hopes of valorous warfare and rich booty were crushed. "They found there provisions which were much wanted, but neither gold, nor precious stones, nor rich stuffs." It was on the return of this expedition and after the other Cibolan cities—the "seven towns of Muqui" had been found, that Cardenas' party found the Grand Canon.

Coronado, who had been made governor of New Galicia by Mendoza, viceroy of Mexico, and who had not yet found but hoped to find "the notable peoples and provinces he looked for," started in April, 1541, on his famous expedition to the northeast; wandered across plains and, in all probability, eastward to near the Mississippi, thence northwest, and the recent investigations indicate with some degree of certainty that he finally arrived in what is southern Kansas, there crossing and descending the Arkansas to the Great Bend, where, and to the northeastward on the Kansas, he found certain Indian settlements which in his records, says Bancroft, were set down as "Quivira," now generally believed to have been Pawnees. That historian, however, finds

that destination "in forty degrees north latitude, unless he may have erred one or two degrees in his observations. * * Here," he proceeds, "on the banks of a great tributary of the Mississippi, a cross was raised with this inscription: 'Thus far came the General, Francisco Vasquez Coronado.'" There have been found in southern Nebraska ancient relics of what are regarded as evidences of the presence there of Spanish cavalry, which are often referred to as indicating either Coronado's or De Soto's expedition.

A Spanish expedition sailed from Acupulco commanded by the Portugese Cabrillo, that reached the harbor of San Diego, where he died in 1543. His pilot Ferrelo continued on and traced the Pacific coast "to within two and one half degrees of the mouth of the Columbia"—or to about the 44th degree, in Oregon.

Thus, within the first half of the sixteenth century Spanish exploration and adventure had, on the theory of pretension to all territory inland from discovered or exploited coast-lines, embraced areas far enough north to include part or all of South Dakota, whether reckoned from the Atlantic, the Gulf or the Pacific border.

What of the French claims? From Brittany and Normandy went hardy fishermen to Newfoundland in 1599; in 1506 a Frenchman had mapped the Gulf of St. Lawrence; in 1527 a swarm of French sail were reported off Newfoundland by an Englishman; on May 10, 1534, Cartier, whose expedition, promoted by admiral Chabet, was commissioned by Francis "in the design of exploring and colonizing the New World," had reached these fisheries; and he set up by the Bay of Chaleurs a cross "bearing a shield with the lilies of France and an appropriate inscription;" this after encircling Newfoundland; in August he discovered and navigated for some distance the St. Lawrence; when he returned his city and country "were filled with the fame of his discoveries;" in 1535 he ascended the St. Lawrence to the site of Montreal, learned of the Niagara and Hudson's Bay, and the next spring erected a second and similar monument at the mouth of the St. Charles, with an inscription "declaring Francis to be the rightful king of this new-found realm, to which the Breton mariner gave the name of New France." Domestic

and foreign wars prevented further expeditions until 1541, when Cartier (under Roberval's commission from the king) sailed to and built a fort at Quebec. Henry IV. in 1598, in renewal of the purpose of founding an American empire, commissioned the Marquis de La Roche, who landed with prisoners on Sable Island to effect a settlement, which was short-lived. The fur trade brought Chauvin and Pontgrave there in 1600 "with an ample patent," but no colony was established. In 1602 Champlain visited again, selected Quebec for a fort, after examining and analyzing the West Indies and Mexico and conceiving the idea of a future Isthmian canal. After his return, in 1603, "an exclusive patent was issued to a Calvanist, the able, patriotic, and honest De Monts. The sovereignty of Acadia, from the fortieth to the fortysixth degree of latitude, that is from Philadelphia to beyond Montreal; a still wider Monopoly of the fur trade; the exclusive control of the soil, government, and trade; freedom of religion for Huguenot emigrants— these," says Bancroft, "were the privileges which his charter conferred." Within little more than a century after Columbus' first voyage France had therefore set up, pursuant to actual discovery and exploitation, territorial claims to North America which brought within her pretensions the soil of this State.

De Monts, under the Charter of Acadia, explored in 1605 "and claimed for France the rivers, especially the Merrimac, the coasts and bays of New England, as far, at least, as Cape Cod," says Bancroft. The language of the charter is, "to people and colonize the lands, shores and countries of Acadia, and other neighboring lands, extending from the fortieth degree to the forty-sixth, and to establish there our authority," etc. Repeated attempts the next year "to complete the discovery" were futile; his lieutenant returned to Port Royal—where Poutrincourt had settled; whose possession were confirmed in 1607 by Henry IV. The fish and fur trades were placed under imposition to the Jesuits, who arrived in 1611; the Indians leaned towards the priests and looked askance at the English on the Kennebec and Penobscot. Quebec was founded in 1608, and Champlain in 1609 led the Algonquins against the Iroquois (Ticonderoga). A merchants' colonial patent in 1615

led to further explorations westward: in 1625 to Lake Superior; French authority over Acadia and Canada on the St. Lawrence was established by 1635 at Champlain's death.

Returning to the English: The charter of 1584 to Sir Walter Raleigh gave him, his heirs and assigns "free liberty and license * * forever hereafter to search, find out, and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countries and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian Prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him * * shall seem good, and the same to have, hold, occupy and enjoy * * with all prerogatives, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties * * both by sea and land, * * as we * * have heretofore granted to any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate." This somewhat indefinite yet all-comprehensive document contained such "full powers" as would have warranted that gallant son of royalty in exploring and possessing in the name of his sovereign the whole Northwest.

Then came the more specific English charters of the seventeenth century. The First Charter of Virginia, of April 10, 1606, carrying "That part of America commonly called Virginia, and other parts and Territories in America, either appertaining to us, or which are not now actually possessed by any Christian Prince or People, situate, lying, and being all along the Sea Coasts, between four and thirty Degrees of Northerly Latitude * * and five and forty degrees of the same latitude, and in the main Land between the same * * Degrees," with islands within 100 miles of the coast. This grant ran to two companies, the First Colony, which "shall and may begin their first Plantation and Habitation, at any place upon the said Coast of Virginia or America, where they shall think fit and convenient, between the said four and thirty and one and forty degrees." And to the Second Colony, commissioned to inhabit and plant "at any place upon the said Coast * * between eight and thirty Degrees * * and five and forty Degrees," with all lands, rivers, mines, etc. from their plantation and habitation "alongst the said Coasts of Virginia and America, towards the West and Southwest, or towards the South, as the Coast lyeth," with like privilege for fifty miles along the coast northeastwardly; also "from the same fifty miles every

way on the Sea Coast, directly into the main Land, by the space of one hundred like English miles; * * * And that none of our Subjects shall be permitted, or suffered, to plant or inhabit behind, or on the back of them, towards the main Land, without express license of the Council;" the last "planting" not to be within 100 miles of the other.

Now, while the 1606 charter does not contain the phrase ascribed to it by Bancroft, "and into the backwoods without bounds," it does by clear implication assume dominion westward indefinitely, wherein it forbids other subjects to "plant or inhabit behind, or on the back of them, towards the main Land," that is, westward from said 100 mile inland line. And as the northern limit was forty-five degrees, the patent itself would seem to carry at least a pretension of claim westward to embrace substantially the southern half of South Dakota.

On May 23, 1609, the Second Charter of Virginia issued, granting "all those Lands, Countries, and Territories * * in that Part of America, called Virginia, from the Point of Land, called Cape or Point Comfort, all along the Sea Coast to the Northward, two hundred miles, and from the said Point or Cape Comfort to the Southward, two hundred Miles, and all that Space and Circuit of Land, lying from the Sea Coast of the Precinct aforesaid, up into the Land throughout from Sea to Sea, West and Northwest; And also all Islands lying within one hundred Miles along the Coast of both Seas of the Precinct aforesaid." Now, while the northerly line 200 miles north of Point Comfort, would, projected due westward, run on about the fortieth degree of latitude, or south of this State, yet if effect is given to the words "west and northwest," the grant would clearly embrace substantially the whole Northwest to the Pacific seaboard.

The Charter of New England, of 1620, "Establish, that all that Circuit, Continent, Precincts, and Limits in America, lying and being in Breadth from Forty Degrees of Northerly Latitude, * * to Forty-Eight Degrees * * and in length by all the Breadth aforesaid throughout the Main Land, from Sea to Sea, with all the Seas, Rivers, * * shall be the Limits, and Bounds, and Precincts of the Second Colony; and to the End that the said Territories may forever hereafter be

more particularly and certainly known and distinguished, our Will and Pleasure is, that the same shall from henceforth be nominated, termed, and called by the name of New-England, in America." The terms of this charter embraces the territory of South Dakota; it is as clear-cut regarding area, as was the purpose of the Pilgrims to escape religious tyranny.

Bancroft's version of the 1620 charter is, that the territory "was conferred on them in absolute property, with unlimited powers of legislation and government," and "placed emigrants to New England under the absolute authority of the corporation, and it was through grants from that plenary power, confirmed by the crown, that institutions the most favorable to colonial independence and the rights of mankind came into being." There can be no doubt that the spirit, if not the terms of this charter was so liberal as concerns self-government in legislation and administration, as to have insured to colonists who might thereunder have wandered into the upper Missouri valley an enlightened civil and political status under English sovereignty; but that the grant itself was impliedly limited, as to ownereship and dominion of territory, by the sovereignty of England and the legislative supremacy of Parliament, can not be doubted.

Bancroft adds, concerning this grant: "The French derided the action of the British monarch in bestowing lands and privileges which their own sovereign, seventeen years before, had appropriated"—referring to the grant to De Monts. "The English nation was incensed at the largeness of immense monopolies by the royal prerogative," etc.

The immediate authority whence came this New England charter was "The Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing New England, in America."

The Charter of Massachusetts Bay, of 1629, (for which that of March, 1628, "a mere volutary partnership"—is said to have "paved the way") emanating from this Council of Plymouth, granted to certain knights and others "all that part of New England in America aforesaid, which lies and extends between" the Merrimac and Charles rivers, "being in the Bottom of a certain Bay there, commonly called Massachusetts,

* * and also all * * these lands * * lying within the space of three English miles on the South Part of the said Charles River, * * and also, all * * lands * * lying and being within the space of three English miles to the Southward of the Southermost Part of Said Bay * * , also all lands within three miles north of the Merrimac, "and all lands * * lying within the limits aforesaid, * * and in Length and Longitude, of and within all the Breadth aforesaid, throughout the Main Lands there, from the Atlantic and Western Sea and Ocean on the East Part, to the South Sea on the West Part." This charter was confirmed by perhaps a more specific delimitation of boundaries, in 1691, but its westwards calls were: "Westward as far as our Colonies of Rhode Island, Connecticut and the Narragansett Country."

Now, the southern limit of this 1629 grant would be at about 42 1-2 degrees north latitude, which line would pass westward a trifle north of the southeast corner of South Dakota; while the northern limit would be at about 42 3-4 degrees, or substantially on the parallel passing through Yankton; so that this grant embraced, in terms, part of our Commonwealth. Once more all that smacks of New England's struggle for freedom and the foundations of civil and religious liberty was wafted across our local domain, through a blast from the far trumpet of the Council of Plymouth.

But many of the English charters were limited in area to the Atlantic seaboard, having no westward continental trend; such as the Charter of Maryland, of 1632, to Lord Baltimore; of 1629 and 1635 granting the New Hampshire territory; the Charter of Maine of 1639; the Patent for Providence Plantation, of 1643, and of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations of 1663. However, the Charter of Connecticut, of 1662, extended territorially "to the South Sea on the West Part;" its northern boundary was in part the southern boundary of Massachusetts, which, as we have seen, extended westward, would pass just north of the southeast corner of this State, thus embracing a mere fraction of its area. But although the Charter of Carolina, of 1663, extended westward "as far as the South-Seas," its northern limit at 36 degrees would leave us far to the north.

Likewise, the grants to the Duke of York, of 1664 and 1674, seem to have been bounded on the west, principally by the Hudson river, although it embraced "all the land from the west side of Connecticut River to the east side of Delaware Bay." In the same years the Duke "Released" to Lord Berkeley and others the New Jersey country. The Charter of Georgia, of 1732, covered the Atlantic coast from and between the Savannah river southward to the Altamaha, "and westerly from the heads of the said rivers respectively, in direct lines to the south seas," thus giving the land of South Dakota a wide departure in its more southerly sweep.

The original French provinces to the northward gravitated between England and France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; as under the treaty of St. Germain, of 1632, England ceded to France all claims to "New France, Acadia, and Canada;" France retroceded to England by the Treaty of Paris, of 1763, all the French possessions north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi; and this territory was, under the "Quebec Act" of 1774, annexed to and made part of the Province of Quebec. It would not be safe to infer from either or both of these treaties, that either of the high contracting parties did not at the time claim territory west of the Mississippi. We have seen that many English charters made such claims, or pretensions; and we shall see that France laid specific claims to large areas to westward of that stream.

As to Holland: The evidences seem to make pertinent to this general inquiry the aspirations of the Dutch in North America. The New Netherland Company's charter was the primary grant from Holland. Says Woodrow Wilson: "Its charter had given it control of all the coast of America from forty to forty-five degrees north latitude, a region which the Dutch described as lying 'between New France (on the north) and Virginia.' This was at the very heart of the country which James of England had granted to the Virginia Company; but the Dutch knew little of that, and would very likely have thought as little had they known more." The Indian fur trade on the Great North River (Hudson) "had first attracted them;" they had built a "fort" or trading post up-river, and some humble habitations at lower Manhattan. That Com-

pany was formed in 1614, "before there was a West India Company," says Wilson. But Holland's claims to American continental possessions and dominion were evidenced through the Dutch West India Company, chartered June 3, 1621. Under that charter, says Bancroft, the company "became the sovereign of the central portion of the United States, was incorporated for twenty-four years, with a pledge of a renewal of its charter. It was invested, on the part of the Netherlands, with the exclusive privilege to traffic and plant colonies on the coast of Africa from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope; on the coast of America, from the straits of Magellan to the remotest north. The franchises of the company were immense, that it might lay its own plans, provide for its own defense, and in all things take care of itself. The States-General, in case of war, were to be known only as its allies and patrons. * * * It might acquire provinces, but only at its own risk, and it was endowed with absolute power over its possessions, subject to the approval of the States-General, * * A nation of merchants gave away the leave to appropriate continents."

And that charter embraced, in its northward sweep, the confines of both oceans: "as well on the north sea as on the south sea * * ; in the western or southern countries reaching, lying and between both meridians, from the Cape of Good Hope, in the East, to the east end of New Guinea, in the west, inclusive" thus spanning the Pacific, westward. And this grant was conceived to fight Portugese and Spanish trade and conquest "in the south, but which was also to keep an eye all the while on the North and South Rivers (Hudson and Delaware) where the New Netherlands Company had put its trading posts." Not until 1623 did it plan systematically for North American settlement, but the Dutch "meant to stay," says Wilson. Out of Holland, indeed, came the New Englanders; and religious liberty in Europe found England and Holland grappling jointly against Spain.

These charters from Holland were broad enough to form the basis of territorial pretensions embracing the Sunshine State and the whole Northwest.

Here we might cite the Supreme Court of the United States,

to illustrate what was by the law of nations among European powers regarded as the basis of dominion in America. In the great case of Cherokee Nation versus Georgia, reported in 5 Peters Reports, page 1, the rule was laid down as follows. "When the eastern coast of this continent, and especially the part we inhabit, was discovered, finding it occupied by a race of hunters, connected in system by scarcely a semblance of organic government, the right was extended to the absolute appropriation of the territory, the annexation of it to the domain of the discoverer. It cannot be questioned that the right of sovereignty, as well as of soil, was notoriously asserted and exercised by the European discoverer. From that source we derive our rights, and there is not an instance of a cession of land from an Indian nation, in which the right of sovereignty is mentioned as a part of the matter ceded." This was a decision as between the whites and the original possessors of the country—the Indians.

In Johnson versus McIntosh, 8 Wheaton's Reports, page 576. the same supreme tribunal cites from Smith's History of New York. Speaking of the "States of Holland," the court says: "They allege, as we are told by Smith, in his history of New York, that Henry Hudson, who sailed, they say, under the Orders of their East India Company, discovered the country from the Delaware to the Hudson, up which he sailed to the forty-third degree of north latitude; and this country they claimed under the title acquired by this voyage. Their first object was commercial, as appears by a grant made to a company of merchants in 1614; but in 1621, the States-General made, as we are told by Mr. Smith, a grant of the country to the West India Company, by the name of New Netherlands. The claim of the Dutch was always contested by the English; not because they questioned the title by discovery, but because they insisted on being themselves the original claimants under that title. Their pretensions were finally decided by the sword."

Now, regarding Russia's American continental claims: They never extended far enough eastward to touch any part of South Dakota, nor elsewhere east of the continental divide of

the Rocky Mountains; but they did extend farther south than the north line of this State.

Spain claimed primacy on the Pacific coast, far to north of the vital point in the present discussion. The original controversies raged between Spain and Russia.

Politica, Russian minister, in correspondence with our minister Adams (Russian Boundary controversy), claimed that Captain Behring's "second Captain, Tschiricoff" pushed his discoveries as far south as the 49th degree of north latitude; that the Spanish government in 1789 found and recognized Russian colonies, "and in this very report it is seen that the Court of Madrid acknowledged that its possessions upon the coast of the Pacific Ocean ought not to extend to the north of Cape Blanco, taken from the point of Trinity, situated under 42 degrees 59 minutes north latitude." Cape Blanco is, as seen, at about 42 3-4 degrees, on the Oregon coast—extending to about the southern limit of South Dakota, produced.

The Russian government claimed that Russians had settled on the Pacific coast in California, at the Bay Bodega, "a little north of the port of San Francisco"—this would be in latitude 38 degrees 33 minutes; that permission was granted by the Spanish governor of California in 1812. A few years later another Russian settlement was made about fifteen miles north of Bodega. Each had a stockaded fort, etc.

The emperor Paul of Russia gave the Russian-American Company in 1799 a charter for "exclusive possession of the Northwest coast of America which belonged to Russia from the 55th degree of north latitude to Behring's Straits. He permitted them to extend their discoveries to the south and there to form establishments, provided that they did not encroach upon the territory occupied by other powers."

Under the convention of 1824 between our government and Russia, Russian sovereignty southward to 54 degrees 40 minutes is recognized. It was this line that formed the basis of the slogan used in a subsequent national campaign: "Fifty-Four Forty or Fight," in connection with our controversy with England over the Northwest boundary question.

However—and this is the point to which the foregoing evidences are brought herein to support—Russia's minister,

Nesselrode, declared to the imperial home representative, Nordanof, during the negotiations involving the said convention, in connection with the Russian-American Company's interests on our Pacific coast "in the interior of the Continent of America:" "To extend our pretensions to the interior of the continent of America to the middle of the Rocky Mountains, we have neither the right nor the possibility; such pretensions may merely be the cause not only of dispute, but also of the most disagreeable events; and, as it would appear to me, there is no visible advantage in this fictitious extension of our confines." This ought to settle all doubt against the right or the intent of the Russian Bear to lay his formidable paw upon Mother Earth in South Dakota.

Brief mention will be made of possible pretensions under the British flag, through the exploitations of the Hudson's Bay Company, chartered May 2, 1670, and which granted "the sole trade and commerce of all those seas, straits, bays, rivers, lakes, creeks and sounds, in whatsoever latitude they shall be, that lie within the entrance of the straits, commonly called Hudson's Straits, together with all the lands and territories upon the countries, coasts, and confines of the seas, bays, lakes, rivers, creeks and sounds aforesaid, that are not already actually possessed by or granted to any of our subjects, or possessed by the subjects of any other Christian Prince or State," with extensive fishing, mining and other rights; "to have, hold, possess and enjoy the said territory, limits and places, and all and singular other the premises hereby granted as aforesaid, with their and every of their rights, members, jurisdictions, prerogatives, royalties, and appurtenances whatsoever, to them * * and their successors forever, to be holden * * in free and common soccage;" with right to make and execute laws, ordinances, etc. Eminent counsel advised the Company that "the grant of the soil contained in the charter is good," but it was limited to "all countries the waters of which flow into Hudson's Bay."

The Red River of the North, taking its rise in Traverse Lake and tributaries from westward, flows into Lake Winnepeg and, in the usual run of waters, thence through the Nelson river into Hudson's Bay. And while there seems to be no

strictly definite evidence at hand that that Company actually by its agents entered what is part of South Dakota during its fur trading business, yet there are statements extant which seem to make it all but certain that this was the case.

Prof. Robert F. Kerr, in a paper concerning the explorations of Radisson and Groseillier (S. D. Hist. Coll. Vol. I., page 74), states that a fur trading post was established by that Company in the Big Sioux Valley near Elk Point in 1755, as "an entering wedge into French territory" the information upon which it was based having been published in a South Dakota newspaper, the source of the information as he believes, having been the Historical Society of Winnipeg.

Agnes C. Laut, in "Conquest of the Great Northwest," speaking of the Selkirk plans on the Red River, says: "In brief, Lord Selkirk's scheme is that the Company (H. B. Co.) grant him a region for colonizing on Red River, in area now known to have been larger than the British Isles, and to have extended south of modern Manitoba to include half of Minnesota." This statement, roughly and liberally construed, would probably pertain to northeastern South Dakota.

Returning to the subject of French exploration on and west of the Mississippi, brief mention will be made of bases of claims through expeditions from the north. De Groseillier and Radisson, brothers-in-law, on their "third voyage" from Quebec, in 1655, are supposed to have journeyed down the Mississippi below the Missouri's mouth, then to have traveled up the Missouri and, perhaps, into the neighborhood of the Platte. They had previously come in contact with the Sioux near the Mississippi in Wisconsin and had heard of the Mississippi. They evidently went out pursuant to the authorization of the governor of New France, "who, together with the fathers thought fit to send a company of French to bring back if possible, those wild men the next year, or others, being that it is the best manna of the country by which the inhabitants do subsist, and makes the French vessels to come there and go back loaded with merchandise for the traffic of furriers who come from the remotest parts of North America,"—says the quaint journal of Radisson. "Two fathers were chosen to conduct the company, and endeavor to convert some of these

forcigners of the remotest country to the Christian faith." Thus trade and missionary work were the objectives, and New France the beneficiary as sovereign. The pioneering of these two men in discovering Hudson's Bay led to the charter hereinbefore referred to. The "forked river" of their narrative, believed to be the Missouri, was so called because it has two branches, the one toward the northwest, the other (the Platte), towards the south, which we believe runs towards Mexico." The Indians of that region told them of wars "against a nation, against men that build great cabins, and have great beards, and have such knives as we have; of a decad of beads and guilded pearls that they have from that people, which made us believe they were Europeans"—doubtless gifts or trophies from the Spaniards who, we have seen, were with Coronado at "Quivira" and participated not without some disaster, in capturing the Cibolan cities, in 1540 to 1542; and thus the French and Spanish rivalry is evidenced on the Missouri plains, to which South Dakota soil was tributary.

Marquette and Joliet, under authority of the French government, started on a mission of discovery on June 10, 1673, from the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, descended the latter to the Mississippi. With "five Frenchmen as companions and two Algonquins as guides," they met the Illinois on the Des Moines, where the pipe of peace paved the way to mutual confidence; passed the mighty confluence of the two great streams "where the swifter Missouri rushes like a conqueror into the calmer Mississippi, dragging it, as it were, hastily to the sea;" down past the Ohio, where were "the peaceful Shawnees, who quailed under the incursions of the Iroquois;" entered, "near the latitude of thirty-three degrees, on the western bank of the Mississippi," the village of Mitchigamea, "in a region that had not been visited by Europeans since the days of De Soto;" smoked with the Chicasas; thence down "in a long wooden boat" to the village of Akansea, "the limit of their voyage;" turned back, reached and ascended the Illinois and to Lake Michigan. When Joliet's journal was in expectancy at Quebec, "the utility of the discovery was at once set forth" as opening a field for Christian faith; "the way to the Gulf of California, and so to the seas

of Japan and China, will be found by ascending the Missouri to the watershed on the west; an admirable line of navigation may be opened between Quebec and Florida by cutting through the portage between the Chicago and the Illinois river, and for planting colonies in a country "vast and beautiful and most fertile." Bancroft adds: "In a relation sent, in 1674, by Father Dablon, it was proposed to connect Lake Michigan with the Illinois by a canal." Thus we find that centuries ago the "Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterways" as well as the Panama Canal were in men's minds as something to occur in the not distant future. Joliet made in 1673, for Count Frontenac, a map of the Mississippi on which the Missouri and other western tributaries appear.

After Marquette and Joliet had discovered, from the north, and substantially reconnoitered the Mississippi, La Salle, who had in 1579 reached Peoria Lake on the Illinois, despatched Hennepin northward, who ascended the Mississippi to St. Anthony Falls and there "engraved a cross and the arms of France" on a tree. LaSalle, who had been governor Frontenac's envoy with the Iroquois, had been endorsed by him to Louis XIV's minister, Colbert, as possessed of rare tact and enterprise as explorer on behalf of France, was granted on May 13, 1675, a title of nobility and rights giving him "exclusively the trade of all men, white or red, whom he could allure to his domain;" that domain was "a manor extending above and below the fort (of Frontenac on Lake Ontario) a mile and a half in depth by twelve miles along the lake and river." He was "protected by the power and the favor of the governor." Intense rivalry between him and Joliet arose; the latter was "of the Jesuit faction"— ill-favored by Frontenac, however; and Joliet's "rightful claims to high honors as the discoverer of the great river were diminished or denied." LaSalle successfully "demanded leave to spread colonies * * by the aid of a revenue to be derived from a succession of trading forts connected with manors, as at Frontenac." On May 12, 1678, "the king, avowing that he had nothing more at heart than the discovery of the western part of New France and of a way even to Mexico, granted him a monopoly of trade in buffalo skins, and the right to construct forts and take lands wherever

he might think best * * on the same terms as Fort Frontenac; but with the condition that he should achieve the discovery within five years, "says Bancroft. LaSalle's expedition down the Mississippi was by way of the Kankakee from Lake Michigan, thence down the Illinois, reaching the Mississippi December 5, 1680, from which point, owing to financial difficulties, he returned over the same route to St. Joseph river on the lake. On his third voyage— Henry de Tonti being with him and his party— they reached the "Mississippi February 6, 1682; embarked thence down-stream, passing the Missouri, "which LaSalle regarded as the mightier branch of the Great River, with deeper and still more abundant waters and more Indian nations dwelling in its marvelously fertile valley. As he floated down the united stream, he seemed to hear in the distance 'the sound of the advancing multitude' that was to fill the imperial wilderness with civilized states! On the thirteenth of March, at the village of the Arkansas and in the presence of the tribe, possession was taken of the country for Louis the Great, with every civil and religious ceremony; and a carefully authenticated record was made of the act." The account proceeds: "The mouths of the Mississippi were reached on the sixth of April. On the seventh, LaSalle reconnoitered the south-west passage all the way to the sea, * * * On the eighth a dry spot was found for performing solemnly the act of taking possession. A column and cross were prepared. The column bore the arms of France, with the inscription, Louis, the great king of France and of Navarre, reigns, this ninth of April 1682.". Under arms the Te Deum was chanted; "amid salvos of musketry and cries of 'long live the king,' LaSalle erected the column, and pronounced that by the royal commission he took possession of the country of the Mississippi, with all it tributaries, from the mouth of the Ohio on the east, from its head spring on the west even beyond its valley to the mouth of the river of Palms. It was added that, as his majesty is the oldest son of the church, he would acquire no country for the crown without striving to establish in it the Christian religion; and then the cross was raised, while the whole company sang the same hymn that a few years before had been chanted at the falls of St.

Mary: 'The banners of Heaven's King advance.'" Returning up the Mississippi, La Salle "selected the rock which he named St. Louis for the central fort of his possessions." He reached Quebec in November, and France December 23, 1683. "He had been waited for to give to the Court an ample account of the terrestrial paradise of America, where the king was to call into being a magnificent empire. Spain had insisted that the Gulf of Mexico was a closed sea of its own. Louis XIV. denied the assumption, ordered his ships of war to disregard it, and wished a convenient post somewhere on the Mississippi river from which a descent into the sea could readily be made. Spain and France were then at war"—is the narrative of Bancroft. These expeditions from the north confirmed France's claims to the Mississippi and Missouri watersheds, including the Land of the Dakotas. La Salle planned the founding on the Mississippi, "with absolute power in command of an expedition," of an establishment near the site of New Orleans. Therefrom came his expedition which entered the Gulf of Mexico in 1684, and founding of a settlement on the Texas coast at Matagorda—he did not find the Mississippi's mouth from that direction. His vessel being wrecked, "France took possession of Texas" through his action as stated; "her arms were carved on its trees; and by no treaty or public document or map did she give up her right to the province until she resigned the whole of Louisiana to Spain." Bancroft concludes: "After beginning the occupation of Upper Canada, he perfected the discovery of the Mississippi from the falls of St. Anthony to its mouth; and he is remembered as the father of colonization in the great central valley of the West."

Le Seuer, who from Montreal reached, via the Wisconsin, the Mississippi in 1683 and who, doubtless with the consent if not the encouragement of the French authorities in New France, probably entered parts of the Minnesota country on a trading expedition; and, owing to the fact that, on data furnished by him, the D'Isle map of 1701 was made, on which is shown a trail to what is doubtless the Big Sioux river,—it is not improbable that he or some of his men visited what is eastern South Dakota that year. His exploration certainly streng-

thened France's claims in the region of the Upper Missouri valley.

Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, afterwards known as La Verendrye, a native of Three Rivers, Canada, was about 1728 in charge of a fort "to the north of Lake Superior." He "was led by the Indian reports," says Fiske, "to believe that the western ocean could be reached by journeys in canoes, and on foot from that point. He was empowered to make the experiment at his own expense and risk, and was promised a monopoly of the fur trade in the countries he should discover." After some nine years of preparation in exploration westward and establishing forts from Lake of the Woods to south of Saskatchewan, from thence he in 1738 went, under guidance of the Assinaboines, to the Missouri river at the Mandan villages; his report to Governor Beauharnois being a "Journal in the form of a letter, from the 20th of July, 1738, date of my departure from Michilimackinak, to May, 1739," by "his very humble servant La Verendrye, * * * commissioned by his orders for the discovery of the Western Sea." Owing to his temporary disability, his two sons continued the exploration westward in 1743, arriving on January 1st at the base of the Big Horn mountains;* where, not being within reach of the party's destination, they turned back eastward. Bishop O'Gorman, in a most interesting address before this Society, (S. D. Hist. Coll. Vol. II), refers to Parkman's belief in the probability of their having crossed that range to the Snake river before turning back. He also thinks that in returning, "The direction they took and the time they took to travel brought them within two days' march of Pierre, South Dakota, as their account refers to meeting on March 15th 'the band of the Little Cherry,' who were when we found them two days' march from their camp on the Missouri. We left them on the 2nd of April." That, traveling thence north and northwest, they arrived May 18th at the Mandan village at or near Fort Berthold, N. D., having been forty-five days on the trip from where they met those Indians, but " did not go in a straight line, but sometimes headed north, now east and then again northeast." From all of which

*See article on Verendryes following.

Bishop O'Gorman thinks those Indians took their name from Cherry Creek, which about fifty miles northwest from Pierre, as they were "the band of the Little Cherry." The Verendrye journal shows that where they met these Indians "On an eminence near the fort (camp) I placed a leaden plate engraved with the arms and inscription of the king and some stones in the shape of a pyramid in honor of the general"— referring to the Marquis de Beauharnois, who was "Commander of the Military Order of St. Louis." Doane Robinson, in his "History of South Dakota," says of the foregoing: "I have no doubt of the correctness of Bishop O'Gorman's conclusions and take it as a settled fact that Verendrye is a duly recorded explorer of South Dakota of 1743 and that he then claimed the soil for the king of France." Although no trace of the monument in question has thus far been found, those conclusions seem quite probable; and it seems almost certain that that expedition must have crossed the northwest part of this State.

Now as to Louisiana: On September 14, 1712, Louis XIV. granted to Antoine de Crozat, a Parisian merchant, for trading purposes, rights over the expanse of territory which we believe was therein for the first time described as the Louisiana territory. The instrument avers that "we did in the year 1683 give our orders to undertake a discovery of the countries and lands which are situated in the northern part of America, between New France and New Mexico, and the Sieur de la Salle, to whom we committed that enterprise, having had success enough to confirm a belief that communication might be settled from New France to the Gulf of Mexico, by means of large rivers; this obliged us, immediately after the peace of Ryswick, to give orders for the establishing of a colony there, and maintaining a garrison, which has kept and preserved the possession we had taken in the very year 1683, of the lands, coasts, and islands, which are situated in the Gulf of Mexico, between Carolina on the east, and Old and New Mexico on the west. * * * And whereas, upon the information we have received, concerning the disposition and situation of the said countries, known at present by the name of the province of Louisiana, we are of opinion that there may be established therein a considerable commerce * * * we have resolved

to grant the commerce of the country of Louisiana to the sieur Anthony Crozat. * * * and do appoint the said sieur Crozat, solely to carry on a trade in all the lands, possessed by us, and bounded by New Mexico, and by the lands of the English Carolina, * * * the river of St. Lewis, heretofore called Mississippi from the edge of the sea, as far as the Illinois, together with the river St. Philip, heretofore called the Missourys, * * * with all the countries, territories, lakes within land, and the rivers which fall directly or indirectly into that part of the river St. Lewis. * * * that all the aforesaid lands, streams, rivers and islands, be and remain comprised under the name of the government of Louisiana, which shall be dependant upon the general government of New France," etc. This territory was professedly added to, on September 27, 1717, by embracing within its limits as defined in the Crozat charter and to the Western Company of August, 1717, "the country of the savages, called the Illinois," by which the king "has united and incorporated the country of the savages to the government of the Province of Louisiana."

The Crozat charter of course comprehended, as within the Missouri river country, South Dakota. And henceforth the explorations and the incidental exploitations up the Missouri, from the region of St. Louis and below, under the French regime, will not be followed in detail in this paper; but we will simply refer to the fact that the French fur-trading era, which commenced about 1764 as pertains to up-river operations, saw trading posts within the limits of South Dakota on the Missouri some time before 1800; among which was Loiselle's post on Cedar Island, thirty-five miles below Pierre, established some time prior to 1796; Trudeau's post just above the site of old Fort Randall on the Missouri in the fall of 1794.

Moll, the English geographer, published a map about 1710, representing Louisiana as described in the Crozat charter; no territory west of the Rocky Mountains being designated as Louisiana. And Jefferson, in his letter to Mellish, the geographer (1816) refers to the Crozat charter as defining "all the country comprehending the waters which flow into the Mississippi" as "a part of Louisiana." Franquelin published a map in 1684, "following the possession by France" pursuant to La

Salle's report; which map is almost identical in boundary as claimed under the Crozat charter, "and," says Hermann in his account of Louisiana published by the general government in 1900, "these limits were justified by the recognized authority of those days, which gave to the discoverer of the mouth of a river the whole country drained by it." Justin Winsor, in his "Narrative and Critical History of America," in commenting upon said law of discovery as applied to the Mississippi, says of the western boundary. "· * by the Gulf of Mexico westward to the Rio Grande; thence northward to the rather vague watershed of what we now know as the Rocky Mountains, with an indefinable line along the source of the Upper Mississippi and its higher affluents," etc.

Crozat surrendered back to France his charter, September 6, 1717. The same year Louisiana was granted to the Mississippi Commercial Company, "under the regency of the Duke of Orleans. This, says Hermann "was the celebrated John Law's Mississippi scheme." Not long thereafter this last charter was also surrendered.

France ceded Louisiana to Spain by treaty of November 3, 1762; the treaty having been approved and accepted by the Spanish king November 13. It was a secret treaty, whose first publication in the United States was made in 1837; and the terms and fact of this treaty went far to confuse the public mind for many years "as to the exact territory which belonged to either France or Spain." But this uncertainty pertains not to the areas west of the Mississippi. The treaty itself is very brief in its description of the territory ceded. The granting words are: "His Most Christian Majesty cedes in entire possession, purely and simply, without exception, to his Catholic Majesty and his successors in perpetuity, all the country known under the name of Louisiana, as well as New Orleans and the island in which that place stands." The foregoing exhausts the description and designations of territory in the instrument. Orders for surrender to Spain of Louisiana, "with New Orleans and the island," issued April 21, 1764.

Some phases of the Treaty of Paris, of February 10, 1763, between England and Portugal on the one part, and Spain and France on the other, are of importance in the present

treatment of Louisiana. Therein France, besides ceding to England Canada and its dependencies, etc., agreed with England that the boundary line between the British and French possessions in North America not so ceded should be "a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea;" and in the cession of territory eastward of the Mississippi there was excepted "the town of New Orleans and the island in which it is situated." A very important provision thereof is here referred to because of the political and proprietary bearings it has upon the negotiations for and acquisition by the United States, of Louisiana, namely: "provided that the navigation of the river Mississippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great Britain as to those of France, in its whole breadth and length, from its source to the sea, and expressly that part which is between the said island of New Orleans and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth. It is further stipulated; that the vessels belonging to the subjects of either nation shall not be stopped, visited or subjected to the payment of any duty whatever."

After independence had been achieved the United States, by treaty with Spain of October 27, 1795, determined the northern boundaries of Spain's claims to Florida, east of the Mississippi; but as nothing was said about territory west of that river, Spain possessed and claimed both banks of the Mississsippi at and below New Orleans to its mouth.

Then came the secret treaty of San Ildefonso of October 1, 1800, by which Spain retroceded Louisiana to France. Its terms are very brief, and the description of the territory thus transferred is by substantially using the word "Louisiana." Its language is: "His Catholic Majesty promises and engages on his part to retrocede to the French Republic * * * the colony or province of Louisiana with the same extent it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it should be after the treaty subsequently entered into between Spain and other States." While this treaty of course became known abroad as regards the fact of

the general retrocession, yet, says Hermann, "The exact text" thereof was unknown "until published in the Memoir by De Onis in 1820."

Finally, the instrument by which the United States became owner of and sovereign over Louisiana, through the treaty with France of April 30, 1803, was executed. It is with some treatment of the salient circumstances immediately preceding and accompanying this transfer, as they are related to the politics and the welfare of Europe and America, that this paper will in substance conclude.

In the negotiations for territorial and commercial possessions and rights, by our government through Livingston and Monroe, no idea was entertained of procuring territory west of the Mississippi; the whole stress was upon securing New Orleans, or, short of that, some substantial rights of occupancy on the Mississippi which would permit of safeguarding the transportation of merchandise produced by American citizens on Mississippi Territory, through the mouth of that river. The right of deposit of merchandise at the port of New Orleans had been granted by Spain under the treaty of October 27, 1795, for the period of three years, upon the expiration of which term "the privilege should either be continued at New Orleans or an equivalent establishment assigned on another part of the banks of the Mississippi;" and a "tacit permission continued," says Hermann, thereafter. When the rumor was abroad that Spain had ceded Louisiana to France, the Americans were even more concerned "lest the French should exercise even a more exclusive and vigorous policy than had the Spaniards." The local Spanish authorities disbelieved the report of this transfer, "but resolved if it were true not to relinquish their authority without protest." Then followed the announcement that the Spanish intendant "had proclaimed that the right of deposit no longer existed." Intense indignation arose among the Mississippi planters and settlers; this revocation was regarded as resulting from the cession to France and as having been inspired by her. These circumstances and many others of deep import hereinafter mentioned show why Monroe was authorized by Jefferson to offer $2,000,000.00 for "obtaining on fair conditions the

sovereignty of New Orleans and of other possessions in that quarter interesting to our quiet to such extent as was deemed practicable," as appears in Jefferson's message. And as indicating the momentous significance of the cession to France, Jefferson's declaration in his preceding message is of interest: "The cession of the Spanish Province of Louisiana to France, which took place in the course of the late war, will, if carried into effect, make a change in the aspect of our foreign relations." And his letter to Livingston, our minister to France, evidences the deep concern which contemplated an alliance with England as our safeguard against the jeopardy in which our commerce was believed to be thereby placed: The cession completely reverses all the political relations of the United States, and will form a new epoch in our political course. There is on the globe one single spot the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three eighths of our territory must pass to market. France, placing herself in that door, assumes to us the attitude of defiance. Spain might have retained it quietly for years. * * The day that France takes possession of New Orleans * * seals the union of two nations, who, in conjunction, can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation."

Napoleon, who as First Consul had reversed the extremely hostile policy—or rather madness—of the Directory, struggled with conflicting thoughts and emotions in his own breast, when confronted with the negotiations for purchase of territory by our plenipotentiaries, and with the conflicting views of his own counsellors, who radically disagreed as to parting with Louisiana. He foresaw, however, that in the impending renewal of war with England, France was in no position on the sea of defense of those possessions as against England; that the first blow to be struck by her marine would be to seize Louisiana. Reaching the climax of impassioned resolve, he summoned his counsellors and made known to them his decision to cede all of Louisiana—to the complete surprise of our representatives, who immediately learned of his conclusion. He said: "They (the English) shall not have

the Mississippi, which they covet. * * * The conquest of Louisiana would be easy if they only took the trouble to make a descent there. I have not a moment to lose on putting it out of their reach. * * * I think of ceding it to the United States. * * They only ask of me one town in Louisana, but I already consider the colony as entirely lost; and it appears to me that in the hands of this growing power it will be more useful to the policy, and even to the commerce, of France, than if I should attempt to keep it." And to Marbois, who had approved his course, he gave his final resolution: "It is not only New Orleans that I will cede, it is the whole colony without any reservation. * * * To attempt to retain it would be folly. I direct you to negotiate this offer with the envoys of the United States. * * * I will be moderate in consideration of the necessity in which I am of making a sale. But keep this to yourself." He believed our envoys were enpowered to meet the proposition thus made— in which he was in error. They were limited in their instructions to "procure * * * a cession to the United States of New Orleans and of West and East Florida, or as much thereof as the actual proprietor can be prevailed on to part with."

The treaty of cession of Louisiana to the United States recites that by the treaty of St. Ildefonso "His Catholic Majesty promises and engages on his part, to cede to the French Republic, * * * The colony or province of Louisiana, with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it should be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other States." Then follows the granting part: "And whereas, in pursuance of the treaty, and particularly of the third article, the French Republic has an incontestible title to the domain and to the possession of the said territory: The First Consul of the French Republic desiring to give to the United States a strong proof of his friendship, doth hereby cede to the said United States, in the name of the French Republic, forever and in full sovereignty, the said territory, with all its rights and appurtenances, as fully and in the same manner as they have been acquired by the French Re-

public, in virtue of the above-mentioned treaty, concluded with His catholic majesty."

Sixty million francs, in United States 6 per cent bonds, and the assumption by our government of debts claimed against France by our citizens growing out of depredations upon our commerce, in all amounting to fifteen millions of dollars, was the price of that vast expanse of territory whose acquisition was thus suddenly and unexpectedly brought within our national domain, forming, without doubt, the most momentus transfer of territory between nations known to modern history. With the uncertainties regarding its western boundary we propose not to deal here, further than to state that Spain had made claims embracing this domain and extending also to the Pacific coast, but that as to Louisiana, the continental divide between those waters and the watershed of the Mississippi river system was regarded by eminent and satisfactory authority as being substantially the western limit of those possessions. That France as well as our government always claimed that the Louisiana territory extended westward as far as the Rio Bravo, by virtue of LaSalle's settlement on the Texas coast, that therefore the mouth of the Rio Grande was considered its western limit on the Gulf. But we abandoned all claim to the Texas country in 1819 upon the acquisition from Spain of the Floridas; Monroe's message declaring: "For territory ceded by Spain other territory of great value (Texas) to which our claim was believed to be well founded was ceded by the United States."

The significance of the Louisiana territory as a pawn in the game of political and military supremacy in Europe pertains principally to the rivalry between England and France for marine supremacy and territorial integrity and conquest, and the commercial interests involved in then recent and impending wars. The colonial policy, which decreed exclusive trade with the mother country and which had characterized, as the European system, the whole process of American colonization, was also involved; although the seeds of its dissolution had already been sown through the inroads made upon it by American trade in Europe and both Indies and by the mutual trespasses upon the system itself and upon world-commerce by

European powers during the continental wars. In the stress of these struggles a systematic and persistent abuse of the principle of privateering had been unblushingly resorted to by France, and to some extent by Spain; while England, mistress of the seas, continued and increased her practice of searching the cargoes of our neutral vessels, and of arbitrary impressment of British seamen found on board. The United States was reaping a commercial harvest through her merchant marine which, under the circumstances existing in connection with European ports closed or sought to be closed to the belligerents, enjoyed a virtual right of way in the carriage of merchandise for all nations. This very fact, in view of the aspect of the European contest as a struggle for national integrity and life, and of the principles of liberty involved, caused the authorities of the French government to seek in every way to draw our country into the vortex, in which attempt her acts already referred to were performed. The United States was bitterly and persistently complaining of the abuses alluded to, while at the same time endeavoring, according to her then and subsequent policy and tradition, to keep aloof from the European embroilments and to avert war with France.

As regards the United States, the fate of Louisiana as federal territory was of such vital importance that it may well be said to have determined the balance of power in the New World as between our country and the European powers. It also seems to have been the means of averting probable war with France, and of greatly moderating the tension between our government and Spain. Incidentally the transfer virtually ended the dominance in sway in colonial possessions of both France and Spain in America, to the vast benefit of the United States as an independent power whose federal system was henceforth to dedicate the whole western half of her future continental territory to the principles of self-government, and to lead to the independence of the South American colonies.

But the determination of the question of taking over Louisiana by the United States developed internal differences and jealousies which of themselves boded evil to our political sys-

tem, which became the subject of deep concern to some of our statesmen and to all lovers of liberty under that system. Two salient phases of interest became manifest, and the Union itself was threatened by the proposition and the variant views concerning it. One eminent danger was seen or imagined by many, in such extension of our national domain as jeopardized the federal system itself—to add this vast territory west of the Mississippi would render the government of the whole so unwieldy as to make abortive the federal experiment. Again, local interest and jealousy in the northern states took on such intensity over the prospect of southern and western domination in the event of the acquisition of Louisiana, as to threaten disunion. In connection with this latter feature mention should be made of the large and growing local interests in the southwestern section of the union and in the Mississippi valley, and to the incident of strong leanings and even of tentative plans for a separate southern empire as the outgrowth of settlement and immigration into those quarters. The element of politics was in a sense more prominent and more vital than any other interest involved at home, in the whole process of determination of the questions involved. There was the federal party, a large faction of which was strongly attached to England and to the European traditions in government, and this was accompanied by stern hostility toward France and by insistence in going to war with her; and the northern interests thus composed found among them men who openly advocated disunion. On the other hand, the republican or democratic party, headed by Jefferson, held a different view both as to going to extremes with France, even under the galling circumstances of her abuses and inconsistencies in policy towards our commerce and our government, and as to the advisability of adding to our territory in the southwest.

Five years before the purchase President Adams had frankly declared in a message to congress: "It is impossible to conceal from ourselves or the world what has been before observed, that endeavors have been employed to foster and establish a division between the Government and people of the United States. To investigate the causes which have en-

couraged this attempt is not necessary; but to repel, by decided and united councils, insinuations so derogatory to the honor and aggressions so dangerous to the Constitution, union, end even independence of the nation is an indispensable duty." The Senate in reply said: "We learn with sincere concern that attempts are in operation to alienate the affections of our fellow-citizens from their Government. Attempts so wicked, wherever they exist, can not fail to excite our utmost abhorrence." As indicating the views of a great French statesman who had been closely identified with our revolutionary war, let Marbois speak of conditions as he saw them. Of what he regarded as the tendencies of the federal party he says: "The principal leaders had influence only in four or five states of the north, and it was supposed that their secret object was to separate them from the Union. 'The interests of the northern states cannot,' they said, 'be reconciled with those of the southern and western states.'" And regarding the fear of dismemberment with Louisiana acquired, he observes: "It was, indeed, natural to fear that if the sovereignty of the United States should be extended on the right bank of the Mississippi, the unity of interests, so necessary to the strength of a community, would not only be relaxed, but that it might be entirely destroyed by the continual emigrations from east to west. * * It was, on the contrary, indisputable that these acquisitions becoming powerful, in their turn, would detach themselves from the old states whenever their interests should require it." The mistrust and jealousies existing between the southern and northern sections of our country may be illustrated in the extreme phase of certain seditious articles in a Kentucky newspaper, in 1803, "in which the eastern states were accused of sacrificing to their own views the interests of the western states, and the latter were advised to separate from the Union and contract an alliance with the French republic." This libeler escaped prosecution only by fleeing from the authorities. Hamilton, although a federalist, could brook no talk of disunion among his party adherents. The year following the acquisition, he wrote to Colonel Trumbull, says Woodrod Wilson: "You are going to Boston. You will see the principal men there. Tell them from

me, as my request, for God's sake, to cease these conversations and threatenings about a separation of the Union." He further observes: "In New England it seemed to many who were high in the Federalist councils a thing not to be borne that a great field of expansion should be opened at the very doors of the South and West, to the undoing of the East, which had no free space in which to grow, and must lose her weight in affairs when the West came to its power. It was this that made them talk of disunion and of an independent Confederation to be set up at the North, despite the protests of Mr. Hamilton, who believed the purchase to be constitutional and knew it to be wise." Again: "'I greatly fear that a separation would be no remedy,' wrote George Cabot to those who would have led in the North secession. The source of our evils 'is in the political theories of our country and ourselves. We are democratic altogether,' and can expect nothing salutary 'while we retain maxims and principles which all experience and reason pronounce to be absurd.'"

At the crucial moment of this transfer to the United States England and France were on the verge of renewal of war. England had failed to evacuate Malta under the treaty of Amiens of 1802; Napoleon strenuously complained of this default, and the Grenville party retorted that since the execution of that treaty France had incorporated Piedmont, Parma and Placentia, "and Louisiana has been extorted from Spain by treaty." France had prepared a fleet to sail for the West Indies to defend her interests in San Domingo and Louisiana against impending jeopardy from British invasion. To the request of the English king that the military be strengthened Parliament had called out the militia, in response to Napoleon's declaration that half a million men "must and shall be ready to defend and avenge the republic." To reports of these English preparations France had made known that the sailing of her fleet had been countermanded "in consequence of the messages of the king of England," and made this step—taken in necessary self-defense at home—the occasion of an assurance to England that this was "to give proofs of our anxious desire to calm the uneasiness of the British government, and we hope that it will give us in

its turn a satisfactory answer respecting its preparations." An army would have to be sent to Holland, camps formed in Hanover and at Calais and France put on war footing if "our expectations are deceived," and French troops in Switzerland must remain there, notwithstanding the treaty. Tarentum, "a post as important as Malta," might have to be occupied by France for a new invasion of Egypt. "Reflect, my lord," said the astute and wily Tallyrand to the British minister, "on this state of things; if it is not one of war, it is very near to it." Finally England explained that her attitude of refusal to give up Malta was in view of acquisitions by France since the treaty of Amiens and in violation of its spirit, and that evacuation would not be made "until substantial security" was given, etc. Napoleon, railing over England's maritime supremacy, could not listen calmly even to the suggestion of one of his ministers that England might have dread of his continental supremacy and fear his great influence over Europe, but answered by referring to a speech in Parliament declaring that France obliged his enemy "to recollect the injury which she did us twenty-five years since, by forming an alliance with our revolted colonies," and charging that she wished to destroy British commerce. Matters between those formidable enemies were fast approaching the point reached a few years thereafter, when the British Orders in Council swiftly followed Napoleon's desperate expedient of the Berlin and Milan Decrees; under all of which the whole of Europe was under attempted or theoretical blockade, and her commerce subjected to severe ravages.

Alison, in his history of Europe, graphically tells of the tremendous issue of fate between France and England in the then impending crisis. After relating the acts evidencing the policy of Napoleon in crushing peoples who had at first assisted his as an apostle of republicanism, while willing to make terms in emergencies, with his most resisting rivals, he thus speaks of the array of patriotic devotion of the French and the English as against the other as ancient enemies: "Never did the ancient rivalry of France and England break forth with more vehemence, and never was the animosity of their respective governments more warmly supported by the patriotism and

passions of the people." The glories of Cressy and Azincourt were recalled with the zeal of fanatics by the French, while memories of the triumphant struggle at Hastings, "the glories of the Plantagenets, and the career of Marlborough inspired the British utterances of devotion to country and of hatred of the French. France "pointed to the career of William the Conqueror as that which was to be speedily followed by the First Consul;" England "referred with exultation to the sands of Egypt, as affording an earnest of the victories they were yet to obtain over the veteran armies of France. Both parties entered, heart and soul, into the contest—both anticipated a desperate and decisive struggle." Napoleon's projected invasion of England led to serious debate in Parliament of fortifying London; his plan of a descent with one hundred and fifty thousand men contemplated a marine force to be assembled in the West Indies, to rapidly re-cross the ocean and enter the Channel. Alison declares: "Numerous as were the chances against the successful issue of so vast a design, it will appear in the sequel how near it was succeeding, how little the English were aware of the danger which really threatened them, and with what signal ingratitude they treated the gallant officer whose important combat defeated the most profound combination that the genius of Napoleon ever formed for their destruction." He then recurs to the transfer of Louisiana in this connection: "No sooner, also, did the maritime war appear inevitable, than Napoleon concluded an arrangement with the United States of America, by which * * he ceded to them his whole rights, acquired by the convention with Spain, to Louisiana; anticipating thus, for a valuable consideration, the probable fate of a naval contest, and extricating from the hands of the British a valuable colonial possession, which would assuredly soon have became their prey."

By a few bold strokes of the pen Alison shows how it became inevitable that England could and France could not permanently vindicate a colonial policy in America: "The English, when they first set foot on America, settled on the seacoast, in a comparatively sterile soil; gradually cleared it by the efforts of persevering industry, and, after the lapse

of a century and a half, surmounted the ridge of the Alleghany, and spread themselves over the alluvial plains of the Ohio and the Mississippi, the garden of North America. The French, with far superior penetration, followed from the first the course of the great rivers, and established stations, which, if adequately supported and sustained, would, beyond all question, have given them the empire of the New World. Ascending the course of the St. Lawrence, they placed extensive colonies at Montreal, Toronto, and Quebec; descending the Ohio and the Mississippi, their flag was to be seen at Louisburg and New Orleans. But though amply endowed with the genius which conceives, they had not the perserverance which matures, colonies; they sought at once to snatch greatness as by the vehemence of military conquest; they could not submit to win it by the toil of pacific exertion. They did not spread into the woods, and subdue nature by the enduring labor of freemen. Hence the different destinies of the two colonial empires in America."

It had been a serious question among our statesmen as to whether we could secure our commercial rights at New Orleans without using force, and the resort to war was commonly discussed. Marbois refers to the fact that the planters of the Mississippi protested against the Spanish intendent's enforced proclamation against the right of deposit and his forbidding of communication between the Louisianaians and the Americans, and that they had offered their military services. This was followed by Ross' resolution in Congress to take possession of New Orleans by force. Livingston, our minister to France, was pursuaded that the United States would never possess New Orleans by treaty and that she should be taken by force. But President Jefferson confidently hoped that through peaceful measures our government would succeed in securing substantial rights for our people in that locality, and he resolutely took measures to prevent violence in that quarter. And while the event proved the wisdom of this course, it cannot be doubted that the demonstrations on the lower Mississippi, backed by the feeling and measures taken at Washington, had very much to do

with bringing about the solution of the issues involved in the crisis through the Louisiana Purchase.

If France had retained Louisiana, and war had been the arbiter, the mighty issues thus presented, and the uncertainties involved as related to the fate of nations in Europe and America appeal to both judgment and imagination as a tremendous problem of the unknown, seeking a revelation.

In that event, to a moral certainty what was universally believed to be inevitable upon the resumption of hostilities between France and England—which incident in fact followed almost immediately—would have occurred. England would have at once attempted to seize the territory, and it seems equally certain that as between her and France, she would have been successful. But our government would as certainly have found it necessary to stay the hands of England against permanent dominance on and west of the Mississippi, else our westward development—now become traditional if not inevitable—would have been retarded and limited, while the vital question of an American outlet through that river to the Gulf would of itself have necessitated a resort to force in order to secure and safeguard those great interests. We have seen that by a treaty to which both France and Spain were parties, navigation on the Mississippi was accorded to English shipping, equally with France; while Spain was now claiming territory on both sides of the river below New Orleans. The hostility of France towards the United States immediately preceding the Purchase was, as we have seen, shared by Spain. To England the use of the Mississippi was of transcendent importance, not only as a priceless connective between Canada and the Gulf but as a theatre of general English commerce and of incidental political and maritime dominance in America. In view of such a situation our people and government would have insisted upon at least the right of establishing commercial centers upon and navigation of the Mississippi, under any disposition or division of Louisiana that fate might decree. Otherwise, and if Louisiana were seized and held by England, our territorial development would have been curtailed by an impassible cordon of British domain extending around our

whole northern and western frontiers from Newfoundland to Old Mexico. But our claims thus supposedly made, in a contest of force in Louisiana confined to England and France, would undoubtedly have been denied by the former. Public feeling in this country would then have become insistent upon war—war with England accompanied, in all human probability, by an alliance with France. For, in spite of American passion and hatred towards France and Spain, in a contest for supremacy on the Mississippi, where what we wanted was about to be wrested from France by England, our people and government would have forgotten all but that France was our friend in the Revolution, stood for free government and could place the United States in possession of the Mississippi and all of the Louisiana if we could successfully aid her in holding it against England. We believe that such a contest at arms would have followed the seizure of Gulf points on the Mississippi and the shores of Louisiana by Great Britain.

The outcome of such a struggle to which the United States were a party can of course only be conjectural. But that the combat itself would have been fraught with consequences most important to both Europe and America is certain, while the fate of the domain of South Dakota would have hung in the balance. England would, from new and greater necessities, have continued her impressment of seamen from American shipping—concerning which practice our relations with her had already been much strained and were soon to become even tenser. Less than four years thereafter the Embargo Act, closing American ports against English shipping and forbidding all foreign commerce—because of conditions which had grown up under the Jay treaty, and of abuses by England of our neutral rights—was to impoverish much of New England and our eastern seaboard, arousing intense indignation against our own government and England. Invasion of the Mississippi valley from both Canada and the Gulf would naturally have been England's course. Under the relations existing in 1803-4 between the European powers, Russia was near a rupture with France, Sweden was making a hostile stand against Napoleon's encroachments

in northern Europe, and the Austrian empire, though in alliance with France, was wavering under the affronts of his military demonstrations upon part of her domains; while Prussia was defiant for like reasons—all intensified by the deep indignation of all peoples over his murder of the Duke de Enghien. Spain, who had been under obligations to furnish to Napoleon troops as a condition of her protection under neutrality, had been forced, under a new treaty in 1803, to commute that obligation by paying three million pounds annually—an extortion regarded by England as placing Spain on a war footing. But the coalition soon to be formed against France was not yet born; and the entrance of the United States into the contest over Louisiana, as an ally of France, would beyond question have had a material bearing upon future combinations among the continental powers. In that event, while England would doubtless have continued to appeal to Russia to assist in checking the inordinate ambition of Napoleon for European dominance, our government (now supposedly assisting France) might well have approached that power with strong representations of her interests in western North America, by way of counter-influence against England and as an inducement to Russia's promotion of her American territorial prospects. Such a step taken by the United States—in the circumstances here assumed—would have affected the situation in various ways to the prejudice of England and to joint advantage of Russia and this country. The whole question of territorial sovereignty over the western half of North America was at that time an open one, with Russia, England, France and Spain the claimants and with our country an anxious and deeply interested participant in the outcome. Our own dispute with England over the western portion of the international boundary would not, in the event now under discussion, have come about—it actually arose after we had acquired Louisiana and had explored the Columbia river. As Spain was already in alliance with France, our alliance with her would have lent to our approach of Russia increased strength in connection with a suggestion of subjugation and division of vast areas in the American Northwest. Such a proposition would have

involved material diminution if not the elimination of English claims below Alaska and west of the Rockies, and the division of the whole Pacific frontier between Russia, the United States and Spain. Is it inadmissible to assume that, in the premises here supposed, Russia might probably have joined a French concert including our country? In this connection, while it is presuming much to ascribe to our government a departure from its traditional policy of keeping aloof from European alliances, yet we recall the clamor for an English alliance in the northern states over this same Mississippi river question at that time; and that the stake was a large one, deeply ingrained in our national interests and destiny was everywhere recognized. Again: If our government were to have participated in the European struggle of that period, even though her interests were localized in America, her influence in moderating the conduct of Napoleon might have been the means of greatly reducing his pretensions and taming his ambitions, while her presence as a party to the movements of nations involved would have meant much in the direction of promoting and accelerating a general peace.

What would have been the fate of Louisiana in the events above supposed to have transpired is of course matter of so much uncertainty that little more can be said than that, once our government had gone to war over the Mississippi and Louisiana questions, it seems not at all probable that we would have come out of the contest without securing to our settlers on the western frontier permanent participation in navigation of that river, and sovereignty over some portion of the territory to westward. But that we would have thereby become owner of all Louisiana, through joint conquest and final purchase, is not probable. Some territory on the Pacific slope might, however, have fallen to us. England would very likely have subjugated the more northerly portions east of the Mountains, if any part of the whole territory involved remained in her hands at the end of the contest, even though the areas to southward were successfully defended by the supposed allies; while the reverse of this might have happened. American Indians would have been

found in the ranks of all combatants on this continent. Russia might not improbably have gained permanent ownership of much more than Alaska. It is not believed that, had such a war as is above outlined actually occurred, a battle so disastrous to the arms of France as was Waterloo would thereafter have been fought. Elba and St. Helena might not have become known to the world in any tragic connection. Soldiers under the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack would certainly have done their duty. Mayhap the most undying laurels to the credit of the conflict we have imagined would now have been those won by American valor and generalship, and the monuments thereof might have been erected in the Old World or the New. The United States of America might not now be mistress of the Pacific seaboard, her face to the Orient holding aloft the scepter of all lands between it and the Atlantic, bounded otherwise only by Canada, and by salt water and Old Mexico to southward. The map of Europe might have undergone some change, and South Dakota, under that supposed decree of the God of Battles, might now belong to, or her prairies, rivers and hills might have been cleft from the sovereignty of England, France, Russia, or some other victor in that chapter of imputed human endeavor.

We have seen that the claims or pretensions of discoverers, explorers and colonists in North America, with European nations behind them, extending over more than four hundred years, embraced the activities of the four quarters of Europe and exploiting the confines of this continent, have involved all or part of the domain of South Dakota in the aspirations of the bold and skilled mariners of Southern Europe from the Adriatic to Portugal; of conquest and colonization, initiated in central-western Europe and extending from Italy to Scotland; of civil and religious liberty taking wing from the shores of England and the western borders of continental Europe. Those aspirations hark back to all the inspirations which lay at the foundations of the civilization of modern times. Amid the groupings which distinguish those vast movements from the Old World to the New, it is easy to discover that had an individual element from any one of

them been successful in realizing what was actually or potentially claimed, South Dakota might have been linked in statehood with any one of such multiplicity of nationalities as would have given her a lottery in destiny embracing the widest range in religious belief and tolerance, the extremes of theory in government, a whole gamut in social customs, and a veritable mosaic in civilization. But notwithstanding all these possibilities springing from the colossal foundations of which we have herein treated, the hand of God has been all-potent in revealing the vanity of human endeavor in seeking to control where elements too large for the mere planning of men and nations are to be dealt with. For, whereas, as the sequel to the task of colonization the domain upon which our Commonwealth is based was part of the handiwork of the Latins, she stands to-day the result and the exemplar of the dominance of Anglo-Saxon spirit and principles. Yet in her population and her tolerance in belief and sociality she is that composite that spans all Europe and all the ages which have there fructuated in the harvest of yeomanry, intelligence and righteousness which marks as a whole the immigration hence, immediately or remotely, from those foreign lands. It is, indeed, as though each and every one of the claimants we have herein mentioned had come in turn to our door and left the imprints of the visit upon our body politic. And so, after all kind Providence, the controller of human effort while assisting in the process, enables South Dakota, in sending her greetings to all who from Columbus' day to the hour of the Louisiana Purchase, have aspired to cherish, to wed and to people her domain, to address the whole world of Christendom.

And South Dakota greets and beckons hence to share in her growing prosperity the sons and daughters of every clime, who come with good deport and good intent—barring none from beyond Christendom who possess those jewels of manhood.

January 22, 1913. Charles E. DeLand.

This address was delivered January 22, 1913, just 25 days before the Verendrye plate was found at Fort Pierre, a discovery that made certain all that is here a matter of interesting speculation. The full story of the Verendrye's appears in this volume, following.

VERENDRYE



Approximate Route of the Verendrye Brothers 1742-1743.—D. R.

Editorial Note.

Perhaps, to use a favorite expression of Bishop O'Gorman's, "the most historic event in the development of South Dakota" was the exploration of our soil by the Verendryes, the claiming of the great region west of the Mississippi for France by the simple ceremony upon the butte which lies under the morning shadow of South Dakota's capitol, witnessed by the planting there of a tablet upon which was briefly inscribed the story of the great enterprise.

So very important historically was this event that the committtee upon publications has determined to gather here all available material pertaining to the Verendryes, and to introduce it Hon. Charles E. DeLand, whose reputation as a critical historian is established in this commonwealth, has been invited to summarize the story connectedly with such deductions as to him seems warranted by the record. In this connection the editor wishes to acknowledge on behalf of the Department of History the great obligation which the department and state owes to Mr. DeLand for his continuous and unremunerated labors in the cause of western history.

In the main the writer agrees with the conclusions of Mr. DeLand, though I give less weight to the general statements of Chevalier Verendrye as to the directions traveled than does our author. So strong is my conviction that the explorers of 1742-1743 could not have reached any point west of the Black Hills, that I would only mention theories of further west explorations to dispute them. Mr. DeLand in a broader and more liberal spirit of construction has given to these theories the best support possible, only to find that there is little ground of probability to uphold them.

Briefly summarizing my belief as to the portion of the explorations of the Canadians, which pertains to our own soil, I am convinced, that Francois, (the Chévalier) and Louis-Joseph Verendrye, third and fourth sons of the famous explorer, left the Missouri river, at the present city of Man-

dan, North Dakota, upon July 23, 1742 and traveling toward the southwest generally, spent the remainder of the season wandering about southwestern North Dakota and northwestern South Dakota, going back and forth until eight bands of Indians had been visited. That much of the time was spent in these camps without traveling at all, and that finally, having joined a band enroute to fight the Kiowas, in the Black Hills, they came in sight of those mountains on January 1, 1743. That the war party moved slowly up toward the mountains, marching when the spirit moved them, loafing in camp when it did not, until about February 6th they came upon the camp of the enemy in the park country of the central Black Hills. Finding the camp deserted, they became alarmed for the safety of the non-combatants of the party, who had been established in a camp somewhere upon the lower waters of the Belle Fourche, and they beat a hasty retreat, reaching their families on February 9th, where they remained until February 14, when the entire band, with our Canadians, started southeasterly for the Missouri river. Traveling with the deliberation which has ever marked such movements they reached the Missouri, at the mouth of Bad River, (Fort Pierre), on March 19th 1743, where they were entertained by the Little Cherry Band of Arickara Indians, who had a substantial fortification there, and where upon March 30th they took possession of the region for France, and planted the tablet to commemorate the event. April 2nd the Frenchmen started upon the return to Canada and reached the Mandans on May 18th.

All of this is set out in detail in Mr. DeLand's article and the accompanying documents.

We have deemed it wise to reprint also Francis Parkman's story of this exploration, chiefly for the purpose of indicating several palpable errors in Mr. Parkman's conclusions.

All of the accompanying documents, except the report of Pierre I, upon the trip of 1738 were secured in the original French and were translated by Mr. C. Stanley Stevenson, of this department.

Thanks are due to Prof. Charles Gastine for a careful reading of the translations and helpful criticisms thereon.

To Benjamin Sulte, the renowned Canadian authority, to Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee, Secretary of the International commission and to Mr. George Bird Grinnell, the sincere thanks of the editors, are extended for much helpful contribution and criticism.

Doane Robinson.

Verendrye Calendar.

By Doane Robinson.

1354. Gaultier de Verennes, Minister of Finance to King Jean II, of France. First known ancestor to the Verendryes.
1636. Rene Gaultier de la Verennes, born in France.
1665. Rene immigrates and settles at Three Rivers, Canada.
1667. Rene marries Marie Boucher, daughter of Pierre Boucher, governor of Three Rivers.
1668. Rene succeeded his father-in-law, Pierre Boucher as governor of Three Rivers.
1673. A son Louis born to Rene and Marie. This child took the name of La Verendrye.
1674. A daughter, Madaline born to Rene and Marie.
1677. Twins, Jacques-Rene and Jean-Baptiste born to Rene and Marie.
1680. A daughter Margurite born.
1682. A daughter, Marie-Renee born.
1684. A daughter, Anne-Margurite born. (She became an Ursuline Nun.)
1685. A son, Pierre, born. He became the Western Explorer.
1688. A son, Jean, born and died.
1689. Rene died at Three Rivers.
1701. Pierre was given a commission in the army.
1704. Pierre fought in the New England war.
1705. Pierre was in the war with New Foundland.
1707. On November 9th Pierre became engaged to marry Marie-Anne Dandonneau and sailed at once for France to engage in the war of the Spanish Succession.
1709. Pierre fought at Malplaquet and seriously wounded; was left for dead upon the field.
1709. Louis, who had taken the name Verendrye was killed in Italy and Pierre at once took his brother's name and thereafter was called La Verendrye.
1711. Pierre returns to Canada.
1712. October 29th Pierre was married at Quebec to Marie-Anne Dandonneau.
1713. Pierre and Marie settle upon Isle Dupas, in the St. Lawrence not far from Three Rivers.
1715. Pierre licensed to engage in Fur trade at La Gabelle,

on St. Maurice river, about 60 miles from his home. Continued this trade until 1722, perhaps until 1726.

The family of Pierre and Marie was as follows:

1713. Jean Baptiste.
1714. Pierre II.
1715. Francois, (the Chevalier.)
1717. Louis-Joseph.

All were born at Isle Dupas.

1727. Pierre I., engaged in fur trade at Lake Nipigon.
1731. Pierre I., undertakes enterprise to find western sea. Goes as far as Rainy Lake accompanied by his three eldest sons and Jemmeraye, a nephew.
1731. Pierre I., and Pierre II., and Francois spend the winter at Kaministiquia, at the mouth of Pigeon river, on Lake Superior.
1731. Jean Baptiste and Jemmeraye build post and spend winter at Rainey Lake.
1732. Jean Baptiste returned to Mackinaw for goods.
1732. Pierre I., with Pierre II. and Francois and Jemmeraye went on to Lake of the Woods and built Fort St. Charles. Jean Baptiste arrived there late in the autumn.
1733. Jemmeraye went back to Montreal to report progress.
1734. Jean Baptiste went down to the mouth of the Winnipeg river and prepared to build there.
1734. Pierre I., returned to Montreal to arrange with dissatisfied partners.
1734. Fort Marepas was built at Lake Winnipeg this fall.
1735. Pierre I., returns to Fort St. Charles and Jemmeraye goes on to Marepas where Jean Baptiste and perhaps Pierre and Francois were.
1736. Jemmeraye died at the forks of the Roseau in Manitoba.
1736. Jean Baptiste accompanied by Father Alneau, S. J., and 19 men started from Fort St. Charles to go to Mackinaw, but while still in Lake of the Woods they encamped on an island where the entire party was massacred by Sioux.
1737. Pierre I., again went down to Montreal to arrange his business affairs.

1738. Pierre I., returned to Fort St. Charles arriving there September 2nd.

1738. Leaving Pierre II., in charge of Fort St. Charles, Pierre I., took with him Francois and Louis-Joseph and going by way of Fort Marepas and the present Winnipeg, ascended the Assinaboine to Portage La Prairie, where they built Fort La Reine.

1738. Charles Nolant, dit La Marque, accompanied by his brother Nicholas Augustin, and 8 men joined the Verendryes at Fort La Reine, October 9th.

1738. The La Marques in coming out had caused a post to be built at Winnipeg.

1738. The Verendryes,—Pierre I., Francois and Louis-Joseph,—the two La Marques and twenty men, accompanied by a large party of Assinaboine Indians left Fort La Reine to visit the Mandans.

1738. On December 3rd the Verendrye party reach a Mandan fort located near the great bend of the Mouse river.

1738. Francois Verendrye and Augustin Nolant visited the Mandans on the Missouri, perhaps at the mouth of Heart River, in the latter part of December, returning to the Mouse river fort January 4th.

1739. The Verendrye party return to Fort La Reine arriving there March 10.

1739. Chevalier Francois Verendrye explored west side of Lake Winnipeg, leading to locating fort at the Pas.

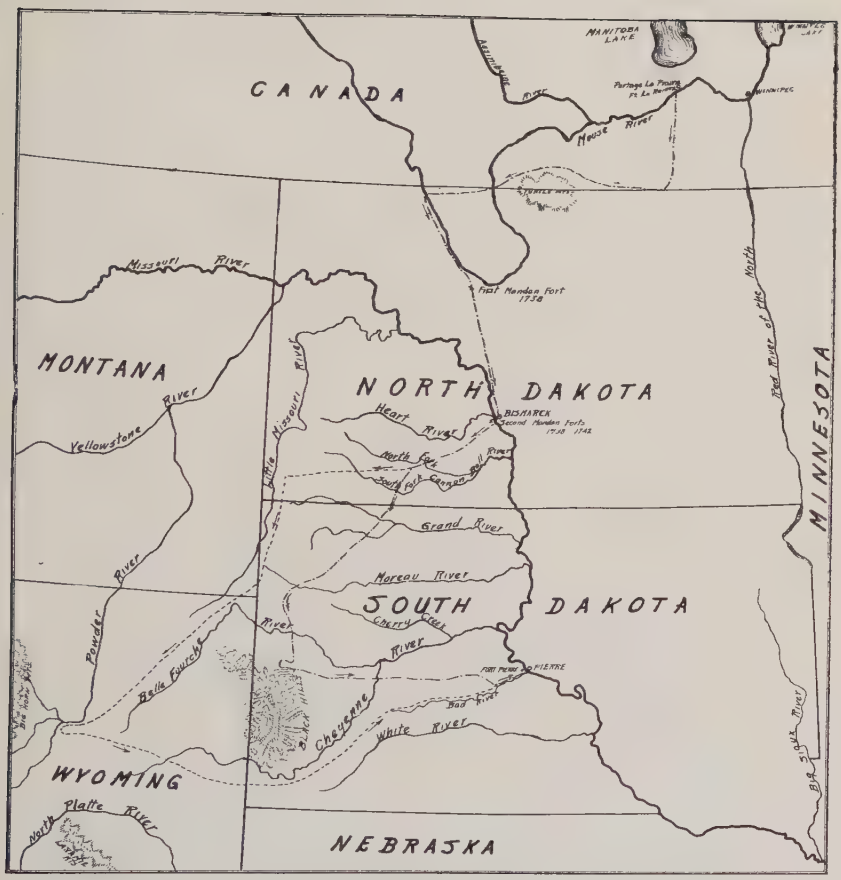
1739. Pierre II., seems to have gone down to Mackinaw for goods.

1740. Pierre II., goes from Fort La Reine to the Mandans and spends the winter with them.

1740. Pierre I., went down to Montreal and spent the following winter in an effort to arrange with his creditors. Beauharnois supports him in his enterprises.

1741. Pierre I., returns to Fort La Reine and spends winter there.

1742. April 29, Francois, the Chevalier accompanied by Louis Joseph and two Frenchmen set out for the western sea, by way of the Mandans.



MR. DE LAND'S MAP

Showing Verendrye's Probable Route via Black Hills, and the Possible Extension into Wyoming.

May 19th, reached the Mandans, perhaps at Mandan, North Dakota.

July 23, left the Mandans for the southwest.

August 9, reached the Horse Mountain, perhaps the Double Buttes, near the Cannonball river.

September 16, left "The Horse Mountain."

September 18, reached the Village of Beaux Hommes.

October 9, left the Beaux Hommes.

October 11, reached the Little Foxes.

October 15th, reached the Pioya.

October 19th, reached long sought Horse Indians.

November 18th, reached "Beautiful River" Indians, perhaps on Cheyenne river.

November 21st, joined the Bow Indians.

December spent with Bows and allied bands preparing for war upon the Snakes, (perhaps Kiowas.)

1743. January 1, came in sight of mountains, (perhaps Bear Butte, at foot of Black Hills.)

January 9, left non-combatants in camp and war party proceeded slowly toward mountains where enemy lived.

January 21st, reached the mountains.

February 6th, Scouts located villages of enemy and found them deserted.

February 9th, retreat reached non-combatant camp.

February 14th, whole party sets out on return to the Missouri.

March 1st, Frenchmen sent to locate band of Little Cherry.

March 10th, Frenchmen return from Little Cherry's camp.

March 15th, Verendryes reach Little Cherry's camp then two days from the Missouri.

March 19th, reach Little Cherry's Fort (Arickara) at present site of Fort Pierre, on the Missouri.

March 30th, made claim of region for France and planted leaden plate with inscription.

April 2nd, left Fort Pierre to return to Fort La Reine.

May 18th reached the Mandans.

May 26th, left Mandans for La Reine.
July 2nd, 1743, reached Fort La Reine.

1749. Pierre I., died, December 6.

1759. Francois, the Chevalier killed in siege of Quebec.

1761. Pierre II., lost in wreck of l'Auguste.

1775. Louis-Joseph died, childless.

THE VERENDRYE EXPLORATIONS AND DISCOVERIES.

Leading to the Planting of the Fort Pierre Tablet.
By Charles E. DeLand.[1]

There was discovered at Fort Pierre, South Dakota, on February 16th, 1913, one hundred and seventy years after its deposit as a monument of exploration in the name of France, a leaden tablet bearing upon its obverse the inscription that verifies the journal commemorative of the remarkable expedition in quest of the Western Sea, made in 1742 by Francois de la Verendrye and Joseph-Louis de la Verendrye, the third and fourth sons of Pierre Gaultier de Verennes, Sieur de la Verendrye, of Three Rivers, Canada, whose father was Rene Gaultier, Sieur de Varennes, the original American ancestor, a captain in the French army who came to Canada in 1665.

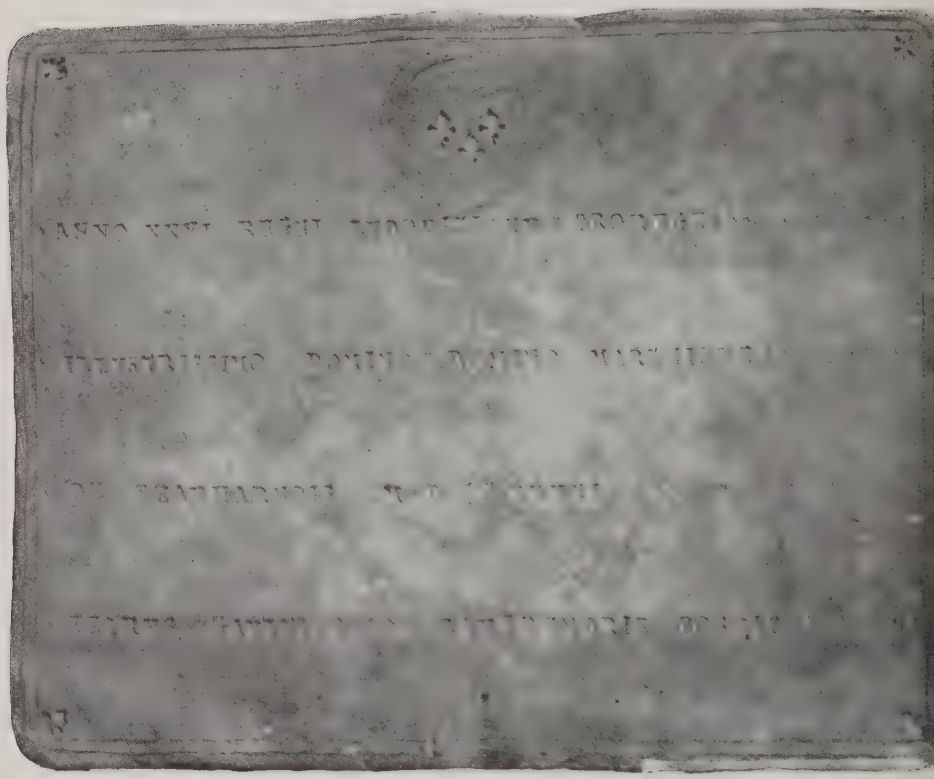
The famed journey from the wilds of western Canada to and far beyond the Upper Missouri River, during which this tablet was planted on the banks of that great waterway, was the climax of the daring dream of the father of these two sons, conceived some fourteen years previously, the pursuit of which is one of the most notable chapters of bravery, privation, and indomitable energy ever experienced by any family of discoverers and explorers of modern times. And not less noteworthy was the ingratitude of both his home and the colonial government toward himself and his sons, as the reward of those sacrifices on the altar of country and the widening of her fair American dominions.

And the prize, in territorial conquest and sovereignty, which inspired those exploits, was by far the most dazzling in real value of any that was then left unappropriated in the Western Hemisphere to tempt the resolve of pioneer or to lure the quest of empire. None but the ambition and hardihood of a Verendrye could have measured up to the difficulties of the problem involved, and the immensity of the domain which hung upon the opportunity of the hour.

Two-thirds of North America,—substantially all west of the 90th meridian and north of the 40th parallel—had not

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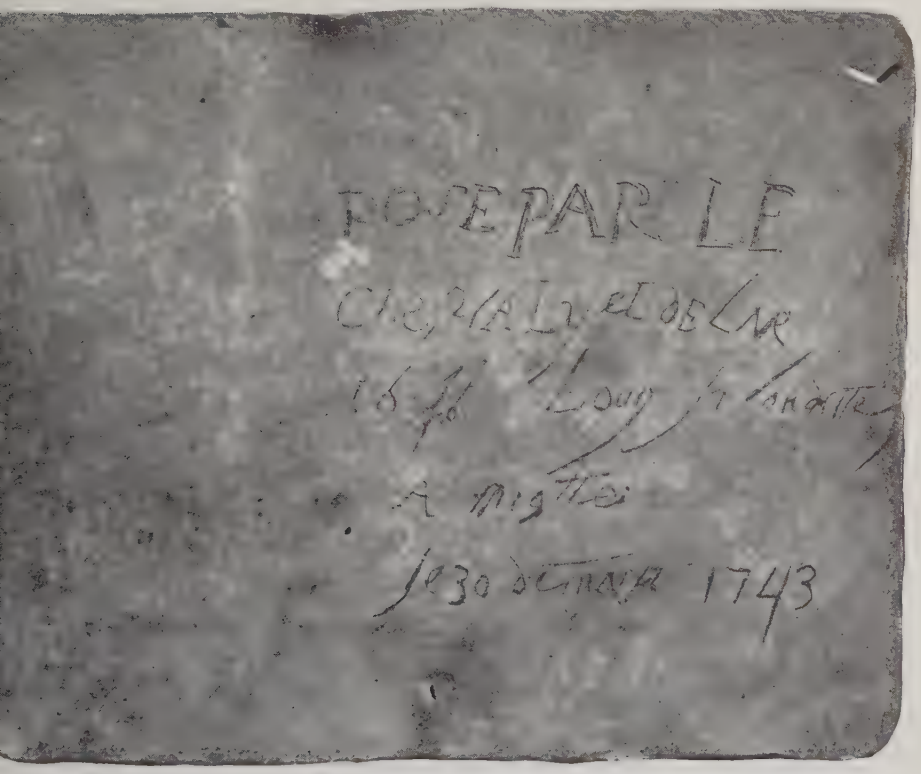
[1]Hon. Charles E. DeLand, president, South Dakota Historical Society, 1910-1913. For sketch see 3 S. D. p. 269. Portrait p. 10, this volume.



Verendrye Plate—Obverse.

then been trodden by the foot of white men. Into the heart of that unknown wilderness did Verendrye hurl the lance of his conception. Into its subjection did his genius enter.

What mattered it that where was the western limit of terra firma, or how vast was the real Western Sea were things unknown? While for two hundred years the Pacific from Cape Horn to the Philippines had been exploited by Spanish seamen following Magellan, yet the tradition that the waters that separated Cathay and Japan from the western world was but a narrow strait still swayed the imagination and enticed the explorer with promise of quick passage, if only its borders could be reached. A century before Verendrye's time Champlain had imagined that the Western In-



Verendrye Plate—Reverse.

dians, the "People of the Sea," came from China and Japan, and that the Great Lakes "formed the waterway leading to Asia." And if indeed the faith that somehow, somewhere the Great Forked River of Indian lore led to the Western Sea had been dimmed by the credence given to Radisson's story which suggested a southern outlet, and the whole subject of mythical waters of the far west had been further confused by the tradition of tidal and salt seas that had not yet been traced to its true home on the Gulf of Mexico, the Great Salt Lake, Hudson's Bay, or Lake Winnipeg, yet the air was filled with rumors of a faraway water route to the Western Sea!

Enough that the spirit of the age dreamed and dared

everything. Enough that spirit was, in the modern as in the ancient epoch, embodied in the hearts of the chosen few who alone could conceive and execute.

French and English Rivalry in the Northwest.

And what fairer than the prospects of French supremacy and permanent sovereignty over this limitless western domain, once its exploratory conquest was achieved? The problem here was one between the French and English. For, while Spain had claimed territory extending indefinitely to northward, her actual explorations had been bounded by the regions of northern Kansas and of the Grand Canon of the Colorado; and she was not now keeping the pace of her Gallic and English rivals in North America.

We need go no farther back than toward the middle of the sixteenth century to find that Cartier, in 1535, sailing on the St. Lawrence, had heard of Hudson's Bay; in 1536 had claimed "New France" for his sovereign, Francis. And France continued to hold her own in those regions, "New France, Acadia, and Canada" being ceded to her by England under the treaty of St. Germain in 1632. Then came reinforcements to the reign of the French missionaries, led by Nicollet, who in 1634 reached St. Ste. Marie and Green Bay. The traders, twenty years later and after the treaty of 1654 was made between the French and the Iroquois, then penetrated the Upper Lakes region. A misssion was established at the Sault in 1667.

Passing by for the moment the movements of Groseillier and Radisson of 1649 and thereafter, we find Joliet in 1669 at the Sault, followed a year later by St. Lusson and Nicholas Perrot into Lake Superior, "taking possession in the name of Louis XIV." "The illustrious triumvirate, Allouez, Dablon, and Marquette," says Bancroft, extended Francis' influence to the head of Lake Superior and to Green Bay. Du Luth in 1679 met and became pacifier between Dakotahs and Assinaboines beyond that lake; and Zacharie de Lanoue[2] in 1717 reached and constructed a fort at Kaministique, on the nor-

[2]Zacharie de La Noue, born 1665, a seignior, a military officer, lived a very active career. He was the son of Robutel de La Noue and St. Andre who came to Canada about 1650. He was a very useful man. He became the siegnior of several domains. B. Sulte.

thern border thereof—at Thunder Bay. Neill, however, states that the first trading post at this point was built in 1679 by DuLuth, that it was made of pine logs, being the first post erected on Lake Superior west of the Sault Ste. Marie. As will be seen later on, if the post built by Radisson and Groseillier on the "fourth voyage" was, as is believed, located on Chequamegon Bay on the south shore near the modern Ashland, it preceded in point of time the one built at Kaministique, and was the first to appear on that lake.

Again: We have it on the authority of Winchell, in his compilation "The Aborigines of Minnesota" (Minn. Hist. Soc. 1911), page 582, that "The first permanent trading station within Minnesota was also built at Grand Portage in 1679 by Du Luth." This statement, being doubtless based upon all data at hand to a very late date, we feel bound to accord great weight; and if Du Luth built a post at the Portage at that time while he was "much in the company" of the Ojibways, it probably stood at the mouth of Pigeon river, substantially on Lake Superior. This supposition, however, would leave the question as to the precise time of building of the post at Kaministiquoia,—also seemingly authoritatively ascribed to Du Luth,—in doubt.

"It became the ambition of Talon, the intendent at Quebec," says Bancroft, "to send the banner of France even to the Pacific." And pursuant to his plans the Congress of Nations met at the St. Mary's Falls in 1671, where were assembled the Indians from the headwaters of the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi and the Red.

The European Contests Involved.

The contests among the great powers of Europe, whose results affected their respective colonial interests in North America, and pertinent here, may be mentioned: The peace of Ryswick in 1697, while reducing the great prestige and "overweening ambition" of France, and forcing her to recognize William III as England's sovereign, yet left Louis XIV. in possession of his American domains, including all of Hudson's Bay except Albany on its tributary, James Bay. Then came the War of the Spanish Succession, which, as between France and England, ended in 1713 in the treaty of Utrecht,

under which Hudson's Bay, and Acadia "with its ancient boundaries," were restored to England; France's Canadian possessions and Louisiana remaining to her, she claiming both banks of the Mississippi.

The Canadian Situation in Verendrye's Time.

In 1719 and 1721, and again in 1737, French voyagers bound for Hudson's Bay either reached and traded from the shores of her waters or were shipwrecked enroute. The French of Canada, largely through the interposition of the priests, had long been in greater favor with the Iroquois than had the English, notwithstanding the inroads made by the Five Nations into the French settlements on and near the St. Lawrence. During the later phases of the struggle between France and England, whose European counterpart was the War of the Spanish Succession, the defense of Montreal against the English headquartered at Albany on the Hudson River, developed a French alliance with the Western Indians, even to the Hurons and Ojibways; some of the western bands of the Iroquois being their allies, while those on the Mohawk aided the English; and of the far western Indians only the Foxes in the Michigan country were attached to the latter. Montreal remained safe, while at Detroit, in 1712, the Indians, rallying to the defense of that post, soon put to defeat the Foxes.

Marquette and Joliet's[3] expedition to the Fox River in 1673 had been followed by descent of several of the branches of the Mississippi, ending in LaSalle's voyage to its mouth in 1682—the very year in which York post at the Nelson's mouth in Hudson's Bay was built by the Hudson Bay Company.

While the English had nogotiated a treaty with the Iroquois at Albany in 1726, which purported to confirm an alleged previous cession of which no record existed,—"of the Iroquois country west of Lake Erie, and north of Erie and Ontario," with other territory south of the lakes, this transaction seems not to have been understood by the Iroquois chiefs, who were without authority to make a cession of land. The French re-

[3]Louis Jolliet always signed his name Jolliet and not "Joliet." All of the merit of the travel on the Mississippi belongs to Jolliet. Marquett was a good-for-nothing-man; a fifth wheel imposed by the Jesuits—and more an imposter. Benjamin Sulte.

monstrated against this attempted inroad upon their territorial claims. They had completed Fort Niagara in 1726, to enable them "to dictate law to the Five Nations, and to exclude the English from the fur trade;" and in 1731, by way of further defense against the English encroachments, Fort Dummer[4] was built on Lake Champlain. Bancroft remarks, concerning the fur trade thus safeguarded: "The boundless region in which they (furs) were gathered knew no jurisdiction but that of the French, whose trading canoes were safe in all the waters, whose missions extended beyond Lake Superior. Except the fortress at Oswego the English held no post in the country watered by the tributaries of the St. Lawrence." The same historian exclaims, upon the accession of the House of Hanover in George I., to the English throne—substantially coincident with the death of Louis XIV.,—and of the pacific policy of the British ministry under Walpole: "Happy period of the colonies! For a little more than a quarter of a century, the controversies of Great Britain and France respecting colonial boundaries could not occasion the outbreak of a war."

Russian Explorations to the Northwest Coast.

But the Russian Bear was known to be prowling in quest of European settlements in America, with a view to checking and overpowering them, whether of Spanish, French, or English origin. This fact was well known all over Europe before Verendrye set foot upon territory west of Lake Superior, and his eagerness to push French explorations westward was doubtless sharpened by this fact.

Vitus Bering, a Danish sailor in Russian employ, was sent out from Kamtchatka, pursuant to an order issued by Catharine, the widow of the deceased Czar Peter, shortly before her death in 1727, which order was confirmatory of instructions given by Peter himself. Bering having sailed in 1728 "to examine the coasts north and east from Kamtchatka, in order to determine whether or not they were connected with, or contiguous to, America; and next—to reach, if possible,

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[4]Fort Dummer. In 1731 was also built Fort St. Frederick, or Ticonderoga, Pointe a la Cheuelure, on Lake Champlain. B. Sulte.

some port belonging to Europeans on the same sea''—says Greenhow in his History of Oregon and California.

Bering had sailed on a northward course along the Asiatic shore until (as afterwards verified) he had reached waters separating the two continents, and returned to Kamtchatka in September. "All his conclusions," says Greenhow, "have been since verified; he, however, little suspected that he had, as was the fact, twice passed within a few leagues of the American continent, through the only channel connecting the Pacific with the Arctic Sea." That channel was named Bering's Strait. His voyage of 1729 for a similar object was frustrated by violent storms before he reached the American coast. But his expedition of 1741, during which, as shown by his bearings, he doubtless discovered Mt. St. Elias and nearby islands, and in the course of which voyage he died at a point some distance up the coast from Nome, need not be particularized here.

Charlevoix, the famous historian of New France and the intrepid priest who ably assisted in blazing the way into the unknown west, had been sent by the French king, in 1720, to devise a plan of discovery of a route to the Pacific. "He recommended," says Johnson, in his "French Pathfinders in North America," "two plans, either to follow the Missouri River to its headwaters or push a chain of trading posts gradually westward until the continent should be crossed. * * * The second plan was the easier and less expensive, and it was the earlier to be tried." Agnes C. Laut, in "Pathfinders of the West," states that Charlevoix "recommended an advance through the country of the Sioux; but the Sioux swarmed around the little fort at Lake Pepin on the Mississippi like angry wasps," barring exploration that way.

The Inland Fur Trade and Hudson's Bay.

But Verendrye's projects of western explorations were accelerated by his consciousness of the impending clash between the French and English interests in the fur trade, from the standpoint of Hudson's Bay as the English base, and that of the Great Lakes on the side of the French, respectively.

Hudson Bay, discovered in 1610 by the eminent mariner who gave it its name, had been a football of exploitation between

the French and English from about the middle of the seventeenth century. Begg, in his "History of the North-West," states that Bourdon,[5] who was sent to Hudson Bay in 1656, "made treaties with the Indians there, and found the trade in furs very profitable;" but this seems to be open to question. Some six years later the New England colonists sent Shapley there. "About the same time," continues Begg, "the bold and enterprising explorer De Groseillier, pushed his way overland to its shores."

Radisson and Groseillier's Canadian Explorations.

This brings us to the inquiry as to how far into the country west and northwest of Lake Superior did Groseillier and Radisson pioneer the way for Verendrye; and whether or not they actually went to Hudson Bay on the "fourth voyage" as recorded by Radisson.

It would be futile to attempt to solve this latter question, even if it were vitally necessary to do so in this relation of the Verendryes' travels. It is of course obvious that if they did go through the Lake-of-the-Woods and down the Winnipeg river to Winnipeg Lake, thence on Nelson river to the Bay, they pierced the wilderness farther inland than they did if, after wintering with the Crees somewhere west, northwest, or north of Lake Superior, and near Lake-of-the-Woods or Lake Nipigon, they were piloted to Hudson Bay, say down the Albany river. It seems very probable, while not at all certain, that they went by one of the two routes here indicated, if they reached the Bay on that trip; and from all information at hand, it seems more likely that the Albany river route was the one followed, rather than that via Nelson river.

This much is clear: That Radisson and Groseillier, on the so-called "fourth voyage" as recorded by Radisson, left Three Rivers in August,—the authorities differ as to the year, and ranging from 1658 to 1660 or later,—and, proceeded either up the Ottawa, thence through Lake Nipissing and to and across Georgian Bay and through the St. Ste Marie into Lake Superior, or via Lake Ontario and westward through the Lakes route, but to a practical certainty via the Ottawa, and, we

[5]Jean Bourdon did not go as far as Hudson Bay. This is well proven now. His voyage was a failure. He made no treaty with any Indians. B. Suite.

believe, in 1658; thence along the south side of Lake Superior by the Pictured Rocks, the Huron Isles and to Keweenaw Point, across which they portaged, being met five days later by a party of Christinoes or Crees. That they proceeded westward to the mouth of the Montreal river, where some of their Indian attendants, Hurons, or perhaps Chippewas, left them to go southward by river and lakes to their home at or near Lake Flambeau, northern Wisconsin. That, passing on to Chequamegon Bay, near the present Ashland, Wis., their Huron guides left them to go where their wives were, "five great days' journey" inland,—a point which was probably a little beyond Courtes Oreilles, some sixty miles south of Ashland.

Radisson and Groseillier had thus made the first passage ever made by white men through Lake Superior from a point —perhaps at Whitefish Bay—east of the Pictured Rocks, though they had probably wintered during their previous western trip, with the Christinoes, near the east end of the lake.

Being alone at Chequamegon Bay, and nearly starved, they built there early that winter, a small and rudimentary fort, "being the first structure built by white men in Wisconsin or on Lake Superior," says Henry Colin Campbell.

But the location of this pioneer fort is matter of dispute. Another view of the historical writers is expressed by Miss Laut, who declares that it was "evidently somewhere west of Duluth in either what is now Minnesota, or northwestern Ontario."

This famed landmark marked the dawn of the day of the fur trade in the far West beginning where the Great Lakes end. The present writer feels bound to adhere to the claim that it stood substantially at the mouth of a small stream, somewhere on Chequamegon Bay in the vicinity of Ashland.

Twelve days later some Hurons (another account says 400 Crees) arrived and piloted Radisson and Groseillier to their village to westward. Miss Laut ventures to say it was "the wooded lake region yet further west towards the land of the Assiniboines." After separating, in order the easier to subsist upon what game could be procured, the Indians and these whites met at a small lake, where hundreds of them died

of famine. Sioux messengers arrived, and the Crees built a fort 600 by 603 feet in ground size, located "between a small lake and a meadow."

This was the first structure erected in Minnesota by aid of white men. Radisson and Grosseillier went westward into the Sioux country,—somewhere between the St. Croix river and the Upper Missouri, according to the views of some, others making a general reference to the territory embraced by the Northwestern States. Miss Laut refers to "a well known trail from what is now known as the Rat Portage region "(north of Lake-of-the-Woods)" to the great Sioux camps west of the Mississippi and Red River valleys. But again I refuse to lay myself open to controversy by trying definitely to give either the dates or exact places of this trip." The Sioux village was seven days' journey from the Cree fort, and the "nation of the beef" claimed to number 7,000 men. "After six weeks," says Campbell, "the explorers returned to Lake Superior" and found ice in Chequamegon Bay, on whose shores "they again built a fort;" and afterwards, Radisson seems to say in effect, he and Groseillier, accompanied by Christinoes, went to the waters of Hudson Bay. Radisson's journal says they returned to "the upper lake" on "another river;" that while returning they received gifts from messengers sent by the Sioux, and in the middle of the winter returned to the big fort which had been erected. They returned home the succeeding summer.

Miss Laut thinks the Sioux escorted the party "back to the Crees" over "a well-beaten trail northeastward" between the Missouri and the Saskatchewan, "which was used by the Crees and the Sioux in their wars," from whence they "could strike directly eastward from the Lake of the Woods region or the hinterland between James Bay and Lake Superior." That "in the spring the Crees went to the Bay of the North, which Radisson was seeking;" that "after leaving the Sioux, the two explorers struck for the little fort north of Lake Superior where they had **cached** their goods." The other line of authorities—to use a legal phrase—fixes the location of this **cache** at Chequamegon Bay.

The writer of this relation has endeavored to study the

Radisson journal of that part of his trip thenceforward to the point where "the seaside" is mentioned, with a view to reaching a conclusion as to whether, if they did reach Hudson Bay, they went, or returned by Lake Winnipeg and Nelson River, or via some other route, such as the Lake St. Joseph and Albany river. Frankly stated, he finds himself reminded of Poe's "misty mid region of Weir." The description of the hazardous and venturesome journey by boats might apply to any one of the principal lakes from the head of Lake Superior to Lake Winnipeg or Lake Manitoba, or to Lake Nipigon. Nothing is said, in definite terms at least, about portages, from the point where they entered boats on some body of water—lake or river—after they had braved death crossing lakes on crumbling ice and beating about inland with, or preceded by, Indians.

But, to whichever one or more of these interior waters Radisson's journal was intended to apply, Groseillier and himself were pioneering all the time—piercing territory into which no white men had ever before trod. And they were carrying the fur trade and territorial conquest into the heart of the eastern sections of the country traversed by the Verendreyes three quarters of a century later.

Miss Laut cites, as leading to the belief that they had passed through Lake Winnipeg, the **memoirs** of De le Chesnaye of 1696, which mentions "a **courier's** trail from Lake Superior to Lake Assiniboine or Winnipeg," and Oldmixon's statement that it was the report of the Assiniboine Indians from Lake Assiniboine that led Radisson to seek for the "Bay of the North" overland. Campbell cites, as the only contemporary evidence going to confirm "the Hudson Bay story" in Radisson's journal, the **relation** of Hudson Bay, by Noel Jeremie,[6] who, late in the seventeenth century was French commandant on the Bay, "who states that Groseillier had penetrated inland to Hudson's Bay, and had also reached Manitoba;" and that on Franquelin's map of 1688, what is known as

[6]Noel Jeremie, dit Lamontagne, came from Mareuil-sur Ai, Champagne, where the famous wine Ai, is made. This was about 1656. He settled in Quebec; was a good man, an Algonkin interpreter, employed in the Saguenay region. Nicholas, his son was born near Quebec in 1669, was also an interpreter. About 1693 he was sent to Hudson Bay as an ensign in the troops of the colony and was the last French governor in the Hudson Bay territories. He died in Quebec in 1732. B. Sulte.

Pigeon river, at Grand Portage on the north shore of Lake Superior, bears the name of Groseillier; and he concludes that his presence there at that time "can only be accounted for by the theory of an attempt, at least, to reach Hudson's Bay from Lake Superior." That he intended to explore to that Bay on that "voyage" is certain. But his advent on Pigeon river might have occurred on his return from the northern inland country. Our chief reasons for thinking that if they visited the Bay it was at its southern extremity on James Bay, are two-fold: The Albany river became a prominent seat of the Hudson Bay Company's fur trade very early in its career,—the trading Indians frequented that stream in the Hudson Bay traffic. And nearly all of the earliest trading posts on the Bay were in that region. Again: while the record states that "we went upon another river to the upper lake," this statement is unaccompanied by any description of such a long new route as was the Nelson river; while, had they gone to the Bay via Albany river, and returned part way on that stream, then up its branch, English river, the latter tributary might have been thus dismissed in a sentence; bearing in mind that Radisson's first reference to Lake Superior in said journal was by the term "the upper lake". (Page 187, Prince Society's publication.) Moreover, this reference to returning "on another river" is followed immediately by the statement, "The nation of the beefs sent us gifts," thus indicating that they were then not far from the territory of the Sioux; while, had they returned from Hudson Bay, and by Nelson river and Lake Winnipeg, it is highly improbable that not a word descriptive of so long and varied a new route would have been found in the journal. To the foregoing should be added, that all the primary information received by these explorers as to Hudson Bay came from Indians who were either on or very near the great thoroughfares from the Great Lakes eastward to Montreal, and James Bay, not the Nelson river region, would naturally be the objective of inquiry and exploration. Further: If they had already threaded Lake Winnipeg, what lake, "northerly of their country," that was "bigger than all the rest," and whose "upper end is always frozen," was more likely to

satisfy the Indians' conception of so big a "lake," as would Hudson Bay?

On the other hand, if they did not visit Hudson Bay, and Lake Winnipeg was the destination, to which they descended via Winnipeg river, a return via Red river to the "upper lake" would satisfy this reference to "another river," and would render natural an immediate reference to the "nation of the beef." Nevertheless, a final word may be said in favor of their having reached the Bay, and of their having found on its border the old battered habitation, the difficulty concerning which theory may be solved by reference to the Bourdon trading trip of 1656,[7] and the probability of such a habitation having been knocked together by him during his "profitable trading with the Indians there.

But if we could dispel the impression that, in writing his journal of both the third and fourth "voyages," Radisson was probably influenced to some extent by motives of personal gain and prestige at the hands of English and French governments and capital, we would readily give more credence to his statements touching the alleged inland trip to Hudson Bay. Considerable doubt exists as to the credibility of his journal of the third "voyage," during which Radisson and Groseillier are supposed to have discovered and traveled far down the Mississippi; while that of the fourth "voyage" was not completed until after Radisson had sailed, in English interests, in the "Eagle" for Hudson Bay in 1668, and had been forced by stress of weather to put about and return to England, though Groseillier, in the "Nonpareil," reached the Bay on that expedition; since said journal narrates the trip in the "Eagle." The fact remains that the remarkble explorations of Radisson and Groseillier, and their claims based thereon, inspired and became the basis of the formation of the Hudson Bay Company in 1670.

To return to the subject of the status of the fur trade in Canada, as between the French and the English, in Verendrye's time, and to show how the mastery of that trade from Hudson Bay westward was still in the hands of the French, we cite Begg to the effect that "Until 1742, the Hudson's

[7]See note 5.

Bay Company had confined their trading operations to the shores of Hudson's Bay, but in that year they made their first advance inland, by affecting a settlement about 150 miles up the Albany river. This was done to intercept the Indians who were then beginning to carry their furs to the French in the interior, rather than to the English on the Bay." As far back as 1686 the Hudson Bay Company had five trading posts on the Bay, namely: Albany, Moose, Rupert, Nelson, and Severn, located substantially at the mouths of streams of those names, respectively.

DeNoyon, of Three Rivers, should receive mention as another French explorer who is said to have gone beyond Lake Superior and as far as the Lake of the Woods, in 1688.

This supposition is, however, subject to some doubt. Miss Laut's averment that he went that far west may or may not be based upon a foot-note in Father Morice's "History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada;" in which he states "that a Mr. de Noyon[8] was credited with having reached the Lake of the Woods as early as 1688, as appears from a passage in a memoir by Michel Begon, dated 17th November, 1716: The Assiniboine Indians wanted to take to the Western Sea De Noyon, voyageur, twenty-eight years ago; he then wintered at the entrance of the Lake of the Christinaux, on the Ouchichig River, which leads to the Lake of the Assiniboines, and hence to the Western Sea." This memoir, written so long after the date in question, would seem to make certain that the Indians greatly desired to "take" De Noyon with them into the region of Lake of the Woods, but as to whether he actually went there and remained for a season, in 1688, some further evidence than this memoir is probably necessary to make clear. The same author (Father Morice), vouches for the building of a "house" at Kaministiquia, on Lake Superior, by Zacharie Robutel de la Noue, in 1717, and adds the following interesting observation concerning his

[8]Jacques de Noyon was born at Three Rivers in 1668. As early as 1688 he went to Lake of the Woods, or its vicinity. His report was kept in the Archives at Quebec and no doubt Verendrye had communication of it. Both men were trifluvians. (Three Riverites.) The father, Jean de Noyon, from the parish St. Pierre, diocese of Rouen, had come to Canada before 1658. Jacque, the explorer, still lived at Boucherville, in 1726. B. Sulte.

projected trip to Rainy Lake: "He even had to push on to Lac la Pluie, or Rainy Lake; but the hostility of the Sioux prevented him from accomplishing his end. So that, as he confined his exertions to Kaministiquia, he was replaced in 1721 by a Captain Deschaillons de Saint-Ours, who did not venture any farther west and was himself removed four years later."

Some of the historical writers, who seem not to have credited Radisson and Groseillier with having built their first embryo trading post on the shore of Lake Superior, speak of the post at Kaministiqua (near the present Fort William), erected in 1679, as being the first trading post on that lake. Neill says it was built of pine logs, and by DuLuth. And Miss Laut declares that DuLuth had forts at that point before 1700.

The Verendrye Family.

Let us revert to some consecutive account of the Verendrye family.

Rene Gaultier, Sieur de la Varennes, grandfather of the two sons of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Verendrye who deposited the tablet at Fort Pierre, South Dakota, was born in France in 1636, or 1635. The department or precise locality in France which was his birthplace, or where he lived before emigrating to America is not known; but that there was a landed estate of the family in that country is certainly to be inferred from evidences at hand as we shall see further on. The colonial census taken in New France in 1681 gives his age as forty-five years, and from this record the date of his birth is reckoned. He came from France to Three Rivers in the summer of 1665; he being then a captain in the French army and connected with the Carrigan regiment, with whom he came over.

The family name was Gaultier,—variously spelled as here, and as Gautier, and Gauthier—equivalent to the English Walter. By this name only this ancestor was known for some years after his arrival in New France. Parkman states that the occasion of his having later assumed the surname of Sieur de Varennes, was that of his having succeeded to a small

estate near Three Rivers.[9] The name itself—Varennes, and its variation, Verendrye, clearly indicate a local estate in lands. There are in France at the present time, according to the statement of His Excellency, Jusserand, French ambassador at Washington, in a letter addressed to the writer hereof, thirty-four places bearing the name "Varennes." His Excellency adds: "The name Varenne or Varennes is to be found in every part of the country; it designates uncultivated grounds with game in them." This is in substantial accord with some published definitions of the word as meaning waste, or wild, lands. And that the Gaultier family in France also carried the surname Varennes, or Verendrie, is attested by Benjamin Sulte, of Ottawa, Canada, (to whose exhaustive researches we are deeply indebted for many evidences pertaining to this family and their relatives in America and France), who finds that Rene had a brother, or other near relative, in France, whose name was Gautier de la Varenderie; and this fact is significant in connection with the trading post established by Rene in 1685 in Lower Canada on the river St. Maurice, a few miles from Three Rivers; which estate soon after became known and is still known as Gabelle. Says Sulte: "At first Rene called it la Verenderie, because his brother sent him merchandise from France to keep the business." He had in that year obtained "a piece of land in the forest with permission to trade furs with the Indians on that spot."

While Varennes means, as seen, unimproved wild lands, or waste lands, the variant "Verenderie," seems to import a more specific portion of a general landed estate designated "Varennes." The name Verendrye as found in the old records and in general history, has taken the following forms: la Verandrie, le Verenderie, La Verandrie, La Verenderie, Laverenderie, la Verranderie, la Veranderie, La Verenderie, Laveranderie, la Veranderie, De Laverandrye, de la Verendrye, De la Verendrye, De la Verandrye, La Verendrye, La Verendry, La Verendry, de la Verandry, and even other variations of the general form.

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[9]The Seigneurie of Varennes, six miles front on the St. Lawrence, and six miles deep, was granted to Rene Gaultier de Varennes, in November, 1672, by Talon.—B. Sulte.

It is evident, both from the military status of Rene Gaultier and from the family surname, Varennes, that the Gaultiers were of the French nobility. And all accounts combine to prove them of high native ability and of exceptional energy and enterprise.

Indeed, we have it upon the authority of Mr. Sulte, who finds the original record in "**Recherches Historiques,** (Vol. of 1909, page 192), that the family name of the Verendryes is based upon that of a renowned French noble in the reign of John II., in the fourteenth century.

"Jean II., called le Bon, the same King of France who was twice prisoner in England and died there, had a minister (Argentier, Minister of Finance), by the name of Gaultier de Verennes whom he anoblished in 1354, and the family of Gaultier de Verennes of Canada are descendants of that man."

On the 26th of September, 1667, a little more than two years after his arrival in New France, Rene Gaultier married Marie, daughter of Pierre Boucher, then and for some years governor of Three Rivers,—which means that his jurisdiction covered a large territory surrounding that town.

This Pierre Boucher was a man of note. He was the famous Pierre Boucher de Grosbois and Boucherville, "the second Canadian created a nobleman by Louis XIV.;" and his estate of Boucherville was near that of Varennes, and also that of du Tremble, which latter was the fief of later days held by Madelaine, sister of Pierre, our chief explorer, whose godfather and maternal grandfather was this same Boucher. Pierre Boucher was also godfather to the famed Pierre Le Moyne d' Iberville, exploiter of seas and lands, notably at Hudson Bay, Newfoundland, and Louisiana. Likewise he was godfather of Pierre Pepin, one of the prominent voyageurs of the west, who doubtless left his name to Lake Pepin on the Mississippi. Boucher died at Three Rivers in 1717, aged about ninety years.[10]

The bride of Rene Gaultier,—Marie Boucher—was born in 1655; Sulte declaring she was eleven years old in 1666, and that Tanguay's **Dictionaire** is in error in recording her birth

[10]Pierre Boucher died in his manor house, (still existing, 1914, and well kept), in his seigniory of Boucherville.—B. Sulte.

on March 8th, 1655. Parkman states that when married she was "twelve years, six months, and eighteen days" old. This, if true, fixes her birth on the date given by Tanguay—which doubtless merely proves that Parkman relied on the **Diction aire**. But, says Sulte, "that date is the christening of Pierre Pepin, whose mother was Marie Boucher, sister of Pierre Boucher de Grosbois." Suffice it to say she was probably in her thirteenth year when she became Madame Gaultier.

After his marriage, in 1668, Rene Gaultier became successor to his father-in-law Boucher, as governor of Three Rivers, which responsible position he held about twenty-two years, or until 1689, in which year, on June 4th, he died. His salary as governor was twelve hundred francs, "to which," says Parkman, "he added the profits of a farm of forty acres; and on these modest resources, reinforced by an illicit trade in furs, he made shift to sustain the dignity of his office." Upon what basis of evidence Parkman makes this slighting reference to the character of Rene's trade in furs is not apparent. It would seem to be at least presumptively true that one who held the governorship of so important a place as was Three Rivers in those days, would not find it difficult to obtain a government license to enter the Indian fur trade; and we have seen that substantially at the time when he became a landholder there he obtained such a license.[11]

The children of the family of Rene Gaultier de la Varennes and Marie Boucher were, as vouched for by Sulte:

Louis, born in 1673; was, in 1696, Sous-ensigne Varennes, beaugargon; killed in Italy while a soldier of France, in 1709 or 1710. He was the first La Verendrye.

Madeleine, born in 1674; married in 1694 to Charles Petit Le Villers.

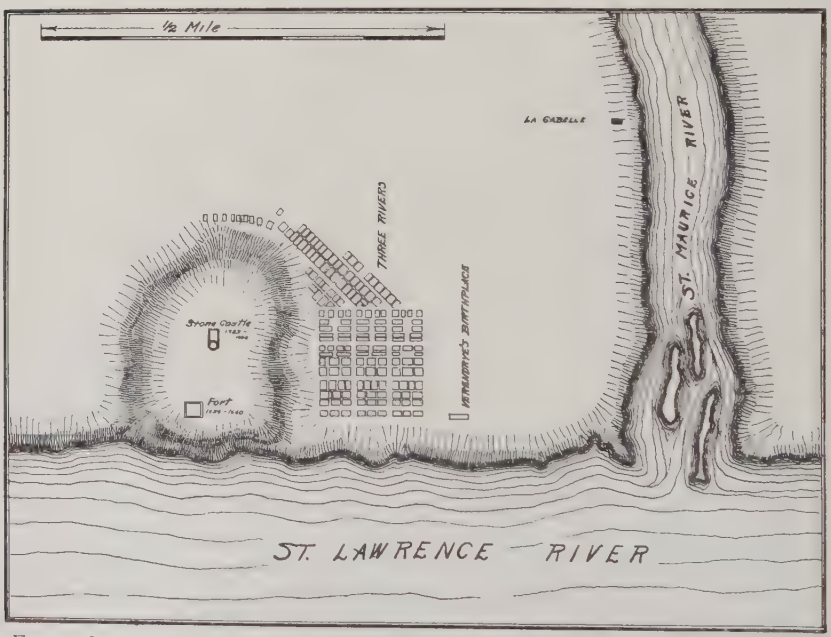
Jacques-Rene and Jean-Baptiste (who were twins), born in 1677.

Jacques Rene, married, in 1712, Jeanne Lemoyne. In 1732, is on record as Varennes, ensign et lieutenant, Jean-Baptiste became a somewhat prominent priest.

Jacques-Rene entered the military service as an officer in

[11]Illicit trade was all the go with the functionaries of the shabby Louis XIV in Canada, because these men were not paid more than 30 per cent of a decent salary. All I know of Rene Gaultier is perfectly honorable. I do not blame him for illicit trade.—Benjamin Sulte.

1693; was made lieutenant in 1710, says Sulte. "From what I have seen he called himself 'Varennes.' In 1714 he was still a lieutenant; 1732 was 'Varennes, enseigne et lieutenant.' In 1736 was appointed captain. In 1746 is mentioned as a military officer. Died in Montreal, 1759. His son, Jean-Hyppolite, born in 1717, was in 1746 an ensign in the troops of the colony. On the occasion of his marriage with the daughter of the well known Michel Sarrazin (doctor in medicine) he is styled 'sieur de Varennes et de la Verendrie" He continued the family of which I know several members. I would say that the seigniory



From sketch by Benjamin Sulte.

Three Rivers.

of Verennes (rich in 1770) was lost about the year 1790, through the prodigality of Jacques-Rene and his son Jean-Hyppolite."

Marguerite, born in 1680; married in 1707, Louis Hingue de Puijibault.

Marie-Renee, born in 1682; married in 1701, Christophe Dufrost de la Gemeraye.

Anne Marguerite, born in 1684; became an Ursuline nun.

Pierre, the Discoverer, born November 17th, 1685.

Jean, born in 1688; died the same year.

Pierre was christened, the day following his birth, after his god-father Boucher, as before stated.

The general accounts seem to assume that the birthplace of Pierre Gaultier, Sieur de Varennes de la Verendrie was in the little fort built on the north side of the St. Lawrence in the western suburb of Three Rivers, whose construction in 1634 was the founding of that town. But we believe the fact to be that the then home of the family, and the actual birthplace of Pierre, was in a private house in Three Rivers. Sulte makes this all but certain when he states: "The house in which Pierre was born I have seen, in a state of ruin when I was a boy. It is made clear by the plan of 1685 (the year of the birth) which I have published."

Now, the history of Pierre Gaultier de la Verendrye has at some points become entangled with that of his elder brother Louis, some portion of whose military career in America and in France has, through error, been ascribed to Pierre.

When Louis was twelve years old (in 1685), he was given the surname of Verendrie. "That same year," continues Sulte, "Pierre was born, and as soon as he could write took the name of Boumois. I know of no land in Canada by that name, except perhaps a certain small fief near le seigneurie of Varennes which at one time belonged to Pierre and may have been called Boumois." This word is used to designate a homestead or a larger property.

In the parochial register of Three Rivers, in 1702, 1704, and 1707, "Pierre Gauthier de Varennes sieur de Boumois" signs: "Boumois"—no mention being made of his military rank. Yet, Margry is authority for the statement that Pierre was in the New England campaign in 1704, and that of Newfoundland in 1705. This, declares Sulte, must pertain to the record of Louis, his brother; and he adds: "Margry is constantly misled because whenever he sees 'Verendrie' he thinks of Pierre."

However, as will be seen hereinafter, the military records show Pierre to have been a lieutenant in 1701; hence the writers,

Including Margry, who suppose Pierre to have soldiered in 1704-5 are not improbably sustained by the records.

An important document, casting much light upon the significance of surnames in the Verendrye family, is the so-called "act of July 1st, 1707;" in which, at Montreal, Madame widow de Verennes (the said former wife of Rene), transfers to her son Jacques-Rene the seigniory of Varennes, but retains the fief of "La Verrandrie situated near Three Rivers." This, says Sulte, is the present Gabelle. In the same "act" it is recited that a portion of Varennes is also called le Verendrye. The same document states that "Pierre sieur de Boumois" is absent; and further on he is styled: "Sieur de Boumois et de la Veranderie." Sulte here observes: "This is the first time I found La Verendrie applied to him." By this same "act" his mother places Pierre in possession of du Tremble seigniory. And his sister Marguerite is therein styled "Gaultier de la Veranderie."

When Louis was killed in 1709 or 1710, Jacques-Rene became the eldest of the surviving sons; and, Jean-Baptiste being a priest, Pierre was then styled le Chevalier de la Verenderie, following the custom relative to the next son after the eldest in houses of nobility. He probably was known as Boumois until he heard of his brother Louis' death.

The military record of Louis Gaultier is the subject of refeerence as early as January 6th, 1689, where as "Louis Gaultier sieur de la Verendrie" he is styled ensign in the corps of the king's colonial troops, composed of about 300 men. On the 15th of November, 1690, "Frontenac appoints Louis as ensign out of the company in the place of La Gardeur who becomes lieutenant," etc. Sulte regards it unlikely that from 1697 to 1702, a period of general peace in Europe, any Canadian was offered a commission in the French army. He believes that Louis left for France in 1701 or 1702, when rumors of war were renewed—the Spanish Succession.

It is of interest to know that the three eldest sons of Rene Gaultier are recorded as being in Three Rivers as early as 1686; since a document of June 21st of that year shows the presence there of "Louis Gaultier sieur de la Verenderie," who signs: "Laverandrie." The brother Jean-Baptiste is also therein called

la Verendrie, but he signs: "Jan. G. de Varennes;" while Jacques-Renne signs: "du Tremble." We learn that the latter inherited the seigniory of Verennes, and that his descendants still survive, one of them being "a Legislative member for life in the House of Quebec."

Two further references are made to Louis, in New France: at Boucherville, April 20th, 1690, Madeleine de Varennes and her brother "Louis de Varennes sieur de la Veranderie" are mentioned; and again these two are mentioned at the same place on the 19th of December, 1691; Louis signing. "Laverandery." "This," says Sulte, "is his last mention in Canada." Now that we have noted his last recorded appearance, let us revert to the first one in which his title appears,—that of a document of May 25th, 1676, where he is mentioned (aged three years) as "La Verenderie." It seems, too that Louis' godfather was none other than Frontenac,—in 1673.

Now, we have seen that Louis is not mentioned in the document known as the "act of 1st July, 1707." But at its end is stated that a certain sum is due "M. de la Verendrie." This, says Sulte, may mean Louis "if he was not dead;" or it may be M. de la Veranderie of France, the brother of the late Rene Gaultier." We learn nothing more of Louis until the report of his being killed in Italy comes back to Canada.

We will now resume the thread of history as to Pierre, our explorer: And we find, in a "liste of officers in the army," signed by Louis XIV., and dated at Marly, near Versailles, May 7th, 1714, proof that he was an officer in that army as early as 1701. It reads: "De Varennes, Canadian, lieutenant since 1701;" while a note in the margin says: "He will become a good officer." As we shall see, he had already proven his mettle as a soldier in emergency, at Malplaquet. There can be no question that this reference is to Pierre, as Louis was long since dead.

While Pierre was "absent" when the "act" above referred to was entered, the record shows his presence at Varennes on September 22nd, 1707; and on October 20th, following he was at Montreal "giving his consent to the act of the 1st of July; when he is styled "Pierre Gaultier, Ecuyer, sieur de Boumois de la Veranderie," and he signs "Boumois."

This year 1707 is indeed a fateful one for Pierre La Veren-

drye. On its eventualities hung much of romance. Was it military glory or domestic felicity that was uppermost in his dreams while the autumn leaves were falling and the frosts of coming winter played their part in the draperies of Nature that year? Without doubt he was now meeting the crisis of youth which formed the turning point in his career. And whatever may have been his resolves to battle bravely for his king and country, we venture to assert that those resolves were not more for France's renown in the Succession War than for that chivalry that would endear him to his lady-love, Marie-Anne Dandonneau.

Here is the record: "A few days later, at Quebec, November 9th, 1707, he is present at his own marriage contract with Marie-Anne Dandonneau. The act states that Madame de Varennes has given her consent and that she would write such consent if there was time to communicate with her and receive the answer before the departure of the vessels for France." From this Sulte concludes, and doubtless correctly, that Pierre "had just made a contract de fiancailles with Miss Dandonneau, knowing his mother was ready to agree to the same, and that he was himself embarking for France."

This date, 1707, proves Margry's error in assuming that Pierre entered the regiment de Bretagne in 1706,—the record he referred to must have related to Louis. That he engaged in that regiment, however, is doubtless true; and that he sailed for France in November, 1707, is certain.

His life thus far had been spent in and in the neighborhood of Three Rivers—through which the tide of empire flowed strong into the boundless wilderness of the West; where life's pulsations must have measured the aims and imbibed the spirit of New World dominance.

Three Rivers was a general camping place of the swarms of red men who came down from the Lakes region over the Ottawa from year to year, bound for Quebec,—this point being nearly midway between the mouth of the Ottawa, or Montreal, and Quebec.[13]

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[12]The Tetes de Boule, Attikamegues, and other small tribes of the upper Maurice, were in trading and commercial communication with the people of the Kilistino countries, at least since 1660, besides the tribes of the Ottawa, and even the Indians of Green Bay.—Benjamin Sulte.

Says Miss Laut: "From the days of Radisson in 1660 the passion for discovery had been in the very air of Three Rivers."

That at fourteen Verendrye had decided that he would be a great explorer, but destiny for the time ruled otherwise. At eighteen he was among the bushraiders of New England. Nineteen found him fighting the English in Newfoundland," and that then came his appointment to the king's army in Europe.

And it was here that the redoubtable Radisson was captured by the Mohawks and taken over to the Hudson river on his "first voyage." Parkman states that this son, Pierre de Varennes, was "an active and hardy youth, who, like the rest of the poor but vigorous Canadian noblesse, seemed born for the forest and the fur trade. When, however, the War of the Spanish Succession broke out, the young man crossed the sea, obtained the commission of lieutenant, and was nearly killed at the battle of Malplaquet, where he was shot through the body, received six sabre-cuts, and was left for dead on the field."

We are indebted, in part, to His Excellency, M. Jusserand, the French Ambassador at Washington, in a communication to Hon. Pattison F. McClure, of Pierre, South Dakota, for information to the effect that Pierre de Varennes "had been nine times wounded; and had been left for dead, fighting at Malplaquet under Marshall de Villars." That, according to a French document of 1744, he had at that time had thirty-eight years of military service, "that is, six years in France and thirty-two in Canada."

And what an immortal field was that of Malplaquet! That great battle, decisive, as far as France was concerned, of the War of the Spanish Succession, was fought September 11, 1709, in Varennes' fatherland, just across from the Belgian frontier. Dire disaster had followed the armies of France, from the defeat and route at Blenheim five years before, followed two years later by the slaughter at Ramillies and the disaster at Turin, while three years prior to this final contest the Bourbon forces had been driven back from Spain across the Pyrenees.

The British-Dutch-German allies, commanded by the brilliant and daring Marlborough in the Low Countries at the north, backed by the Austrians under Prince Eugene in the South, had nearly exhausted the French and the forces of the

Elector of Bavaria under the able and valiant Villars. This long train of reverses had been relieved only by the victory of Berwick, a marshal of France, at Almanaz, in Spain. Louis XIV. was near his end, and, says Guizet, "France was dying." When Villars took command of the army of the Low Countries to fight this battle of Malplaquet his men were on the verge of starvation, and he marveled "to see the steadiness and fortitude of the soldier in enduring hunger;" yet they were in excellent spirits. Marlborough and Eugene, now in junction, bore down upon Villars' entrenchments. "His men were so anxious to get under fire that they threw away the rations of bread just served out; the allies looked sulkily at the works." Amid a thick fog the battle raged from seven in the morning until mid-day. In that five hours more than two hundred thousand men struggled for mastery, and forty thousand was the loss. Villars, recounting the momentous phases of the hottest of the conflict,—at the center attacked by Eugene,—says: "It was a sort of jaws of hell, a pit of fire, sulphur, and saltpetre, which it seemed impossible to approach and live."

What wonder that Sieur de Varennes, seasoned by years of contact with frontier life on the St. Lawrence, and inspired by pride of military station and of country, could with eagerness rush into the midst of such a vertex of carnage as that at Malplaquet, receive his full share of the brunt of it, and achieve the impossible—"approach and live." What wonder that, having done this miracle, he was the more resolved, upon recovery, to take equal hazard on the altar of country by warring with the wilderness and negotiating for life or death with her denizens, the "wild men!"

Pierre La Verendrye recovered his health sufficiently to enable him to return to Canada, which event occurred, as seems very probable, in 1711. He brought back with him certificates from Vaudreuil, now Governor-General of Canada, Grimaldi, Marechal-de-camp, and Berthelot, colonel of regiment de Bretagne, besides the General Order from Marechal de Contades, says Sulte. From the same source we learn, that Pierre failed of confirmation in his rank upon recovery from his wounds received at Malplaquet, "notwithstanding the efforts of Madame Vaudreuil, the wife of the Governor-

General of Canada who had the charge of the education of the children of the Duke of Berry, a son of Louis XIV." Nor was this his only misfortune in his military career. He was deprived of his commission of cadet in the Canadian troops. "Then Mrs. Vaudreuil obtained for him a commission as ensign."

The fact that he probably returned in 1711 is further attested by the record of his having, under date of February 15th, 1712, addressed to the Governor-General a certified copy of his services in the French army; his name in that connection being "Chevalier de Verandrye."

And now, five years after his betrothal to Miss Dandonneau, and after the wide ocean and the hazards of war had separated them for some four years, they were married at Quebec on the 29th of October, 1712. Pierre's name in the church register on this occasion is: "Pierre Gauthier, Ecuyer, Sieur de la Verandrie, ensigne des troupes en ce pays;" and he signs: "De Laverandrye."

The Dandonneau Family.

Pierre Dandonneau, Sieur du Sable, grandfather of Marie-Anne, was in Three Rivers as early as 1651, perhaps before that time. Says Sulte: "He was an active, useful and highly respected man. He settled at Champlain. He came from the little country of Aunis (a place where was made the finest of brandy) near le Rochelle." He died about 1700. His son Louis, born in 1654, or thereabouts, was the father of Madame Pierre Gaultier de la Verendrie.

Louis Dandonneau, says Sulte, "had inherited the seigneurie called Chicot and the large Dupas Island situated opposite, in the upper part of Lake St. Peter. He died in 1709."

And when LaVerendrie was married in 1712, Louis-Adrian Dandonneau, son of Louis, born in 1691, was the seigneur of Dupas and Chicot. Louis-Adrian "kept busy with his domains and served more than twenty years in the troops." He died a lieutenant, in 1747. His son Louis-Adrian, born in 1726, became an ensign, and was killed at war—probably the French and Indian War—in 1755.

It is through these estates of the Dandonneaus that we find the key to the exact location of the home of Pierre de la

Verendrye. A note from the records shows that "on the 13th of November, 1713, Pierre was put in possession of six arpents frontage of land by the whole depth of Isle Dupas, by Louis-Adrian and Joseph Dandonneau."

And we are able to account for the succeeding ten years of his life after his marriage, and until near the time of his departure for the post at Lake Nipigon in 1727; since Sulte finds: "He lived there until 1722 surely, because his children were born on the Island. Meantime he kept his trading post at la Gabelle, a distance of some sixty miles between the two places." The records show that in 1715, Pierre was granted the privilege of carrying on the fur trade "a la Gabelle." And next year, 28th October, "he was godfather of an Indian at Three Rivers, and there," says Sulte, "for the last time to my knowledge, was called: 'Monsieur Boumois, enseigne." Again, in 1725, the colonial authorities granted Pierre what was called "conges," or permission "to trade furs with the Indians." And he is believed to have contributed with the Dandonneaus and the Brissets, to the colonization of the island of Dupas, which island "was in a fair state of cultivation in 1720 and formed a distinct parish." Most of the settlers on that island were recruited at Three Rivers, Cap de la Madeleine, Champlain (the parish of Dandonneau), and Batiscan, neighboring seignories.

From the foregoing, we gather that the Dandonneau estates—part of which came into Pierre de la Verendrye's possession—were situated immediately north of the upper or west end of Lake St. Peter, opposite to Isle Dupas, and partly on that island. That lake extends from some ten or fifteen miles west of Three Rivers to a point some fifty miles westward—being merely a widening of the St. Lawrence river. And the Gabelle estate, where was located Pierre's trading post, and which, as we have seen, was some sixty miles from Isle Dupas, and upon the St. Maurice river, must have been in the neighborhood of twenty miles above the mouth of that stream.

Sulte states the distance from the lower end of Dupas Island to Three Rivers to be "about 45 miles. At Three

Rivers you ascend River St. Maurice eighteen miles and you are at la Gabelle."

Here, then amid those beautiful islands in Lake St. Peter, by and among which the dusky denizens of the forest swarmed down in their canoes from the west, bound for Three Rivers and Quebec, and where also the Canadian **voyageurs** were seen plying up—and down stream in their journeyings to and from the far interior,—here on Dupas Island were born all of Pierre La Verendrye's children, and here they grew up to youth's maturity. And from thence, we are bound to believe, did Pierre take some or all of his little sons—mayhap one at a time and at infrequent intervals—to tarry with him for a time at the fur-trading post up the St. Maurice at la Gabelle; down which stream also did most of those Indians come from whom he learned the secrets of the far interior. And we can imagine the father sitting within his little trading post with one or more of his young sons, after the day's transactions in furs had been completed, amid a group of Christinoes or Assiniboines from the Winnipeg region, anxiously prodding them for information concerning the "Wester Sea" and the trails leading thence. And as such must have been his experiences while carrying on his trading at that point, it is not at all improbable that Jean-Baptiste, Pierre Gaultier, Francois, (the Chevalier) and Louis-Joseph,—his sons in order of seniority—did more than once find themselves listeners to the stories of the red men concerning the mysterious rivers and the tidewaters of that farther west which was to become the scenes of the exploits of father and sons. And that the two sons who planted the leaden tablet at Fort Pierre were thus in early boyhood beguiled into dreams of wondrous lands which they would yet visit in aiding the father to realize upon his own visions of conquest of the continent, we entertain no doubt.

We are reinforced in this view by the conclusions of Benjamin Sulte, who says: "Considering that the Indians of the Saint Maurice River who went to la Gabelle to meet La Verendrie were great travelers, perfectly well acquainted with the West, I believe that Laverendrie got from them much information concerning those vast territories and that,

when he was sent to Nipigon in 1727, his mind was already prepared for pushing as far as possible behind that last post of civilization."

From the evidences at hand, it is clear that Miss Laut is in error in her observation that La Verendrye was returned from France "to serve in the far northwest fur post of Nipigon;" since, as we have seen, some sixteen years intervened between his return and the year 1727. Parkman's account is to the effect that he recovered, and returned to Canada, "when, finding his services slighted, he again took to the woods." Father Morice, in his "History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada," states in a general way that after he returned from the European war he was thrown back on the fur trade for an occupation.

To revert to the membership of the Pierre de la Verendrye family: Of the children born to the union of Pierre and Marie-Anne Dandonneau there were at least four, who were sons, and who in the order of seniority were: Jean-Baptiste, born in 1713, killed in 1736; Pierre Gaultier, born in 1714, drowned in the **Auguste**, in 1761; Francois (the Chevalier of these annals), killed in 1759 at the siege of Quebec; and Louis-Joseph, born in 1717, died about 1775. When Jean-Baptiste was killed in 1736, Pierre thus became "the eldest" son, and Francois at that time became the "Chevalier." Up to the latter date, however, Pierre, on the basis of seniority, would have been the second son, or the "Chevalier." This is the view of Mr. Sulte, and, as we believe, the correct one.

Regarding the ages of the sons, we find Miss Laut, stating that when the western expedition in 1731 was begun, the three eldest sons, who accompanied the father, were aged, respectively, eighteen, seventeen, and sixteen years. The first-born is thus shown to have blessed the happy parents the year after their marriage.

There is some dispute as to whether the second son, Pierre, or the third son, Francois, was he who was known in the records of the "Chevalier." Many historical writers regarded Pierre as being the one so known. But the present writer feels no hesitation in declaring that, upon evidences at once authentic and numerous— appearing at many points

in the course of this paper—the third son, Francois, was the real "Chevalier." However, those who recognize Pierre as the Chevalier have advanced reasons by way of explanation of the application of the term in connection with the Noblesse, or of the use of the word in this particular family.[13] For instance: However, M. Jusserand is evidently of the belief that the "Chevalier" was the son next younger than Pierre, and his explanation seems to be based upon that belief.

There are two theories explanatory of the styling of Pierre Gaultier the "Chevalier." One, the fact of his being the second son of a noble family,—as was the case with his father when, as we have seen, the latter took that title after his oldest brother was killed and the next younger became a priest. This fact alone goes far, in theory, to jusify application of that title in the present instance. The other theory is expressed by His Excellency, M. Jusserand, who states: "Why he was called the Chevalier is not known with certainty. The probability is that he derived this title from having been made, in his youth, a member of the military order of Malta." This ground is a very probable one, in view of the general prominence of the family.

Pierre Boucher, his maternal grandfather, was his father's godfather.

Sieur de la Jemmeraye, who accompanied La Verendrye, as his "second" in the expedition of 1731 and for some time thereafter, was his nephew, and, like his relatives, was an officer in the Colonial troops.[14] That he too, was of excellent birth and of prominent family connections, is evidenced by the fact that his mother, who was a sister of his father Pierre, founded the order of the "Hospitalieres" nuns at Montreal. He had already had experience in the remote west, as far as the country between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, and had for a time been in charge of the Indian trading post at Lake Pepin on that stream.

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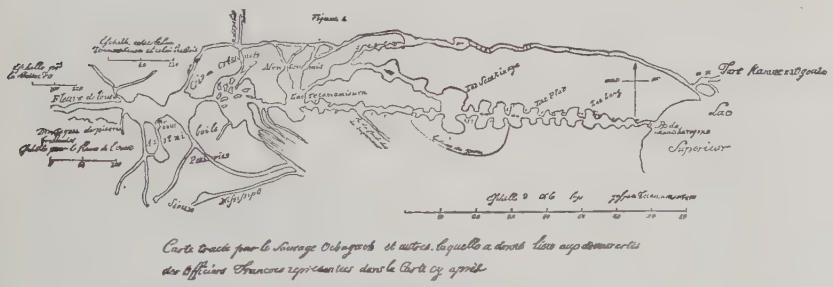
[13]The confusion, I think, arises from the fact that before the death of Jean Batiste, in 1736, Pierre was the second son, and Chevalier, but after that event Pierre assumed his elder brother's title of Ensigne and Francois, thus becoming the second son, was the Chevalier.—D. R.

Preliminaries to the Expedition of 1731.

La Verendrye, stationed at Nipigon post from 1727 until the end of 1730, and having come in contact with Indians from the west and north embracing the Winnipeg and Red River region, who must have traded there, had doubtless become acquainted, partly through information amounting to personal knowledge, and partly through hearsay of Indian assertion and lore, with at least some of the usual thoroughfares of Indian travel from Lake Superior westward and northward. Lake Nipigon itself was discovered by Father Allouez in 1667, only four years after Father La Couture pioneered as missionary to Hudson's Bay and the approach to Nipigon from eastward was from the shore of Lake Superior. At the Sault was established this very year, largely through the zeal of Father Allouez, the Saint Mary's mission; and he is represented by one writer as one of those "politician-priests" who, "while he preached the gospel to the Indians, took still greater pains to preach the glory of the French King, whose subjects he wished to make them." And if one of his harangues, delivered to the Indians at Ste. Marie is truly reported, his zeal in setting forth the colossal power and the bloodthirsty character of his King must have created a sensation calculated to compel submission to his sovereign's missionaries in the West. This incident is here referred to as showing the spirit of the onward march of the French establishments on Lake Superior,—a spirit which must have reinforced and inspired La Verendrye in later years when his long-fostered dreams of empire farther west were taking form at Lake Nipigon. The propaganda of the Great Lakes missionaries on one hand, and the traditions of the mysterious yet palpable waterway to the Pacific on the other, combined to transmute his dream into realism. And whatever may have been the exact date of the establishment of Lake Nipigon Post, it is safe to assume that La Verendrye was in charge of it not long thereafter.

Enough that in 1728 he had heard from the old chief Ochagach of Kaministiquia river of "a certain great lake which discharged itself by a river flowing westward," down which he declared he had descended "till he reached water

that ebbed and flowed, and terrified by the strange phenomenon, had turned back, though not till he had heard of a great salt lake, bordered with many villages,"—which story was confirmed and enlarged upon by other Indians. Yet, while Verendrye was much impressed by these narratives, and by the map upon birch bark (still in existence) on which the old chief had drawn a trail to the sea, he evidently did not believe all that was told him concerning the way to reach the sea; as he told Degonnor that "these people are great liars, but now and then they tell the truth." However, Parkman concludes that Verendrye received the impression, from these stories, "that the true way to the Pacific was not, as had been supposed, through the country of the Sioux,



Carte tracée par le Sauvage Ochagach et autres, laquelle a donné lieu aux découvertes des Officiers Français représentées dans la Carte ci après

Indian Map which First Turned Verendrye to the West.

but further northward, through that of the Kristineaux and Assiniboins, or, in other words, through the region now called Manitoba. In this view he was sustained by his friend Degonnor, who had just returned from the ill-starred Sioux mission."

Engrossed with renewed zeal by these accounts of a waterway to the Sea, La Verendrye took canoe and, proceeding from Lake Nipigon down Nipigon river to Nipigon Bay on Lake Superior, made the hazardous descent to Quebec to lay his projects before Governor Beauharnois; to whom he made known his plans for reaching the Western Sea by way of the succession of lakes and rivers west and north of Lake Superior; and he offered to explore those unknown wilds to a seaboard destination, if the king would grant him one hundred men and supply him with canoes, arms, and provisions.

This appeal was unavailing with the king, notwithstanding Beauharnois strongly supported the request for aid, and heartily sought to promote the project. Louis XV. however was willing that Verendrye should undertake the venture at his own expense, in consideration of which he granted him a monopoly of the fur-trade in the regions to be discovered. And although no assistance was rendered to him by the Government, "he was expected and empowered to take possession, in the name of the French king, of all of the country he should discover."

Graphically does Parkman tell what of responsibility, uncertainty, and risk on all sides such a hardy enterprise involved, and of its rich prospects in fur-trading profits to Verendrye, as well as its importance in diverting that trade in the interior, away from Hudson Bay and into control of the French. He says:

"This vast and remote country was held by tribes who were doubtful friends of the French, and perpetual enemies of each other. The risks of the trade were as great as its possible profits, and to reap these, vast outlays must first be made; forts must be built, manned, provisioned, and stocked with goods brought through two thousand miles of difficult and perilous wilderness. There are other dangers, more insidious, and perhaps greater. The exclusive privileges granted to La Verendrye would inevitably rouse the intensest jealousy of Canadian merchants, and they would spare no effort to ruin him. Intrigue and calumny would be busy in his absence. If, as was likely, his patron, Beauharnois, should be recalled, the new governor might be turned against him, his privileges might be suddenly revoked, the forts he had built passed over to his rivals, and all his outlays turned to their profit, as had happened to La Salle on the recall of his patron, Frontenac. On the other hand, the country was full of the choicest furs, which the Indians had hitherto carried to the English at Hudson Bay, but which the proposed trading-posts would secure to the French. La Verendrye's enemies pretended that he thought of nothing but beaver-skins, and slighted the discovery which he had bound himself to undertake; but his conduct proves that he was true

to his engagements, and that ambition to gain honorable distinction in the service of the King had a large place among the motives that impelled him."

At the outset of his journalizing of this expedition, La Verendrye declares: "The glory of the King and the good of the colony have always been the only motives which engaged me in this enterprise. No one is ignorant that Canada is very poor; few of the merchants are in a condition to make advances, especially for an enterprise of this nature, being obliged to make their returns every year." And in brief outline he speaks of the sources through which the expedition was financed: "I associated many people with me so that I could the more easily meet the expenses which this enterprise would necessarily occasion."

We have seen how this projected expedition stood, in point of time, in its relation to the great events at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century in Europe. And as showing the remoteness of the period from the standpoints of later events in both America and Europe, it may be mentioned that Braddock's Defeat, a landmark of the French and Indian War, was not to occur for twenty-four years to come; that the Seven Years War that racked the governments and sorely tested the arms of Europe was yet a quarter of a century away; that the guns which bespoke the American Revolution were not to be "heard round the world" for yet forty-four years; while the Parisian mobs that sent the artillery booming forth the herald of the French Revolution were not to be in evidence till eight and fifty years.

And now is to go forth that train of **voyageurs**, commanded by one of New France's most redoubtable state-makers out of the raw materials of nature, that tourney against the Elements and Fate, which was to break ground with the implements of civilization amid "the vast prairie region of the NorthWest" known as Rupert's Land, that lay within the domain of the Hudson Bay Charter,—and far beyond!

The Expedition of 1731 beyond Lake Superior.

On the 18th of June, 1731, La Verendrye, accompanied by his three sons Jean Baptiste, Pierre Gaultier and Francois,

(the Chevalier), his nephew, La Jemmeraie, who had come down from the west where, at Lake Pepin on the Mississippi, he had been in charge of the post in the Sioux country, and some fifty **voyageurs**, started from Montreal on the fateful tour which was to dot the hitherto unsettled wilds of the Lake Winnipeg region with trading posts, and appropriate to France, by substantial trade and discovery monuments, the territory around the head of Lake Superior and far westward, northwestward, and southwestward, in bounds undefined.[14]

La Jemmeraie was made Verendrye's lieutenant or "second," on this expedition. In his memoir of the journey, "on the subject of the establishments to reach the discovery of the sea of the West." Verendrye speaks of his "previous accounts which I have had the honor to present to M. le General on the subject of the discovery and the establishments necessary for the reaching of the sea of the West," and that Beauharnois "had the goodness of honoring me with his orders to work efficiently in order to go there. I set out from Montreal * * * with the intention of giving him evidences of my perfect attachment to the service, to which I was limiting all my ambition."

Up the Ottawa sped the long boats composing this formidable flotilla. Some accounts say there were fifty canoes in the outfit, and that they were ninety feet in length. It is believed, however, that many of them were of smaller size, since the journal says that at the Great Portage west of Lake Superior Verendrye equipped "four middle-sized canoes."[15]

Sulte says, regarding the canoes of that day: "The bark canoes of 1730 were very large, compared with those now seen in East Canada. About four feet deep and 25 feet long, and wide in proportion. Some were made in Montreal, but some also in Three Rivers, and the most renowned were made at Nicolet" (a settlement on the south bank of the St. Law-

[14]La Jemmeraye was merely an officer in the troops of Canada, not the French army. The troops of Canada may have been 600 strong in the year 1730; mostly recruited in Canada. They were scouts and no more. No connection with the French army. Paid and equipped by the Department of the Marine and Colonies,—not the War Bureau of France.—B. Sulte.

[15]Prof. Peter Kalm, the celebrated naturalist, who visited Canada in 1749, says Verendrye made his first trip to the Northwest on horseback. —B. Sulte.

rence opposite Three Rivers) "by the same family of Provencher to which belonged the first Catholic Bishop of Red River in 1818. Sometime about 1850 I have seen such canoes carried on the shoulders of ten men—five on each side and the canoe reversed."

Past the Long Soult, "where Dollard had fought the Iroquois" the expedition proceeded, landing and rounding on foot the most violent rapids and the falls on the way; threaded the little Mattawa to the lakelet through which it runs, portaged over to Lake Nipissing, then, with a breath of relief, floated down from the ragged western edge of that lake on the French river to the head of Georgian Bay. On westward through the Long Channel rowed the grand procession, using improvised sails when wind and current favored such device; skirted the northern shores of Manitou Island, then Cockburn, then the northern spur of Drummond; passing southward of St. Joseph Island and heading southwestward by the western prong of Drummond's Island past the "Detour" into Lake Huron; on westward between Marquette Island at the north and Bois Blanc to southward, past Mackinac Island, and on the Straits to Michilimackinac, on the south shore.

Here, says Miss Laut, "with the brawl of its vice and brandy and lawless traders from the woods" is "where La-Motte Cadilic ruled before going to found Detroit." Here was the long-time Mecca of the hardy traveler from all corners of the earth in the Northwest, be his mission for exploration, the good of souls, or the parleys of trade. And here La Verendrye took as a member of his expedition the Jesuit Father Messaiger, whose fame is that of thus becoming the pioneer missionary into what became Minnesota and the Canadian Northwest.

Verendrye's only reference to the halt at Michilimackinac is, that he "took up while passing Missilimakinak, the Rev. Father Messaiger, Jesuite, for our missionary," and that post is the only place mentioned in his journal from the start at Montreal until they reached Kaministiquia post, on northern Lake Superior at modern Fort William, where they wintered in 1731-2; but not, as we shall see, until after they had

passed down to Grand Portage, where they arrived August 26, "fifteen leagues South-South-West of Kamanastigouia." This latter point was about one hundred miles south of Lake Nipigon, where our explorer had long been stationed. He must therefore have been somewhat familiar with the locality on Thunder Bay where DuLuth and La Noue had preceded him.

From Michilimackinac, then Verendrye doubled back to the "Detour," skirted by the west side of St. Joseph Island into the long straggling neck of water connecting lakes Huron and Superior,—on to the portage at Sault Ste. Marie and into the latter lake. Doubtless the course thenceforth was substantially west-northwest past Isle Royal to Kaministiquia; although a writer says they passed the Pictured Rocks, in which event the course from that locality would have been more sharply northward.

Kaministiquia is said to mean "river with many islands" or "river that flows around"—this stream entering Lake Superior by three mouths. The trading post built here by Duluth in 1678 is said to have stood where the later posts were found, "on the north side of the north branch, a half mile above the mouth." The second French post established here in 1717 by Robutel, sieur de la Noue, was commanded by him until 1721. "Thenceforward it became an important station, both as gateway to the farther West, and for the amount and quality of the furs secured. In 1743 the post was leased for 3000 livres. In 1757 the price had increased to 4000 livres, and every year it sent out from sixty to seventy packs of fine furs. About this period Kaministiquia was abandoned, and when the English reopened the fur-trade on Lake Superior, Grand Portage, sixty miles to the southwest, became their headquarters. After the American Revolution, it was found that the North-West Company's post at Grand Portage was on American territory, and attempts were made to open various routes to the interior waters. It was not until 1798 that Roderick McKenzie rediscovered the Kaministiquia route, and thereupon it was decided to remove headquarters thither," says a note to Malhoit's Fur-Trader's Journal, in Wis. Hist. Coll., Vol. 19, pp. 166-7. There is

some question whether there was not a location, about midway between the mouth of this stream and Dog Lake, where once stood an establishment known as a trading post of the same name.

Misfortune was to frown upon the explorer at the threshold of the overland journey at the Grand Portage, and thenceforward for years he was fated to carry, in addition to his daily lot of privation and danger, the burden of disappointment which delay in transport of goods from his base at Montreal westward, bad faith of his partners, and the indifference and neglect of government laid upon him.

On the day succeeding the arrival at Grand Portage "all our people," says the journal, "frightened at the length of the portage, which is three leagues, mutinied, and demanded of me with great insistence to release them; but, by the aid of our Father Missionary I found the means of engaging some among the number of my employees to go with my nephew, la Jameraye, * * * and my son, to establish the post at Rainy Lake. I had enough to equip four middle-sized canoes. I had them make the portage at once and gave them a good guide."

Grand Portage, as first known, was the nine-mile stretch or carry between Lake Superior and a point on Pigeon River above its falls. Later and in course of time the name was applied only to the landing place in the shallow bay on the lake shore. While the place was well-known during the French regime, the Kaministiquia route is said to have been more frequently used. Grand Portage became an important fur-trading center at the beginning of the English regime. Thereafter it became, and remained until the removal to Fort William in 1801-4, the headquarters of the entire North West fur-trade; after which it dwindled to a hamlet of only local importance. Fort William, its commercial successor, became known by that name about 1807, and stands substantially on the site of the old Kaministiquia posts.

Parkman surmises that perhaps some of the men who mutinied had been tampered with; he does not intimate by whom. The secret work of possible rivals may have been at the bottom of this incipient revolt. Be this as it may,

the instinct of command and of dominance over obstacles was exhibited by La Verendrye at the first show of insubordination among his numerous body of employees.

The detachment thus outfitted portaged along Pigeon river to a point from which they could resume the canoeing process higher up that stream or on one of its lakelet connections with the larger lake whose outlet it was, thence westward by what must have been a series of alternations between land and water passage, through primeval woods and swamps whose threading wearied the muscles and tested the manhood of the party led by Jemmeraie. The waters of Mountain Lake, Knife Lake, Birch Lake, Lac Blanc and Lake La Croix were plied by their craft, while numerous portages around the High Falls and other precipices or rapids varied the experience, in reaching Rainy Lake; at the western extremity of which and on the north bank of the mouth of Rainy Lake River they erected, that fall, Fort St. Pierre, named for the explorer. La Verendrye with the bulk of his men, who were recalcitrant, and the two younger sons, wintered on Lake Superior at Kaministiquia, "which," he says, "injured me considerably, both for the payment of employees and the merchandise with which I was charged, without any hope of having any return for this expense, which was considerable." And not until the 9th of June, 1732, after Jemmaraie and his party had returned from Rainy Lake, did he succeed in getting his men started westward.

La Jemmeraie had returned to Kaministiquia May 29. La Verendrye immediately sent his son Jean-Baptiste—who had returned with Jemmeraie—back to Michilimackinac to dispose of the furs on hand and to bring back to the expedition "the effects which ought to have come for me from Montreal." Evidently he had arranged there before leaving, to have goods reach the Strait before the succeeding spring.

The Jemmeraie party doubtless came in contact with the Christinoes on the southern shores of Rainy Lake, but the trade with them must have been light, since the journal says the son carried east "the few paltries which had come to us."

Between the 9th of June and the 14th of July, Verendrye's party were enroute to Fort St. Charles on Lake of

the Woods; the persons who, besides himself, were heading it being "the Father missionary, my nephew and two of my sons," in seven canoes. Proof of the dread of his men of making the numerous land passages is found in the preparations carefully made by Verendrye to meet those exigencies, and of the adequate information he now had from his nephew and the Indians, as thus journalized: "I was very careful to arrange for all the portages which it was necessary to pass." His sole reference to Indians on the way west from Lake Superior is. "More than fifty canoes of savages accompanied us and guided us to Fort St. Charles at Lake of the Woods."

How far they had proceeded from Kaministiquia before so large a convoy of red men joined the party is matter of surmise; but it is morally certain that some Indian guides were availed of there in preparing for and in making the portages; while it is very probable that the task of descending from Rainy Lake to, and on between the intricacies of the islands in Lake of the Woods to its western extremity—through wilds unknown to any whites of the expedition—was the real occasion of Verendrye's being piloted thence by so many Indians. This journal reference to Fort St. Charles was of course anticipatory,—they went to where they later built that post, on the west side of the southwesterly bay of the lake, a short distance north of the present Minnesota border line. While nothing is said in the journal as to the fact or time of its construction, it was doubtless begun soon after Verendrye arrived there, and was completed in the fall, or not later than about November 1st, 1732. It was named in honor of Beauharnois.

This post, situated about two-thirds of the way from Lake Superior to Lake Winnipeg, and upon the largest body of water between those two inland seas, was utilized as a general rendezvous and storehouse between his eastern bases and the farther west whose exploitation was pending.

Jean-Baptiste had not yet returned from the Strait, and must have been much delayed, since the cold weather had closed the streams and lakes to the canoes. The single journal entry for the remainder of that year is: "The 12th of

November our convoy arrived from Mikilimakinak on the ice, having been obliged to leave their canoes at ten leagues from our fort."

During the winter of 1732-3 Verendrye was evidently suspicious that his partners were failing him in keeping up the supplies. He was now planning "to build a fort within reach of the Assiniboins" on Lake Winipeg. His provisions and other necessaries were inadequate to fairly meet the demands of the large party at Fort St. Charles. This plan to push on to northward during the coming season had doubtless been communicated to some or all his partners, and they had balked at the critical moment. The supplies by canoe from Lake Superior, expected by him that spring, were not forthcoming. All this is gathered from his brief record, in which he states, in connection with his said plans, "my partners informed me that I would be able to undertake nothing, that the canoes which I had sent to Kamanstigouia and to Missilimakinak could not return;" and he "awaited four canoes" he had left at the former point the preceding autumn. "There arrived but one light one to let me know that those whom my partners had left to trade and keep the merchandise had used it all up. The 27th of September the canoes arrived from Missilimakinak very badly supplied, so that I found myself very much in debt and unable to undertake anything." So faithlessness of local agents of the partners on the Lakes had supplemented that of their principals.

The stress of circumstances at Fort St. Charles in the spring of 1733 was such as to wholly discourage Father Messaiger, who, "finding himself very much inconvenienced," resolved to and did return to Montreal. We may imagine what must have been the exigencies that compelled this man of God to turn his back upon the Indians and to desert his divine mission on behalf of their civil and spiritual welfare, at that stage of the experiences of the expedition, when his presence would certainly have conduced to amelioration of the circumstances of all concerned, and when his chief was far from having lost courage and hope. Perhaps, if the whole truth

were known, this missionary was not made of that metal that sustains the soul in rare emergency.

Undaunted, but unable to move the expedition down the Winnipeg River (then called the Maurepas) to found another post at that time, Verendrye, true to the spirit of his mission as explorer, and to prove to his government that he was really making headway with the Indians while holding the establishments already created, dispatched Jemmeraie with Father Messaiger's party back to Montreal "to render account to M. le General of the establishments which I had made, and of the favorable manner in which I had been received by the savages and of the new knowledge which the savages had given me in the course of the winter."

Bravely he remained at Lake of the Woods all summer and fall. We have seen that his supplies that came in September were so meager as to leave him crippled. How he spent the winter of 1733-4 and managed to pacify and control his men and prevent them from deserting in a body, we can only deal with by speculation. But, slender as was the commissary in store, we apprehend that the provisioning of his party through the long cold winter was less of a problem than that of convincing those rough voyageurs that their duty was to remain with him and await future developments. For as regards sustenance, they could certainly kill some game to supplement the supplies brought from the Strait. On the other hand, they were now so far inland that to break away from the post and attempt to return to Mackinaw, or farther east, that winter, would be extremely hazardous for the employees, since to the rigors of travel on short rations in a far northern winter season, the peril of being surprised and overcome by hostile Sioux was in the reckoning. The not distant future was to prove the significance of this latter fact.

How large a party remained at the post is also uncertain. But some of the men must have accompanied the nephew and Father Messaiger. Perhaps from thirty to forty or more composed the group that wintered there. If we could know just how the time was spent we should doubtless find that occasional sallies into the nearby wilds on snowshoes in

quest of game; the cutting of wood for fuel; now and then adventure with a bear or with wolves; a surprise by the dashing past and away of a moose—varied the routine of the sterner activities about the big camp; while narratives of mutual experience on the St. Lawrence or the Lakes—or in faraway France—would contrast with hilarious song reminding of happier days, or with profane oaths deprecatory of their present lot, as those picturesque sons of France lounged about the evening campfire. Beyond doubt they carried even into these remote regions something in the way of musical instruments, whose notes were in the ears of all at times when the moods were favorable or spirits were to be revived. To a certainty they played divers games for diversion—even to downright gambling among the more ardent and careless; and there were occasional if not regular seasons of religious service, however primitive in form. Thus the dedication to civilization of this old immortal among the landmarks of the Northwest was wrought out. And that Indians were there more or less, and probably most of the time during the winter, is equally certain; for Verendrye was drafting them into the ranks of informants of the regions to westward and northward yet to be entered. He was driving such trade with them as poverty of opportunity allowed. And all this time he was discussing with his sons Pierre and Francois as occasion permitted, what was in prospect—what of to-morrow and next year; what of the future disposition of Beauharnois in view of political exigency; what of their sovereign over seas; what of the dwindling confidence of his financial backers in Montreal,—"What of the night?" in that future all unknown!

Early in March, 1734, La Verendrye sent his son Jean-Baptiste northward from Lake of the Woods to the lower Maurepas, "as the Christineaux of Winnipeg, also the Assiniboins, demanded of me insistently," says his journal. The lower Maurepas (Winnipeg) river was "in the neighborhood of these nations." He had evidently sent another son-which one does not appear—to the Great Lakes or farther east, some time during the past winter or fall, to investigate as to his supplies and, probably, to bring or send them forward;

and was awaiting his return before sending his canoes eastward (doubtless with some furs) that spring. His journal throws light upon the further business disasters disclosed by this son's report: "I put off in the spring the departure of my canoes awaiting my son, who arrived the 27th of May. Seeing the bad conditions of my affairs, I placed all in good order there, and set out at once to descend to Montreal. I gave commission to my son, at the immediate arrival of my nephew, to go with three well equipped canoes to establish Fort Maurepas, within reach of the Cristinaux and Assiniboins."

Jemmeraie was still in Lower Canada or enroute back to Lake of the Woods, but, as seen from the above quotation, he had not arrived in the spring of 1734, and evidently was not one of the party returning with the son. However, Jemmeraie must have returned soon after, since Verendrye's journal of 1735 recites that Fort Maurepas was built "the preceding autumn," and, as Jemmeraie's return was to be the occasion of the son (who was probably Pierre), joining his brother Jean on the Maurepas river in the summer of 1734, the nephew was doubtless in charge of Fort St. Charles for more than a year prior to the father's return from Montreal.

This Fort Maurepas—being the first of that name in the Lake Winnipeg region,—was located at the mouth of and on the north side of Winnipeg river, on the southeasterly shore of Lake Winnipeg.

Meanwhile, La Verendrye, who reached Montreal August 25th, laid before Beauharnois an account "of the establishments which I hope to make in the future for the good of the colony, through the extension of the country which I have discovered and which has been unknown heretofore." He does not record the disposition of the Governor-General concerning the future operations involved in his explorations, further than to state that he left Montreal "charged with orders" from him; having departed for the west June 6th, 1735, arriving at Fort St. Charles September 6th. He found it "destitute of food, without hope of wild rice on account of floods of water." He immediately sent Jemmeraie to Fort

Maurepas, "which my son had built the preceding autumn. I equipped him from that which I had brought for my discovery, in the hope that those interested would return to me the advances, which I was doing for them, having the plan to go and join my nephew immediately upon the arrival of the canoes. I had before my departure, given to my merchant equippers the trade and commerce of the posts which I had established, the parties before concerned being at the end of their terms." It would seem from this recital that he was now dealing with a new set of merchants, to whom he had assigned the profits of his trade as collateral security for their advances. He had doubtless stretched his credit to the utmost, besides mortgaging his whole fur trade, in his efforts to keep on foot his exploration schemes.

But Verendrye's difficulties multiply. The canoes he was expecting that fall were delayed at the Grand Portage "through the bad management of the guide," and did not get through to Fort St. Charles that season. We have seen that he had sent north to Fort Maurepas goods he had planned to use in pushing his discoveries. He declares that the stoppage of the canoes at the Portage "obliged me to give all that remained to feed my men during that winter."

The occupants of Fort St. Charles were so reduced in the means of subsistence during the winter of 1735-6, that sheer starvation must have stared them in the face towards spring. Verendrye's one further journal entry indicating the straits to which they were reduced is: "I found myself the following spring (1736) destitute of everything." Miss Laut furnishes particulars, the sources of which are not indicated, and we do not have them at hand. "Fishing failed. The hunt was poor. During the winter of 1736 food became scantier at the little forts of St. Pierre, St. Charles, and Maurepas. Rations were reduced from three times to once and twice a day. By spring De la Verendrye was put to all the extremities of famine-stricken traders, his men subsisting on parchment, moccasin leather, roots, and their hunting dogs."

Stroke on stroke of misfortune falls upon the head of Verendrye's expedition—enough to crush all but the utmost hardihood and courage. Jean-Baptiste and Pierre, his ne-

phew Jemmeraie, and two of his men sent to assist, were holding the post at Maurepas; and he says they were "awaiting my return. They surprised me by their arrival the 4th of June and bringing me the sad news of the death of my nephew, la Jemmeraye, and of the scarcity of food which prevailed there, having left their load of goods at the portage of the Savanna at twenty leagues from the post where I was."

This appalling news sent consternation through the hearts of those at Fort St. Charles. Father Aulneau, who had come with Verendrye to that post the previous September, now "resolved on the spot to go to Missilimakinak. He asked for my eldest son, in the hope which he had that his voyage would be quick. It was not possible for me to refuse him. His mind was absolutely made up to depart."

This was the second occasion of the sinking of the heart of a missionary connected with this fateful expedition, before the onset of circumstances that seemed to forbid remaining longer in the wilderness and to dictate swift return to a haven of safety. And the abject fear which overcame the spirits of those at Lake of the Woods is shown by the resolve of Verendrye to send immediately an expedition eastward for assistance. Says the journal: "I had a good many people in the fort and no food, which determined me to send three canoes immediately to bring help and some merchandise." Within four days from the arrival of the sons from Fort Maurepas, the outfit and Father Aulneau departed—and to what awful fate! The journal continues:

"They set out the 8th of June and were all massacred by the Sioux at seven leagues from our fort through the greatest of all treachery." The whole party were ambushed on an island in the eastern part of Lake of the Woods, and ever since known as Massacre Island.

From what doubtless leaked out at Fort St. Charles, and from Indian reports, it appears that this Sioux descent upon that expedition was probably inspired by revenge against both whites and Crees, because of the firing upon some wandering Sioux, from behind the stockade at that post, by some reckless Crees. The story is that, thus angered by retributive

spirit, the Sioux so fired upon resolved to kill the first white man on sight: that they captured one Bourassa, were about to burn him, when a squaw rescued him as being friendly to the Sioux, but told his captors where this east-bound expedition could be pounced upon to eke out their revenge: that no sentry had been stationed by the whites about their camp: seventeen Sioux discovered them asleep, took word back to the main force of hostiles, who, following boats the water-trail of the expedition early the next morning, came upon the unhappy victims while breakfasting on the fated island. The scalped heads of the whites laying upon beaver skins, found some days later by some Sautaux, and the kneeling figure of poor Father Aulneau with an arrow through his head, "his left hand on the earth, fallen forward, his right hand uplifted, invoking Divine aid," told the awful chapter of human carnage. The victims bodies were later buried at Fort St. Charles.

As to the Bourassa incident the St. Boniface record says he was buried alive on June 3rd 1731.

Not in dismay, but in a tone of mournfulness that tells how his brave but fond heart was wrung over this catastrophe, which overtopped all that had preceded, does La Verendrye record these sententious words in his journal:

"I had lost my son, the Reverend father and all my Frenchmen, which I will regret all my life."

To return to the circumstances of Jemmeraie's last journey and his death: St. Boniface's Historical Bulletin is authority to the effect that he died on the 10th of May, 1736, at Fort de Roseaux, where he was buried. It is not clear as to who built such a post, nor where it stood, but it was doubtless located on the Rosseau river,—perhaps at its forks, where Dominion City now stands, not far north of Emerson, Manitoba. This stream rises west of the Lake of the Woods and empties into the Red River a few miles below Dominion City. And if the Jemmeraie party were returning from Fort Maurepas by proceeding up Rosseau river, there would be a portage over the prairie from its sources to Lake of the Woods. However, the locality in that general region known as Portage of Savanna seems to be the route via Rainy River

between Lake of the Woods and Rainy Lake—on the opposite side of the former lake from that where the Rosseau river portage was found. It seems probable that the place called by Verendrye "Portage of Savanna" must have been either west or north of Lake of the Woods, since nowhere else would be found the "load of goods" abandoned by his sons returning from Fort Maurepas; while the fact that at least a temporary camp on Roseaux river[16] then existed, leads to the conclusion that Jemmeraie and Verendrye's sons probably established some sort of a temporary habitation there before going to Lake Winnipeg; since St. Boniface states that Jemmeraie was visiting "Fort des Roseaux" when he died. The precise route taken by them in returning from Fort Maurepas is of further significance, in that if they did return via the Red and the Roseaux rivers, they were pioneering up the Red River; in which event speculation may be indulged as to whether they were driven away from that post by the Indians, in the direction of the Red River, and were thus prevented from ascending the Winnipeg River, or whether they for some reason chose the other route as being preferable under the circumstances. The theory that they returned via the Red River receives countenance also from the fact that another post called Maurepas was built at the confluence of the Red and the Assiniboine, on the site of the modern Winnipeg; and it is believed that this was after the one on Lake Winnipeg was established.

Verendrye and his sons Pierre and Francois were thus left alone at Fort Charles; and they were looking anxiously for reinforcements with which to tide over what was prospectively another ill-starred winter season. How they spent that winter can only be judged of presumptively; but they endured great privations,—no other interpretation can be placed upon the explorer's record. In fact, the outlook was so desperate that, in view of his straits at the post and of the importunities of the Christinoes and Assiniboins, who were evidently urging him to bring assistance to them

[16]Riviere des Roseaux or riviere aux Roseaux, (Reed in English).—B. Sulte.

I am most strongly persuaded, though I have little evidence upon which to support the belief that Jemmeraye died at the present site of Winnipeg, and that it was the Forks of the Rouge and not of the Roseaux to which Verendrye referred.—Doane Robinson.

in warring with the Sioux, he resolved to make a second trip back to Montreal. All this is implied from his journal entry: "The following autumn there came to me only a little aid. I lacked the most necessary things, which made me resolve, through the solicitations of the savages, to descend to Montreal, in order to carry there their words, asking me all the time for help in avenging the terrible blow of the Sioux."

Verendrye planned to retain the good-will of the Indians with whom, in spite of successive disasters, he was doing some trading,—and this policy required diplomacy and firmness. The Crees were furious to retaliate upon the Sioux for the affair at Massacre Island. Says Parkman: "The Assiniboins and Cristineaux, mortal foes of that fierce people, offered to join the French and avenge the butchery; but a war with the Sioux would have ruined La Verendrye's plans of discovery, and exposed to torture and death the French traders in their country. Therefore he restrained himself and declined the proffered aid, at the risk of incurring the contempt of those who offered it."

Leaving at Fort St. Charles the two oldest of the three surviving sons, again Verendrye set forth to renew his plea to the Governor-general at Montreal. We have seen that his claim upon official encouragement was now doubly reinforced by the importunities of the northern Indians, who found in the catastrophe that overtook Father Aulneau's party the portent of serious danger to themselves at the hands of the Sioux. The extreme peril—now common to both the whites and the friendly Indians—from that source must have been obvious to all who were stationed west of Lake Superior; and it argues well the competency and superior judgment of Verendrye that he took good care to safeguard the welfare of the red men among whom he now left the devoted sons and his remaining voyageurs. But these perils were in turn the jeopardy of French colonial empire in the far Northwest,—and here was the force of the plea which Verendrye could and did lay before Beauharnois. And though his exigencies were great, his mission was to bear fruitage in new explorations and establishments, even beyond Red River and Lake Winnipeg. His journal continues:

"The 6th of June (1737) I set out, having placed all in

good order, both for the French and for the savages. I arrived at Montreal the 24th of August. I went to greet M. le General and gave him the reasons which had obliged me to de-



Verendrye's Map 1737.

scend. He had the kindness to approve me, and did me the honor of continuing his orders for the pursuit of the discovery with which I was charged."

While the orders issued by Beauharnois in promotion of this third campaign of exploration beyond the Great Lakes were probably, in general effect, a mere renewal of his former commissions, we find that the military forces accompanying the explorer on his present westward trip are specifically mentioned in his elaborate account thereafter sent to "the Marquis de Beauharnois, Commander of the Military Order of St. Louis, Governor and Lieutenant General of the whole of New France, Lands and Country of Louisiana, by his very humble servant Laverendrye, lieutenant of a company of the detachment of the marine in Canada, commissioned by his orders for the discovery of the Western Sea." This lengthy and very particular account of his journey, embracing the visit to the Mandans and many details of his doings thereafter west of Lake Superior, is "in the form of a letter, from the 20th of July, 1738, date of my departure from Michilmakinak, to May, 1739," which is published in the original and in an English translation, in the "Report on Canadian Archives," by Douglas Brymner, Archivist, for 1889. Verendrye's general journal,—from which we have drawn information and sundry quotations thus far,—still continues, but it is in effect only an outline supplement to the "Journal in the form of a letter" above mentioned, although it deals with the facts in the same manner as theretofore.

Verendrye's general journal says he set out for the west on the 18th of June, 1738, "having made all necessary preparations for a continuance of the enterprise," and arrived at Fort St. Charles, Lake of the Woods, September 2nd. But his "letter" gives far more information of the trip, from Michilimackinac westward; from which latter it appears that he departed from that point "in six canoes, twenty-two men, so fitted out as to be capable of making great speed." As seen, that departure was on July 20th. Where the "flat lands" were, which they reached August 1st, is not indicated, but as they were twelve days out from Mackinaw, and reached the western border of Thunder Bay by four days' rowing from thence, it is probable that the "flat lands" were somewhere on the northern shore of Lake Superior. A three hours' stop was made there, where he found "only the chief of the Gamanestigouya," (Kamistiguoia, from which the post of that name is designated),

and a few of his people,—the balance having "all left to go among the Sioux." He harangued them at great length, finding fault with them "for going to war against the word they had given me last year * * * to undertake nothing till my return;" declared that Beauharnois was disinclined to war, that they should "keep quiet on their lands;" and brought them important news, etc. To the old chief's excuse that "parties have been raised against our will," and that one La Plante ("the Canard") had spurred them on "with fine presents;" and to his protestations of attachment to "our father" Beauharnois, Verendrye replied with encouraging words, exhorting them to "listen after this only to chiefs entrusted with your (Beauharnois') orders," and that they work diligently for sustenance and await the coming of "the French bounty to them upon their own land."

After arriving at Kaministiguoia, Verendrye records: "I had your order published and left a copy with the French who keep the fort, concerning that post and that of Tekamamihouenne, to be handed to M. de Marque, who was to arrive there at an early day. I left on the morning of the 6th and went to the Lake Tekamamihouenne. On the 22nd of the present month I found a war chief, Monsony, with a small band, who was expecting me near the little strait on the said Lake."

This lake was probably the Dog Lake of modern maps, which is some distance northwest of Kaministiguoia, and whose outlet is the river of the latter name. When the post on this lake was built is not clear, but it was doubtless one of the establishments erected under Verendrye's supervision, and after 1731. He gave Monsony's people "the news" and a present in Beauharnois' name; mutual expressions of attachment were given on both sides, and promises similar to those made at the "flat lands" were responded to in like manner.

Verendrye had taken with him to Montreal, from Lake of the Woods, an Indian of some local prominence; and the services he was able to render to his brethren on Lake Superior, when Verendrye returned and reported to them the disposition of Beauharnois and promises of protection made by him,—were substantial; the record reciting that this Indian zealously confirmed everything said by Verendrye.

Having arrived back at Lake of the Woods, Verendrye's "letter" relates that, not finding Lacolle, chief of the Monsony, "on the 31st," (of August), he sent him a notification. "Wishing to speak to all the chiefs together, I deferred speaking to them til the 3rd of September, when I collected all the head men in my room, and made a present in your name to the three chiefs, Lacolle, Lamicoine and le Chenail, of whom I have several times spoken in my previous journals. I began by the answers to their speeches, which you had had the goodness to make, emphasizing strongly each paragraph, in order to make them understand the [kindness] you felt for them; that all [you] had allowed them was well assured to them, so long as they on their side should be obedient to your word. I knew that the old man whom I had brought with me, entrusted with their words, although with empty hands, had made a faithful report to them of the kindness [you] had shown him; he constantly sang your praises; that they had a good father, who should be pleased by doing his will. LaColle answered for all the others, that he did not cease to weep for my son and all the French men; that the lake was still red with their [blood], which called for vengeance, which he had not been able to take as he wished." With thanks for the good-will of the Governor-General, and with promises to keep faith with him, etc., the chief's profuse speech ended. "Lamicoine gave profuse thanks for the great care I had had of his brother," and begged Verendrye to assure Beauharnois he would never forget the good he had done to his brother, etc. "I encouraged them to keep their word and to hunt well to supply the wants of their families, that I was going farther on; that was your will; I wished to increase the number of your children; that I left my oldest son with them in my place, who was adopted by the nations and would inform them of your words. The council ended with many thanks."

From the two Verendrye journals it appears that it was at the solicitation of the Indians that his son (Pierre) was left in charge of Fort St. Charles, and an order making him commandant during the explorer's absence was published at the post. He waited until September 11th for Lamarque to arrive from Michilimackinack, the latter having there promised "to

make haste so that he might come with me in the autumn for the discovery of the Mandans;" Verendrye having promised "not to hasten, so as to give him the opportunity of joining me." Putting all in good order, he left on the 11th for Fort Maurepas, taking his sons Francois and Louis-Joseph, "with six well equipped canoes," arriving at destination on the 22nd—his general journal says the 23rd. His "letter" proceeds.

"I had the arms examined, published your orders concerning the post, gave a copy of it to Mr. Lariviere, clerk to these gentlemen, and selected five of his men to come with me. As I had agreed. I left nine men with Mr. de Lariviere, I went to the fork of the Asiliboiles (Assiniboins) on the 24th, where I found ten Cree huts and two war chiefs, who expected me, with a quantity of meat, having been notified that I was coming." He complied with their urgent request to remain and to "have something to eat. I agreed, being happy to speak to them. I sent for the two chiefs to my tent. I knew that they went every year to the English; it had been reported to me that there was one who had received a belt from the English to play a bad trick on the French." Upon being accused, the Indian in question protested that envious men had spoken against him; he had not been to the English for many years, but had sent, "indeed during the last years that the French abandoned us, and it was necessary to have our wants supplied;" promising the French not to go elsewhere "so long as the French shall hold our lands here." Presents were bestowed and "Our old man then gave a great account of his journey, which afforded them much pleasure." The accused chief professed thanks, and expressed faith in "our father" Beauharnois, and promised to keep quiet as he desired; "the Sioux should do the same;" declared he had once been at war "to avenge" the dead son of Verendrye, but had destroyed "only ten huts, which is not enough to satisfy us." He then discouraged Verendrye against proceeding up the Assiniboin, which was "very low;" declared the people in that region "did not know how to kill the beaver, and covered themselves only with ox skin, which we did not need. They were a people without intelligence who had never seen the French and could not know them. I answered that I wished to go in the autumn among that nation of

whites who had been so much spoken of; that I would ascend the river as far as I could to put myself in a position to make my journey according to our orders; that I wished to increase the number of our children, to learn to hunt on the Assiniboin, and to give them intellect, and that next year I would go elsewhere." These details show the preciseness of the orders under which La Verendrye was acting, and throw light upon the relations between the French and English rivalries for the far Northwestern trade, as well as the policy necessary to be followed by our explorer and the masterful generalship displayed by him in carrying it out.

The "fork of the Assiniboine" meant, beyond material doubt, the confluence of that stream with the Red River,—in other words, this assembly met on the site of the City of Winnipeg. Verendrye's general journal says the Assiniboin where he entered it, was fifteen leagues from Fort Maurepas.

On the 26th of September, 1738, Verendrye, leaving behind "my old man," who promised to rejoin him soon, and to do what was within his power to encourage his people "to hunt well, to carry provisions to the French forts, and to keep their word and not to go to the English,"—started up the Assiniboin. "I found the water very low, there having been no rain last summer. The river flows from the west, winding about greatly, wide, with a strong current and many sand bars; it is lined with fine woods on the banks and the prairies extend beyond sight, through whose extent are many cattle and deer. I chose to go by land, following the prairie; with the useless people in the canoes. The road is much shorter by the prairies; * * * game is along the river in great abundance. I had not marched long without meeting several Assiniboines who, having been warned that I was ascending the river, came to meet me. I still kept on my road, deferring to speak to them on their own lands. The company was increasing every day. I marched six days making good use of the time. On the evening of the 2nd of October the Indians notified me that I could not ascend the river further, the water being too low; that my canoes could only pass the woods; provided all the people were at the portage which goes to the Lake of the Prairies, for this is the road of the Assiniboines in going to the English. Being here thou

wilt stop everyone; thou wouldest go to the Mandans; thou art close to the road. I consulted what we should do, believing that we were about sixty leagues from the fork by water and about thirty-five to forty by land, by taking the prairies. All present, seeing that we could not pass further and that we ran a great risk of damaging our canoes so that we could not leave, being in a place without resources for repairing them, having neither gum nor rosin, felt that it was more suitable to remain in a place where there was plenty and which was on the road to go to the English, that we had reason to hope well of the people and all persons who certainly did not go to Fort Maurepas. I resolved on the morning of the 3rd to select an advantageous place to build a fort which I made them begin immediately. I still hoped that M. de la Marque would come to join me. If I had gone higher up he would not have been able to find me."

We have set out this journal narrative in such length, in order to make clear—as we believe is done thereby—that the location of this fort on the Assiniboin was at the great crossing place of that stream from whence the "road to go to the English" proceeded northward to Lake Manitoba, which is beyond question the "Lake of the Prairies" here spoken of. The ancient maps make it clear, as do many historical accounts, that this thoroughfare, crossing the Assiniboine at a point due south from the southerly end of Lake Manitoba, was the well-known Indian trail to Hudson Bay, used by Indians from the region west of Red River. And again, this journal "in the form of a letter," in connection with his general journal, also makes reasonably certain that this post was not located much farther up the Assiniboine, or below the "forks" supposedly at the mouth of the Mouse river; although the supposition that it was located there or thereabouts has been entertained by some who have given this subject consideration,—the present writer included; he having been inclined to that view in a former study of Verendrye's trip to the Mandans, (Hist. Coll. S. D. Vol. IV., page 279), without having read his general journal, which clearly says he "ascended" the Assiniboine "about sixty leagues," while the "letter" journal, in speaking of distances in connection with the location of the post, says "about sixty leagues

from the fork," leaving it possible to infer therefrom that the forks of the Assiniboine and the Mouse was meant.

The post built at this point was named Fort le Reine. The present Milford, Manitoba,[17] is on the opposite side of the Assiniboine.

Verendrye's journal says: "I spoke to the Assiniboines whilst they were building an oven. I assembled them near my tent, made them a present in your [Beauharnois'] name of powder, ball, tobacco, axes, knives, paring knives, awls, the whole much valued among those who are in great need of everything. They received me with great ceremony; many with tears in testimony of their joy in exchange for their griefs. I received them among the number of your children, giving them afterwards full instructions respecting your orders, repeating them several times in order that they might comprehend. That appeared to give them great pleasure. They thanked me greatly, promised to do wonders. I recommended them to inform the Assiniboines of the Red River that there were Frenchmen among them; that the French would not abandon them; so long as they had intelligence they ought to know the kindness you had for them by sending them what they needed from such a distance; that their relative, the old man, whom I had brought with me, could tell them what had taken place with us daily. He, in truth, spared nothing to inform them and to teach them what it is to have to do with the French; all ended in great weeping and thanks. Some days after, I secured a guide whom, with others, I paid to accompany me on my search and to carry the baggage."

On the evening of October 9th, De la Marque and his brother, Sieur Nolant, arrived at Fort la Reine, together with eight men and two canoes, says Verendrye's "letter" journal—his general journal says ten men, and that the party came on the 8th,—"with the intention of following me to the Mandans." The explorer was greatly pleased: "I testified my gratitude to Mr. De la Marque for the trouble he had taken to bring us reinforcements."

This La Marque, as we learn through Mr. Sulte," was

[17]Fort La Reine was located upon the site of the present city of Portage La Prairie, Manitoba.

Charles Noland, or Nolant, grandson of Pierre Noland, who came from Paris to Quebec and there married Catharine Houart, native of Caux in Normandie, in 1663. Catherine was also an immigrant from Normandie; both families were of the noblesse. Their son Jean, born in 1667, married in 1688, Marie Anne Lamarque. To them was born, in 1694, the son Charles, who, under his mother's name, became the companion of Verandrye on his first expedition into Dakota. He married Marie Anne Le Gardeau in 1727. His only brother, Nicholas-Augustin, accompanied him upon this trip and was the Sieur Nolant of the text. Charles died in Montreal in 1754. Sieur Nolant was born in Montreal in 1705."

La Marque informed him that he had left at Fort St. Charles eight men with two traders "having brought all the canoes he had, not because he hoped to be able to load them, not having been able to bring the heavy goods, but that he had promised he would join me, and did not wish to break his word, that I required people for my expedition, that he had brought them, without injury to himself, not requiring his people during the winter. I thanked him, telling him that if he joined in our expedition he would be saved, himself and all his people, the expense until they returned. He told me he wished to share the expense. I answered that that could not be; it was enough for me that he supplied the men and himself without the necessity of sharing the expense which I had already provided for. I gave him room, at his request, in my fort to build a house to lodge all his people." La Marque had come by way of Fort Maurepas, as Verendrye inquired of him whom he had left there; and he informs Verendrye that he had "brought Mr. de Lariviere to the Fork with two canoes to build a fort there for the accommodation of the people of the Red River. I approved of it, if the Indians were notified."

This fort built at the "Forks"—at the mouth of the Assiniboine—is doubtless the second Fort Maurepas of history; in connection with which some writers have assumed that it was the first (and also the only) post of that name built by the Verendrye on or near Lake Winnipeg.

From the foregoing negotiations between Verendrye and La Marque, it is evident that the former had, through his ex-

ertions in Montreal, managed to provide well for what he regarded as his ulterior effort in outfitting an expedition to find the "Western Sea," or at least to go "among that nation of whites who had been so much spoken of," wherever they might be, whether inland or on seacoast. It is equally obvious that both these valiant souls were men of high honor and generosity, and that extreme adversity had neither soured the bright spirits nor diminished the whole-souledness of Verendrye.

Now, it appears that while Fort la Reine and the in-buildings were being constructed, Verendrye and some of his fellow-adventurers made a tour into the neighboring country; it does not appear where they went—whether farther up the Assiniboine or inland. All that is recorded on that head appears in the "letter" journal, in an incidental reference: "On the return from our journey on the 15th of the month, the fort and houses being completed, I thought of making everything ready for our departure," etc. And, as the La Marque party arrived on the 8th or 9th, this reconnoiter must have been a brief trip, probably by way of preliminary to the departure of the general expedition, and not improbably, to southward and in the direction which the whole party would take in proceeding overland to the Mandans.

Now the romantic and daring overland trip to the Missouri River is about to begin: "On the 16th I had the drum beat to arms, to pass every one in review, and to select such as were necessary for my expedition. After the inspection of the arms, I published your orders regarding the post; I selected twenty men, ten of Mr. la Marque's and ten of mine. I warned them to keep themselves in readiness for the 18th, gave them a pound of powder and twenty balls each, shoes, an axe, a kettle to be used on the journey; gave to each man, French and Indian, a bag of powder, sixty balls, two fathoms of tobacco; some small wares, more for present necessity than for anything else, as awls, gun-flints, gun screws and steels. I had put into a leather bag what I wanted for present use, that a wife of our guide carried for me, and all that was of use for myself, my servant and my slave carried. That settled, I had Sanschagrin received as commander in my absence, as a man of wise and prudent mind, who fills the office of sergeant. Taking my two children

with me, I left him two soldiers and ten hired men as a guard for the fort, and then gave him orders and instructions in writing of all he was to do during my absence. On the 18th, all being in good order in the fort, I made all our people set out, with orders to encamp not far off, and afterwards to leave with Mr. de la Marque about noon, encouraging the Indians whom I left at the Fort to hunt cattle, the beaver not being yet good, to furnish provisions to the French whom I left."

Perhaps that first camping place was the locality to which, and to fix upon which the short "journey" had been made. Verendrye had evidently planned upon having a larger company with him on this expedition, since he refers to the party now setting forth, as "Our small band." However, it consisted of "52 persons, twenty hired men, all good men, Mr. de la Marque, his brother, my two children (Francois and Louis Joseph), my servant and a slave, the rest Indians." This meant that twenty-five Indians, including the squaw, were in the party. But this account does not tally precisely with the entry in Verendrye's general journal of his expeditions—the difference being as to the number of Indians; the latter journal stating that there were "four savages with their wives." The fact that Verendrye gives the precise total membership of the expedition, in his military report to Beauharnois, however, would seem to be conclusive proof that such was the actual number composing it.

The third day out a village of forty Assiniboine "huts" joined them. At the solicitation of the guide, the chief of this village was permitted to "have the pleasure of seeing us and of showing their hospitality." He was presented with some powder, and Verendrye made to him a statement similar to that given the proceeding Indian assemblies, which was received in the same spirit, and was accompanied by similar promises of fidelity to the French cause, as were exhibited on the other occasions referred to.

It is not quite certain that any of the landmarks referred to in Verendrye's journals of this trip to the Mandans can be identified,—certainly not without going over the ground and, by making use of the courses specified by him, in connection with the time spent, endeavoring to locate the two "mountains"

of his "letter" journal. The problem is made still more difficult by the fact that several wide detours were made, under the urgent advice of the guide, to certain neighboring Indian villages, in order to visit them en route, "making us spend the finest weather in autumn staying still, so that we took forty-six days to go a distance we should have done easily in sixteen or twenty days at the most." The journal proceeds:

"On the 21st [of October] we continued our route, as far as the first mountain, twenty-six leagues distant from our fort, still to the south by southwest; from the first mountain to the second west and by northwest, 24 leagues. From the point of the second mountain to go direct to the Mandans we must keep to the south-west. But we were obliged to do much more, as on a road which is two leagues in a straight line, we made three or four from our fort. It may have been a hundred and twenty leagues to the west south-west that our guide lengthened the road by from fifty to sixty leagues[18] and a number of stops to which we were obliged to agree, making us spend," etc. "We had, perforce, to have patience; all that I could say to our guide to make him hasten was to no purpose. He made us take for the height of happiness twenty-two leagues of a road which was taking us off our route to get to a village of a hundred and two huts which he had gone to look for, and had brought us eight men, whom the chiefs of the village had sent to beg me to join them, that they were all inclined to accompany me to the Mandans, telling me that the Sioux often visited in that direction and that I had need of an escort. We had to make up our minds to go there. We arrived there on the 18th of November, in the afternoon."

Now, while Verendrye does not state the time consumed in going from the first to the second "mountain," he does give us the course as well as the distance traveled between Fort la Reine and the first "mountain," and also the course taken thence to the second "mountain." It would also appear that, up to the time when they reached "the point of the second mountain," there had been no material deviations from the most direct practical route. If, then, at the end of the third day they had traveled about seventy-five miles ("twenty-six

[18]See note 22, post.

leagues'') to the first ''mountain,'' on a course ''south by south-west'' from Fort la Reine, and traveled thence ''west and by north-west'' about seventy miles (''twenty-four leagues'') to reach the second ''mountain,'' did they arrive at Turtle Mountain, or its easterly ''point?'' And was the first ''mountain'' the high hill near the northern extremity of the Pembina Mountains known to the explorers and fur-traders as Tete de Bouef or Buffalo Head or Bull's Head, (by Henry called ''Hair Hill''), now known as Calf Mountain, near Darlington, Manitoba. Elliott Coues (New Light on the Greater Northwest, Vol 1, p. 419), calls this hill a ''notable landmark,'' on the eastern slope of the Pembina Mountains, seven miles north of the Pembina River; and Henry, whose travels Coues is here editing, says: ''The prospect from this elevated station is extensive in every direction, excepting on the north, where the strong wood is near at hand.'' On the top of a smaller hill at the south end of a lake near by, says Henry, ''the Assiniboines and Crees are very particular to make sacrifices'' and to collect ''bulls' heads,'' which they deposited there, etc. If there is any serious difficulty in adjusting Verendrye's data to this theory that the Buffalo Head and Turtle Mountain were the ''mountains'' of his journal, it would seem to be this: That the first course southward, of twenty-six leagues, brings the party too far south[19] in order, by the second course westward, to come far enough north to reach Turtle Mountain. But if they coursed around to northward of the easterly extremity of that mountain, as they not improbably did, we believe it is very probable that none other than those two prominent landmarks are those mentioned by him.

Now, while the usual route of overland travel to and from the Mandan villages and Turtle Mountain, in early days, was by going northward from those villages to, and by following in a general way the course of the Mouse (or Souris) river, from a point on its eastern course at the south end of its ''loup,'' northward and on around the west side of

[19]I think a careful measurement of the maps shows St. Johns, North Dakota, to be about 80 miles southwest of Fort La Reine, (Portage La Prairie, Manitoba), almost precisely confirming Verendrye's estimate, and I may add it is the only point where I think him to be approximately accurate in his estimates of the distances traveled upon this expedition.—D. R.

that mountain to the mouth of the stream,—and vice versa,—making at least three crossings of the Mouse (two on the "loup" and one near the mouth) and cutting across to save distance; yet we believe the Verendrye party must have gone from the Turtle Mountain region considerably farther west than this general route; since it is certain that the "lengthening of the road" by some fifty leagues,[20] as indicated by his journal, must have brought them to a point far west of the most westerly region traversed by the lower Mouse. But here we may only speculate; as nothing is said in any of the Verendrye journals about crossing any stream south of the Assiniboine,—save the recital as to the Misssouri River in the journal of the "Chevalier" on the exploration of 1742-3. But it is highly probable that, after making the wide detour mentioned by Verendrye, to the village of 102 "huts," they were so far west as to make it necessary, in reaching the Mandans, to travel a considerable distance east of south toward the end of the journey.

To return to the subject of the meeting at the big village: The journal relates:

"A number of messengers had gone before us and we were received with great joy. They led us, Mr. de la Marque, his brother and my children, into the hut of a young chief, where every one was ready to receive us. They made a great feast for us and for all our people, who did not want for a good appetite. On the 19th I assembled the chiefs and head men of the village in the hut where I was, I gave them a present in your name of powder, balls, knives and tobacco, telling them that I received them into the number of your children; that if they had sense you promised not to abandon them; that the French were now established on their lands and would provide for all their wants; that they must hunt the beaver and keep to their lands; that you did not wish for war at present, desiring to make all the lands smooth, so that all our children might live in peace, of whom I would increase the number every day. I made the same recital to them that I had to all the others. There was great thankfulness, with many tears and ceremonies, by passing their hands over

[20]See note 6.

my head, taking me in your room and place as their father, and our Frenchmen as brothers by again passing the hands over our heads, all weeping. This ceremony ended, the orator said: We thank thee, my father, for so willingly taking the trouble to come to us; we are all going in thy company to the Mandans to bring thee to thy fort; we have sent four men to warn them who are about to arrive who report that the Mandans are greatly rejoicing at thy coming amongst them and are to come to meet thee. We have sent four other young men to bring them to the place we have selected for them; we will go quietly to the hunting to have fat on arriving there, to eat with the grain of which they always eat much, having seldom either meat or fat. I thanked them for their good will, and encouraged them to send us on quickly; that they could see as well as I, the very advanced season. Knowing that the Mandans had no supplies of fat, I purchased it in the village to give to all our people whatever they would carry, and made the Indians carry for us, for which I paid them; I warned our Frenchmen that I intended to spend part of the winter among the Mandans; that if they did not take a good load of fat, they must eat their wheat and beans with water."

"On the 20th, the whole village set out on the march to go the seventeen leagues where the meeting place for the Mandans had been chosen; every day they entertained us with the tale that the whites we were going to see were Frenchmen like ourselves, who said they were our descendants. All they told us gave us good hope of making a discovery which would deserve attention. Mr. de la Marque and I made plans along the road from what they were telling us, believing that to be true, from which we had to deduct much."

Before bringing into view the remarkable events connected with the end of this expedition, we feel that, it being so clearly set down in the journal as to prove the impression made upon Verendrye concerning the military system of the Assiniboines, we may be pardoned for quoting from his journal his summary of the systematic and orderly principle of marching, adopted by those Indians on that expedition:

"I observed to Mr. de la Marque the good order in which the Assiniboines march to prevent surprise, marching always on the prairies, the hillsides and valleys from the first mountain, which did not make them fatigued by mounting and descending often in their march during the day. There are magnificent plains of three or four leagues.[21] The march of the Assiniboines, especially when they are numerous, is in three columns, having skirmishers in front, with a good rear guard, the old and lame march in the middle, forming the central column. I kept all the French together as much as possible. If the skirmishers discovered herds of cattle on the road, as often happens, they raise a cry which is soon returned by the rear guard, and all the most active men in the column join the vanguard to hem in the cattle, of which they secure a number, and each takes what flesh he wants. Since that stops the march, the vanguard marks out the encampment which is not to be passed; the women and dogs carry all the baggage, the men are burdened only with their arms; they make the dogs even carry wood to make the fires, being often obliged to camp in the open prairie, from which the clumps of wood may be at a great distance." The "cattle" were of course the buffalo. It is evident, from the foregoing, that there were a large number of Assiniboines who had from time to time joined the expedition, in addition to those who left Fort la Reine.

On the morning of the 28th (of October), we arrived at the place selected for the meeting with the Mandans, who arrived towards evening—a chief, with thirty men and the four Assiniboines. The chief, after having from the top of a height considered for some time the extent of our village, which appeared of a good size, I had him brought to the hut where I was, where a place had been prepared to receive him on one side of it. He came and placed himself near me; one of his people then, on his part, presented me with a gift of In-

[21]While I am of the opinion that Verendrye's estimate of the distance traveled west, northwest from the first mountain, to be exaggerated, and that in fact they went in that direction only so far as Bear Butte, in the vicinity of the present village of Bottineau, North Dakota, and thence traveled up the valley of the Mouse, this statement pertaining to the "magnificent plains three or four leagues wide," does support Mr. De-Land's view that they had gone across the lower waters of the Mouse to the headwaters of that stream, and were now marching down the valley upon the beautiful prairies that lie between the Mouse and the Coteau du Missouri.—D. R.

dian corn in the ear, and of their tobacco in rolls, which is not good, as they do not know how to cure it like us. It is very like ours, with this difference, that it is not cultivated and is cut green, everything being turned to account, the stalks and the leaves together. I gave him some of mine, which he thought very good."

What immediately follows in the journal, while showing that Verendrye was disappointed in not finding in these newcomers "different people" from the Assiniboines, should not be taken as at all conclusive on that head, in view of the sequel:

"I acknowledged that I was surprised, expecting to see different people from the other Indians, especially after the account given me. There is no difference from the Assiniboines; they are naked, covered only with a buffalo robe, worn carelessly without breech clout. I knew from that time that we had to make an allowance for all we had been told." But before he closes his account of the Mandans, he declares that they "are not Indians" at all.

The chief spoke to him "in Assiniboine, testifying the joy which I had given to all their nation by my arrival among them:" making in general the same representations and promises that had preceded him among the Assiniboines; "he begged me to remain at his fort, that it was the nearest and smaller than the others, but well supplied with provisions; that there were six forts belonging to the same nation; that it was the only one not far from the river. He told me he had received two belts from me; that they had been shown to me on my arrival, as they had always hoped to see me." Thanking him, Verendrye told him he "had come from a long distance to form a friendship with them, and that I would speak to them as soon as I should arrive at their fort. He immediately played us a trick; having examined our village on his arrival, as I have stated, judging that there would be many people, and if they all came to his fort, there must be a great consumption of grain, their custom being to feed liberally all who came among them, selling only what was to be taken away, he gave many thanks to the Assiniboines for having brought the French among them; that it could not have

happened more opportunely; that the Sioux would not be long of arriving among them, having been warned, begging me, like the Assiniboines, to assist them, hoping much from our valor and courage. I was entrapped like the Assiniboines, with this difference, that the Assiniboines stood confounded, whilst I rejoiced, believing that I had found an opportunity to be avenged on that accursed nation. I promised him every assistance from myself and our Frenchmen, should they come whilst we were with them, for which he thanked me. He was sent for to come to the feast and questioned respecting the Sioux. The Assiniboines, numerous, strong and robust men, are not brave; they greatly fear the Sioux, whom they think to be braver. The Mandans know their weakness and profit by it, as opportunity arises. The council was held to discuss what should be done. The most decided opinion was that it was not necessary to go further than to warn me of the risk I was about to run if I wished to pursue our course."

It thus appeared that there were six Mandan fortified villages; and, if this chief's statement were true, all but one to which he belonged and which was yet some distance in advance of the visiting party, were "far from the river." But what river? Upon no theory at all consistent with later and reliable information can we presume that all but one of the array of Mandan villages were, even in Verendrye's time, located "far from" the Missouri River. We shall see that all of them, as known at the beginning of the nineteenth century, were on the Missouri. From deductions soon to be made herein, we believe that the "river" referred to by this chief was the Mouse River, and that the village toward which the explorers were now traveling was located near, but to south of the southern end of the loup of that stream. The only other theory which we deem permissible is, that this Indian's representations were unreliable; that he intended to be understood as referring to all but one of the Mandan villages as being "far from" the Missouri River, and that such statement was made, perhaps, for the purpose of dissuading Verendrye from going beyond this chief's village; though why he should have taken so selfish a view of the expedition is not plain. Probably his whole policy was em-

bodied in his "trick" of pretending that the Sioux were coming,—thereby to get rid of the Assiniboines, who would consume all his provisions if they visited his village. And if all other than his own village were far away from the Mouse river, to-wit, some 100 miles south on the Missouri, this would discourage the Assiniboines from going farther on, as help from the other Mandans would not be forthcoming. This point the chief had driven home to the Assiniboines, who, in view of his representations, "stood confounded."

Two-thirds of a century later, when Lewis & Clarke visited the Mandans, what became known as the Mandan villages were located on the Missouri River at and near the Mouth of Knife River, at and in the immediate neighborhood of Stanton, Mercer County, North Dakota, and in five villages, of which two were of the Mandans proper—one on the east side, the other on the west side of the Missouri,— and three, situated at and near the mouth of the Knife, being known as Minitarees; the whole five being within a stretch of some six miles. Thompson, who came among them from the north in 1797, found five villages, but there were then two Mandan villages proper on the west side of the Missouri, and one on the east bank. However, Lewis & Clarke's journals of 1804-5 (when they wintered there), record the then well-known fact among the Indians that "within the recollection of living witnesses the Mandans were settled forty years ago in nine villages, the ruins of which we passed about 80 miles below (i. e., below Fort Mandan, at the then Mandan Villages), seven on the west and two on the east side of the Missouri;" that afterwards, being harried by the Sioux and also stricken by small-pox, they emigrated up-stream, etc. This point "80 miles below" is the modern Mandan, Morton County, North Dakota, situated on the west side of the Missouri, at the mouth of the Heart River, opposite Bismarck, the seat of the state government. And here, in all probability, is where the Mandan Villages of 1738 were located, although they were not improbably somewhat differently assembled as to the number and precise location of the individual villages; since the forty years indicated by Lewis and Clarke would be only twenty-

six years after Verendrye's present visit to the most northerly of the Mandan villages of his time. It should be added, that the group of villages found by Lewis and Clarke were then and thereafter known by the general cognomen of "The Mandan Villages," notwithstanding the various differences between some of them as to tribal relations and blood strains.

But where was this first "Fort" which we find the Verendrye party now approaching? Beyond knowing, or believing on substantial evidence that it was in the near neighborhood of the Mouse river, at some point not far from where it turns eastward from a southerly course, near the southerly end of the "loop" of that river, in North Dakota, speculation may be indulged as to where it stood. That it was in the latitude of that loop is certain as we shall see.

Let us then speculate somewhat as to the locality of the Assiniboine village of 102 lodges to find which the expedition wandered so widely from its general objective, for if we could determine even roughly its location we might then estimate with far more certainty, as to the distance and direction therefrom of the "meeting place" and their relation to the Mandan "fort" in question. If by recording, "It may have been a hundred and twenty leagues to the west-south-west that our guide lengthened our road by from fifty to sixty leagues and a number of stops to which we were obliged to agree," Verendrye meant to indicate that they proceeded to a point roughly estimated as about 360 miles (120 leagues) in that general direction from Fort la Reine, before reaching the big Assiniboine village, we might speculate with at least some reason, that they had then arrived at a point considerably less than 165 miles south-westerly from the north-westerly edge of Turtle Mountain; since they traveled some 150 miles to reach what we believe to have been the northeasterly head of that mountain; and from thence to its northwesterly head is about 45 miles; which would leave the estimated 165 miles for the meanderings southwesterly from Turtle Mountain—which wanderings would embrace, however, the some 150

miles (say 50 leagues) of "lengthened road."[22] From these quite imperfect data we may estimate roundly, that that village was located in the neighborhood of 75 miles westward from the northwest corner of Turtle mountain; which would be somewhere near the sources of the Mouse river on the westerly side of the north end of the "loop," not very far from the Canadian line, in North Dakota, and either west of, or even upon that stream. If we suppose the Assiniboine village to have been in that locality, we can from this, estimate with reasonable certainty, the neighborhood of the appointed meeting-place, reached on November 28th, which would be substantially fifty miles, (17 leagues) in a southern direction therefrom, since the party now were doubtless traveling over a practicable and direct route to the nearest point of the Missouri river. Now, the "small river" soon to be mentioned was not a branch of the Missouri, since it is some fifty miles southerly from the southern extremity of the "loup" to Wolf Creek, some five miles north of Coal Harbor, North Dakota, where the Missouri turns from an easterly to a southerly course. Spring Creek is some fifteen miles further south and about seven miles above the mouth of Knife river. Painted Woods Creek is from 30 to 35 miles south of Spring Creek and about 8 miles below Washburn, North Dakota, All these creeks are branches of and are on the easterly side of the Missouri.

Let us now proceed to follow Verendrye's journal narrative, and endeavor to locate the "small river" near which the party were soon to take dinner with a Mandan delegation: After relating how, at the council held at the appointed meeting-place, the "old man" had assured the assembly that Verendrye was no coward and could not be frightened by the Sioux, and had urged all but those who must remain to protect

[22]I do not interpret this statement as does Mr. DeLand. Verendrye's exact language is: "It may have been 120 leagues to the west south-west that our guide lengthened the road by from fifty to sixty leagues." (Il peut y avoir cent vingt lieues, a ouest sudouest, que nostre guide nous a bien augmente de plus de cinquante a soixante lieues.) I think he means to convey the information that the entire journey was about 120 leagues, (360 miles), which was fifty leagues more than was necessarily traveled. That is the total distance in a direct line from Fort La Reine to the loop of the Mouse where the Mandans were found, is about 70 leagues (210 miles), but to arrive at this distance the erratic guide made them travel fifty leagues, (150 miles) further. The actual distance from Fort LaReine in a direct line precisely confirms this view.—D. R.

the Assiniboine village, to go forward with the expedition,—which course was followed,—the journal continues:

"I was notified of the result of the council; word was sent throughout the village to warn everybody to be ready to march the day after to-morrow, the 30th of the month, thus making a little longer delay among the Mandans, who knew how to profit by it by the sale of their grain, tobacco, peltry and painted plumes, which they know the Asssimboines greatly value, who had bought and now gave in exchange muskets, axes, kettles, powder, balls, knives and awls. They are much craftier in trade than the Assiniboines and others, who are constantly their dupes. We left on the morning of the 30th, about 600 men, several women without children, the best walkers. On the evening of the third day of our march, about seven leagues from the first fort of the Mandans, I was informed that an Assiniboine had taken the bag from my slave on the road, on the pretext of relieving him, and had returned to the village. My box, in which were my papers, and many things of use to me, were in the bag." Two young men were sent back to recover and bring forward the bag, who "overtook the rascal, who had already decamped from the village, made him return everything and came back to their village to keep the whole, hoping to restore it to me on my return, not daring to come after me, being afraid of the Sioux." He proceeds:

"The orator gave notice that we must leave before four in the morning in order to arrive early at the fort. I found at a league and a half, about noon, near a small river, a number of people who had come to meet us had lighted fires, expecting us, and had brought coarse grain cooked and flour made into a paste, with pumpkins, to give all enough to eat. Two chiefs had made a place ready for me near the fire and presented me first with something to eat and to smoke. Mr. de la Marque arrived shortly after me. I asked him to sit near me and to eat whilst resting. We remained fully two hours resting. We were warned that it was time to go. I made one of my children take the flag painted with the arms of France, and march at the front; and ordered the French to follow in ranks. The Sieur Nolant relieved my

son in carrying the flag, each taking it in turn. The Mandans would not let me march, but offered to carry me, to which I had to consent, being requested by the Assiniboines, who told me I would displease them greatly if I refused."

The famed expedition is now about to reach and salute the first Mandan "fort." The intense joy of the occasion was manifest—the expectant was now to be realized. And Verendrye and his sons, his distinguished fellow-countrymen, and his soldiers forgot not their king and country in the formalities that now took place:

"At four acres from the fort, on a small height, the old men of the fort, accompanied by a great number of the youth, were waiting to present me with the calumet and to show me the two belts I had sent them four or five years ago. They gave a seat to me and to Mr. de la Marque. I received their compliments, which related only to the joy they felt at our arrival. I ordered my son, the Chevalier, to make all our Frenchmen draw up in line, the flag four paces in front; all the Assiniboines who had muskets placed themselves in line like our Frenchmen. After compliments had been paid, I saluted the fort with three volleys. Many people came to meet us, but nothing in comparison with what appeared on the ramparts and along the trenches. I marched in good order to the fort, into which I entered on the 3rd day of December, at 4 in the afternoon, escorted by all the French and Assiniboines. We were led into the hut of the head chief. It was certainly large but not enough to hold all who wished to enter. The crowd was so great that they crushed one another, Assiniboines and Mandans. There was only the place where we were, Mr. de la Marque, his brother and my children, free from them. I asked that the crowd should retire, to leave our Frenchmen clear, and to put their baggage in a place of safety, telling them they had all time to see us. Everyone was put out, but I had been too late. The bag of goods had been stolen, in which were all my presents, through the fault of one of the hired men in whose care I had placed it before reaching the fort. He had unloaded in entering the hut without looking for the bag, which he had put beside him in the great crowd. I felt rather confounded; my box lost, my bag of presents,

which was very necessary for the place, and there were upwards of 300 livres inside. The Assiniboines seemed greatly annoyed and at once made a strict but useless search. Their fort is full of caves, well suited for concealment. The chief of the Mandans appeared to be greatly moved at my loss, and said for my consolation that there were many rascals among them. He would do his utmost to discover something about it. Had I accepted the offer of the Assiniboines, I might have had it found in a little time by force, but I preferred to lose it and to make peace about everything, as I wanted to spend part of the winter with them to get a knowledge of the more distant country."

The expedition had now traveled, since leaving the big Assiniboine village, as nearly as we are able to roughly estimate, about ninety miles—seventeen leagues to the "meeting-place," then, after marching three days to within "about seven leagues" from the "fort," during which three days we estimate they traveled about seven miles per day, they, by an extra spurt and by starting "before four in the morning," covered about seven leagues the last day. We believe that Verendrye's halting place at noon that day, was "at a league and a half" from the **fort**,—and near that camping place was the "small river." They were undoubtedly proceeding southward; this would fix the location of the fort some five miles south of and away from a "small river," if it were flowing in a general eastward or westward direction, while if it were flowing southward, the fort might have been quite near it, but that much farther down-stream.

But, if we are to credit the astronomical observation made by Verendrye's son five days later, as recorded by the explorer, this fort, wherever it stood as to longitude, was at "forty-eight degrees, twelve minutes" in latitude. And that the expedition was now somewhere in the near neighborhood of the southern bend of the "loup" of the Mouse River seems reasonably certain, from deductions, some of which we have already made, some of which we now make: The latitude is substantially five miles south of Minot, N. Dak.—and we believe it not improbable that the "small river" of Verendrye's journal meant either the Mouse in this general locality, or some

branch of it flowing from westward,—possibly the River des Lacs, which enters the Mouse about ten miles above Minot. And, supposing the direction traveled after leaving the Assiniboine village was about southeasterly,—not a rash assumption, in view of the long detour out of the general course, already referred to, and of the fact that the guides knew about where this "fort" was—we think it probable, as already stated, that the Assiniboine village was somewhere in the northwestern part of the "loup" of the Mouse, or farther west and near the River des Lacs, and not far from the International Boundary line. That general locality would also be some ninety miles northwest from the neighborhood of Minot.

In any event if the "fort" was in the neighborhood of the south end of said "loup" of the Mouse, the distance therefrom to Mandan, North Dakota, where the "Mandan Villages" of forty or fifty years prior to Thompson's and Lewis & Clarke's times were situated, would be about 110 travel miles south of this "fort."

We left Verendrye's party at the first Mandan fort,—he grieving over the disappearance of his box and his bag. He proceeds:

"On the 14th—(obviously an error, should be 4th of December, 1738),—I had the principal Mandans and Assiniboines assembled in the hut where I was. I gave them my present of powder and balls, telling them that I could give them nothing else; that they all knew that what I had brought to give in presents had been carried off. I declared to them that I was inclined to remain some time to gain a knowledge of the country according to our orders, which I could not do in a day. The Mandans testified their joy, assuring me that I need not be afraid of fasting, that they had provisions in reserve, far more than were necessary for us, and that their whole fort was well supplied, that I might dispose of it, being master among them."

"The elder of the Assiniboines" then addressed Verendrye, flattering his band that they had brought him "to thy fort," and promising to come to see him as soon as desired; then he urged

[28]The actual direct distance from the loop of the Mouse to Mandan is but 90 miles.—D. R.

the Mandans to "take great care of him and of all the French; learn to know them; they know how to do everything; he is a spirit; we love and fear him; do like us." He then fell to lamenting over "the theft which has been committed on our father by entering among us; what can he think of us; we cannot deny that it is an unworthy thing. The Frenchman came to see us and you robbed him." He was good, "or it would not have passed in that way. I do not fear to tell you so; we could have found the bag had he wished it," etc. Here Verendrye "made him finish, as I saw the old man was getting heated. One of the Mandan chiefs answered: Neither I, nor my people have any share in what you accuse us of; I do not answer for others; I am vexed enough; I have had every search made by my young men; I have nothing to reproach myself with. Who knows if it is not an Assiniboine? There were some of both in the crowd; thou canst answer for nothing. Be not uneasy as to what regards our father and all his people; he is here master as if he were at home. We beg him to number us among his children. This I did at once, by putting my hands on the head of each chief, which is the usual ceremony, answered by loud shouts of joy and thanks."

These details are believed worthy of mention, as showing at once the self-possession and tactfulness of Verendrye under circumstances of extreme annoyance concerning his losses that thus placed him in an embarrassing situation, and the embarrassment of the Mandan chiefs who were his party's hosts, the recriminations as to who were blameworthy for "theft," and, finally, as proof that, as at Jericho of yore, one might even in the Mandan country "fall among thieves."

Verendrye continues: "I then said to the Assiniboines: I am sending four Frenchmen to my fort to give my news there; I recommend you to get them to that place as soon as you can. I have left powder in the village and all that is necessary to have them brought. The council ended with loud thanks from both parties." The Assiniboines did not mention leaving, "although they had purchased all they were able to do," of very many articles mentioned by the explorer. "These people dress leather better than any of the other

nations, and work in furs and feathers very tastefully, which the Assiniboines are not capable of doing. They are cunning traders, cheating the Assiniboines of all they may possess, such as muskets, powder, balls, kettles, axes, knives or awls. Seeing the great consumption of food daily by the Assiniboines, and afraid that it would not last long, they set afloat a rumor that the Sioux were near and that several of their hunters had noticed them. The Assiniboines fell into the trap, and made up their minds quickly to decamp, not wishing to be obliged to fight. A Mandan chief let me understand by a sign that the rumor about the Sioux was to get rid of the Assiniboines. At six in the morning they all left in great haste, believing the Sioux were near and fearing that the road might be blocked up."

Verendrye says of the Mandans: "The chief with whom I had lodged brought five men to remain with me, saying: My father, I still hope that you will join us for a little; I march peaceably. Here are five of my young men whom I give thee to remain with thee and to guide thee when thou shalt wish to leave. I made him a small present to thank him, telling him that he knew that I had sense and that I intended shortly to reward him for his attention. He left with great protestations of friendship. I was notified shortly after that an interpreter whom I had paid liberally to secure him had decamped in spite of all the offers which my son, the Chevalier, had made him, as he was going after an Assiniboine woman with whom he had fallen in love, but who would not remain with him. He was a young man of the Cree nation speaking good Assiniboine. As there were several Mandans who spoke it well enough, I made myself very well understood, as my son spoke Cree and the Cree interpreted into Assiniboine. But here was the height of misfortune, as we could only make ourselves understood by signs and demonstrations. If I had suspected my interpreter, who had every day assured me he would always remain with me and never abandon me, I would have taken advantage of the time I had him with me to make the demands on the Mandans I wished to make. But flattering myself that I had a man on whom I could rely, I put off till after the departure of the

Assiniboines. All day I was greatly embarrassed; all that I wanted to know and the few questions which I had put were asked in the evening after everyone had retired; such as, if there were many people along the river going down, and what nations; if the places at a distance were known. I was answered that there were five forts on the two banks of the river, belonging to their nation, much larger than that in which we were; that at a day's journey from the last of their forts were the Pananas, who had several forts; then the Pananis; that those two nations who held much of the country and were now at war for four years, had always from all time been closely united and in alliance together; that he would tell me afterwards the causes which had set them at variance. The Pananas and Pananis made their forts like them. In summer they grew wheat and tobacco on the lower part of the river, which was very wide, land not being visible from one shore to the other; the water bad for drinking. All these lands are inhabited by whites like us who work in iron. The word iron among all nations here means all sorts of metals, which they call iron; that they only marched on horseback, both for hunting and war; that these men could not be killed by arrow or musket, being covered with iron, but that by killing the horse the man could be caught easily, as he could not run; that he had a shield of iron very clear, fought with lances and sabres, with which he was very skilful; the women were never seen in fields; their forts and houses were of stone. I asked him if there were fine woods, and if the prairie continued in heights and hollows. He answered that the wood was all along the river in places and also on the prairies in islands; that the further down the more the hills increased; that many of them were only rocks of fine stone, especially along the river. I asked if it took long to go where the whites, the horsemen, were. I was answered that the Pananas and Pananis had horses like the whites; it would take a whole summer to make the journey, and that since they were at war with the Pananas the men would not undertake to go far, the roads being closed to them. That cattle were abundant on the prairies, far larger and fatter than those we had seen on their prairies; their coat white and of several colors. He

showed us horns split in half, of a greenish color which hold nearly three pints. In all huts they have them in use as ladles, proving that they have killed many when the road was open. That was all I could learn even by chance, as I had relied on my interpreter, that I would have time to be thoroughly informed at leisure."

The reference here to the "Pananas and Pananis" is to the Pawnees, or, as they have been known in the Upper Missouri River region, the Aricaras or Rees, and who, in all probability, lived at various points on and near the Missouri, in what are now South and North Dakota; the most southerly bands of whom were, when Lewis and Clarke came up the river, located near the mouth of Grand River. The whites "who worked in iron" and were clad in arrow-proof armor, etc., were obviously the Spaniards on the Lower Mississippi. The important fact is that, in that early day these whites were well known to the Mandans; and, as we shall see, some of their warriors had actually come in contact with these mailed horsemen of the wide-mouthed river whose waters were "bad for drinking."

"Six days after the Assiniboines left," continues Verendrye, "I sent my son, the Chevalier, with Sieur Nolant, six Frenchmen and several Mandans to the nearest fort, which is on the bank of the river. If well received they were to sleep there, to get the best information of the course of the river; who dwell there; if they are acquainted with the lower part, in accordance with what was told us; to learn all that could be ascertained by signs and demonstrations." As seen later on, this party were gone two weeks.

Now comes Verendrye's description of the remarkable Mandan fortress—for it was nothing less—in which he was stopping, and of the not less remarkable people who inhabited it:

"After their departure, Mr. de la Marque and I walked about to observe the size of their fort and their fortifications. I decided to have the huts counted. It was found that there were a hundred and thirty of them. All the streets, squares and huts resembled each other. Several of our Frenchmen

wandered about; they found the streets and squares very clean, the ramparts very level and broad; the palisades supported on cross-pieces morticed into posts of fifteen feet. At fifteen points doubled are green skins which are put for sheathing when required, fastened only above in the places needed, as in the bastion there are four at each curtain well flanked. The fort is built on a height in the open prairie with a ditch upwards of fifteen feet deep by fifteen or eighteen feet wide. Their fort can only be gained by steps or posts which can be removed when threatened by an enemy. If all their forts are alike, they may be called impregnable to Indians. Their fortifications are not Indian. This nation is mixed white and black. The women are fairly good-looking, especially the white, many with blond and fair hair. Both men and women of this nation are very laborious; their huts are large and spacious, separated into several apartments by thick planks; nothing is left lying about; all their baggage is in large bags hung on posts; their beds made like tombs surrounded by skins; * * * . These men are always naked, covered only with a buffalo robe; a great part of the women naked like the men, with this difference, that they wear a loose apron, about a hand breadth wide and a foot long, sewed to a girdle in front only; * * although they have a petticoat which gives no constraint, * * . Several carry a kind of gown of very soft deer skin; * * . Their fort is full of caves, in which are stored such articles as grain, food, fat, dressed robes, bear skins. They are well supplied with these; it is the money of the country; * * . They are fond of tatooing, but never more than half the body is tatooed, both of men and women. They make wicker work very neatly, flat and in baskets. They make use of earthen pots, which they use like many other nations for cooking their food. They are for the most part great eaters; eager for feasts. They brought me every day more than twenty dishes of wheat, beans and pumpkins, all cooked. Mr. de la Marque, who did not hate feasts, went to them continually with my children. As I did not go to them, my share was sent to me. The men are stout and tall, generally very active, fairly good looking, with a good physiognomy. The women have not

the Indian physiogomy. The men indulge in a sort of ball play on the squares and ramparts."

Verendrye had now doubtless discovered that these Indians were indeed "different" from the Assiniboines—their fortifications evidently were "not Indian," while he finds the nation "mixed white and black;" and they were indisputably civilized, as distinguished from barbarous in the usual sense of the word as applied to Indians.

The explorer now narrates the circumstances of the trip of the Chevalier and La Marque to the Mandan post on the river:

"On the evening of the 4th," says Verendrye's journal, the Sieur Nolant and my son arrived, well satisfied with their journey, having been well received and strongly urged to remain longer." Either this date refers to the month of January, 1739, or there is an error in stating the date in December, 1738; since the "letter" journal—the one we have been quoting from exclusively as to many events of the trip—states that the start was made by the son for the river fort six days after the Assiniboines left, which would fix the date of the son's departure on December 11th; and thus, if he returned on the 4th of the following January, his party would have been absent 24 days. And, supposing our estimate of the distance from the first "fort" to the one visited on the river to have been 130 miles, and that, as is very probable, the route taken was a well-known Indian thoroughfare, the time mentioned would suffice for such a trip and for remaining at the river fort some four days, if they traveled 13 miles per day,—a not unreasonable supposition, with Indian guides as leaders. Verendrye proceeds:

"The fort is on the bank of the river, as large again as this; the squares and streets very fine and clean; their palisade is in the best order and strength; the whole built in the same fashion as the one in which we were. From what they could hear, all their forts were alike; who saw one saw them all, with this difference, that some were much larger than others; that the last was the largest of all. The nearest to the Pananas that the river appeared to go was, according to the compass, southwest by south, by signs given by them;

the lower part may go to the sea to the southwest by west. They were often amused with broken talk; not being able to answer questions put to them, they answered something else, for want of understanding. The waters of their rivers come down with great rapidity, having many shoals. The water is not good for drinking, being brackish. We have constantly found from the last mountain almost all the marshes and ponds brackish, or sulphurous. What they could understand was, that on the lower part of the river there were men like us, who made cloth and linen, were very numerous, and had wars with a large part of the Indians. We saw that it was useless to question them, as they could not understand us. We did not cease going to their feasts all the time we were at their fort, but could not attend all those to which we were asked. We noticed that in the plain there were several small forts, of forty or fifty huts, built like the large ones, but no one was there at the time. They made us understand that they came inside for the summer to work their fields and that there was a large reserve of grain in their cellars. This is all the information they could give of their journey."

The inquiries thus shown to have been made of the Mandans regarding the location of the mouth of the great river, and the responses thereto, make clear the point that, in seeking his ultimate exploratory destination at the "Western Sea," that seaboard would probably be reached by following the Missouri, or perhaps some branch of it, to the "south-west by west." But as to this we are, again, left in doubt, since, as we shall see further on, the Verendryes finally concluded that in order to reach "the Western Sea" they must cross the Missouri and go more directly to southwest from the Upper Missouri.

"On the 8th of December," continues Verendrye, "I ordered my son to take the altitude, which was forty-eight degrees, twelve minutes. On the evening of the 7th I had consulted with Mr. de la Marque as to the course we should take. Like myself, he knew that little remained with us for presents, which rendered it impossible for us to go further; the season too trying to be able to undertake anything, and

above all, no interpreter nor any hope of getting one during the winter. We had every reason to fear that the roads would become impracticable in spring on account of the waters and with the risk of arriving too late for the setting out of our canoes; the powder I would have would not perhaps be enough to supply all our wants during the winter, and with a small quantity of goods remaining we might find ourselves in a difficulty about all our people, having no longer anything to carry us on, as the Indians would only serve us so far as they were paid, and that in advance, as they looked on promises as a very small resource. On the other hand, that we had reason to apprehend setting out on a march in the worst season of the year. After having considered the whole, we decided that we must set out, leaving two men fit to learn the language in a short time, one in the fort in which we were and the other in the nearest fort, as being alone they could learn more quickly and could consequently give all the information. Mr. de la Marque selected one of his hired men, a man of intelligence, whom he offered me as being one of the most capable, able to write. I accepted him with pleasure and gave him my servant as the second, although he was very useful to me, as well as very useful and attached to my service, I preferred to deprive myself of him for the good he might afterwards render, knowing his strong and quick intellect, with a good memory and facility in learning languages, very wise and fearing God. I gave him full instructions of all he had to do, and on his side, Mr. de la Marque promised to send to look after them next summer. That ended, so far as regarded the two men whom I left, I notified our five Assiniboines, whom I made to understand that I wished to set out shortly, which gave them much joy. I showed them by signs, * * that it would be necessary for them to set out with two Frenchmen on the morning of the next day, that everything would be ready for them, so that they might go speedily to the village to warn them to expect us; that I would leave four days after them, so that I might prepare everything for the journey. I then informed the Mandans of my design, which appeared to give them much sorrow. I showed them the two Frenchmen whom I left in my place, recommending that

they should be taken good care of. They gave me many thanks, with great protestations of friendship and fidelity. I then let them know that I would not abandon them. I asked the chief to give me meal for the journey. The news soon spread throughout the fort. On the morning of the 8th, I made the two Frenchmen set out, guided by two Assiniboines, as I have already said, to go to warn the village of my departure. Wheat flour pounded for the journey was brought, much more than was necessary. I thanked them, giving them some needles which they greatly valued. They would have loaded a hundred men for the journey; in a short time all hastened to bring me some. I made all our people take what they wished which was done in a very short time. Having provided for all that our people needed, I assembled the chiefs and principal Mandans, made them a present of powder, balls and several trifles, which they greatly value, owing to their need of them."

Two leading facts stand out prominently in these recitals. One, the abundance of provisions in the way of cultivated crop productions which the Mandans had stored away in their manifold cave cellars, proving their ability to raise soil products in the wild country generally known as prairie lands. The other, the straits into which La Verendrye had fallen by virtue of his losses of articles intended for distribution among the Indians, and his evident deep desire, in spite of these misfortunes, to push farther into the West on the present expedition.

Verendrye now mentions the first LEADEN PLATE left among the Indians upon his explorations thus far. It was doubtless the only exploratory tablet left, or deposited, by any of the Verendryes on the west side of the divide between the Winnipeg Basin and the Missouri River Valley, save the one deposited at Fort Pierre, to commemorate which is the principal aim of this paper. And these two tablets were doubtless the only ones ever left by French explorers on, near, or west of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, save the more pretentious memorial erected by La Salle in 1682 on the west bank of the westerly mouth of the Mississippi.

"I gave the head chief a flag," says Verendrye, "gave him a leaden plate, which I had ornamented with ribbon at the four corners. It was put into a box to be kept in perpetuity,

in memory of my taking possession of their lands, which I did in the king's name. It will be preserved from father to son, better than if I had put it in the ground, where it would have run the risk of being stolen. I made them understand as well as I could, that I left them that mark in memory of the Frenchmen who had come upon their lands. I very much desired I could have them understand, in order to tell them many things which might have been very useful to them and to us, which to my regret and to theirs I could not do. I had wrought with so much diligence, that on the evening of the eighth every thing was ready for our departure, which I calculated to accomplish sooner than I had given notice of. During the night between the 8th and 9th, I was taken ill, and in a very short time was very ill; I did not know what to think of it. I kept my bed for three days. Finding myself better on the fourth, I prepared to set out next day. I gave the two men enough to defray their expenses liberally, and even to pay a guide, if need were to bring them to our fort; informed them once again of the cause which obliged me to leave them there. So soon as they could make themselves understood, they were to neglect nothing to learn what was this nation of whites, what metal they worked with; if there were any mines to their knowledge; what nations were above, going up the river; if they knew a height of land—in a word, to neglect nothing to obtain all possible information respecting the country."

These instructions no doubt led to the acquisition of much information availed of in preparing for and carrying out the expedition of the two sons, to the Westward of the Missouri, in 1742-3.

It is also evident, from the foregoing, that Verendrye did not carry in the lost box all of the money, or money's worth, brought with him on this journey.

Verendrye had now explored and set up landmarks in a vast stretch of territory extending from Nipigon Bay on Lake Superior to Bismarck, North Dakota—one-third of the way from the initial point to the Pacific coast, and as far westward from that point as are Portland and Boston to eastward, on the Atlantic. He and his sons were yet to do much more in ex-

tending the boundaries of the quest of the "Western Sea." His journal proceeds:

"I set out, although ill, in the hope that it would be nothing and that I would recover at the village my box in which I had put some remedies. On the 13th of December [an error—must be January following], to the great regret of all the Mandans, a chief came to conduct us a league and a half's distance, whence I sent him back. He testified to me by great demonstrations the regret he felt at my departure, making a sign that I would not abandon him, but to return, and that he would accompany us. I gave him a small present of powder, once more recommending the two Frenchmen whom I had left with them. He made me a sign that he would take one to his own house. I dismissed him after giving him many thanks. In the evening I noticed that we had only two Assiniboines with us. They made me understand that one had remained with our Frenchmen, not wishing to abandon them. They would return only in summer with them. I arrived at the village on the 24th, still very ill. We had experienced excessive cold which caused great delay. My box was restored to me; nothing had been touched; they had been satisfied with the slave's bag, which was returned to me empty. Having rested a little, I reproached them for lying to me respecting the Mandans; that there was very little truth in all that they had told me. They answered that they had not pretended to speak of the Mandans, saying that they were like us, that they had intended to speak of that nation which is at the lower part of the river, who work in iron. An Assinibone rose above the others, saying to me: This is the only one who can speak better to thee about it; thou has not understood properly what was said to thee; I do not lie. Last summer I killed one who was covered with iron, as I have already said several times. If I had not killed the horse first I could not have killed the man. I said to him, What hast thou brought of his spoil to show us that thou speakest the truth? As I wished to cut off his head, I noticed men on horseback, who were blocking the way, I escaped with difficulty; I kept nothing to carry off; I threw away everything I had even to my blanket, in my flight. What I say is true, and I will have it told to thee

by others who were with me the following spring. They are not here now, but thou shalt see them. What I have said I repeat; the other side of the river cannot be seen; the water is salt; it is a country of mountains; a great extent between the mountains of fine land; many cattle, big and stout, white and of different colors, many stags and deer; I have seen their wheat fields, where no women are to be seen; what I tell thee is without deceit; thou wilt learn of it afterwards."

All these expressions of self-justification show that Verendrye had indeed misunderstood the former representations concerning the people to the south or west being "different" from the Indians, while furnishing further proof that the Assiniboins knew of the Spaniards.

"I continued my journey," says the journal narrative, "after three days' rest. I reached the first mountain on the 9th of January [should be February], where we remained a long time. Mr. de la Marque made up his mind to go on, seeing me still very ill, in order to send me assistance. He arrived on the first of February [evidently an error—it was March]; I arrived on the 10th, greatly fatigued and very ill. I met the assistance he sent me at thirty-five leagues from the fort, which gave me great pleasure, having great need of it. I have never endured so much wretchedness in my life, from illness and fatigue, as in that journey I found myself, after a fortnight's rest, a ittle restored. Mr. de la Marque waited my arrival to carry out his design of going to fort Maurepas, having learned that there were no provisions. I told him that I thought his presence would be very useful in his post. He determined to set out, asking me to leave his brother with a large party of hired men for provisions at my fort, flattering themselves that there was more hope there of seeing people. We were nearly starving, when fortunately two huts of Indians came, whom I stopped at the fort. They supplied us by their hunting moose and deer. We numbered forty-two persons in the fort, which means a large consumption of food. Mr. de la Marque left on the 16th of the month [March]. I received news from him shortly after. He informed me that he dreaded a famine, not seeing Indians. We are now in the 16th of April and I

have not yet seen any one. I do not know how God preserves us."

The recurrence of so many untoward circumstances, amounting to downright privation and misery, as incidents of La Verendrye's long struggle for mastery of the objective of his explorations, render his narratives at times nothing less than pathetic. But such is the fate of all real pioneers who make the maiden attempt to break down the barriers of nature and of barbarism, in all fields of inspired endeavor.

Now that La Verendrye is back at his post of la Reine—and his general journal says he reached the fort on the 11th, instead of the 10th,—and as he distinctly states that he returned by way of the "second mountain" of his southwestward trip, it seems to the writer hereof that his conclusion that, on the said out-bound journey his party traveled west of the lower Mouse River, receives some confirmation from the statements in as well as from the omissions from his journal. On his return, and after leaving the temporary meeting place where his bag was stolen, and while en route to said "second mountain," nothing is said about having come to the big Assiniboine village, to reach which on the outbound journey so much time was spent and so lengthy and circuitous a route was traveled. If that spot had been passed on the return trip, it seems almost certain that a note would have been made of it. On the other hand, on the return route, from where Verendrye left the place where his bag was returned to him, it must be presumed that, in the hands of Assiniboine guides, the most direct practicable trail was followed to the "second mountain;" while, had the course pursued taken them to that big village site, it seems equally certain that they must have traveled far out of the course of the northward Indian trail to that mountain. We believe that they in fact took what became in future years the usual route, following in a general way the northward course of the Mouse after its "loup" has been described, which route we have hereinbefore indicated.

In attempting to approximately hit upon the fact as to the course pursued on the outbound journey, after leaving the "second mountain," and which we believe was certainly some point on the Turtle Mountain upland, another theory is here

[24]See note 19.

involved: Doane Robinson, Secretary of the State Historical Society of South Dakota, who has passed close by the eastern edge of Turtle Mountain, and whose authority upon this as well as other matters of history pertaining to the Northwest is very high, is of the belief that the "first mountain" of Verendrye's journal is not a point on the Pembian Hills or range, as we have supposed was a fact, but that it was the St. John Hill or Butte, at the northeast corner of Turtle Mountains, in Rolette County, North Dakota; and that the "second mountain" was none other than Bear Butte, on the west end of Turtle Mountain plateau; that, while Bear Butte would not answer Verendrye's data of 24 leagues between the two mountains, if a direct course were taken to reach it from St. John, yet that the party had here begun to "wabble" from a direct course, and that they traveled the 24 leagues in reaching that point. We believe the theory that they did not go by the Pembian Mountains has much to support it; still we are unable to reconcile the distance from Fort la Reine to the "first mountain"—stated as twenty-six leagues traveled by the party—with the fact that it is not less than 125 travel miles between those points.[24]

However: If the "first mountain" was St. John, and the second Bear Butte, this would, in the belief of the writer, render it all the more certain that, in passing from that Butte on to the first Mandan "fort," the party traveled west of the lower Mouse river in the long circuit to reach the big Assiniboin village. Verendrye makes no mention of a material deviation from a practically known and used route, until after the "second mountain" was reached. All the trouble on that score seemes to have occurred in acquiescing in the guide's persistence in taking them to the big village, after the 50 leagues had been traveled. On the other hand we are inclined to give much credence to Verendrye's estimate of distance traveled, where he makes definite estimates, and to regard as probative his rough conclusions as to the unnecessary extension of the route as indicated. But, it is suggested, if they crossed the lower Mouse, mention would have been made of the river, in the journal entry. As well presume that, if they ascended the Mouse valley to the end of the "loup,"—a distance of some 100 miles from

the northwest corner of Turtle Mountain,—some mention of the river in that connection should be found therein.

The desire to show the probability of Verendrye's having seen the country west of the lower Mouse springs from the thought that, if it is reasonable to conclude that he did, he as an explorer is entitled to the credit of having reached the neighborhood of the sources of that stream.

To revert to La Verendrye's accounts relative to occurrences after he returned to Fort la Reine: His general journal says that, on April 10th, 1739, he sent his son, the Chevalier, "to find out some suitable place to construct a fort at the Lake of the Prairies, following the demands which the Christinaux of this place had made of me, and to go to the Poskoioac River immediately, and to examine the lower part at the entrance to Lake Winnipeg, and to see if he would be able there to locate a place advantageous to the construction of a second fort." The "letter" journal says the son was sent April "16th, with an Indian to go and make search for the fort of Lake Winipigon, and to take notice of the rivers which fall into it, especially the White River (to which I intend to go on the return of our canoes), from the mine which is in the lake, and from that which is in the White River, from the outlet of the lake, to notice the turn of it, and endeavor to prevent the Indians from going to the English, by making them hope for our speedy arrival." The Lake of the Prairies is modern Lake Manitoba; while the Poskoioac River is, as stated in St. Boniface, the Saskatchewan; and the "White River,' here referred to is also the Saskatchewan; a colonial map of Western Canada, of 1737, in the Canadian archives, showing such a stream flowing northward into "Lac Winipigon" and there designated Riviere Blanche.

The "letter" journal relates that La Marque at Fort Maurepas, by letter received April 23rd, found no Indians there, "that he has decided to go to find them in the great river Winipigon (Winnipeg) where they are engaged in building their canoes." Verendrye thinks the Indians might yet arrive at La Marque's fort, "from Red River after his departure." On the 22nd he learns that many Assiniboines were on Lake of Prairies "working on their canoes to go to the English." On the 24th "I sent Sanschagrin with a hired man to bring them here so as to

turn them from going to the English." He is notified on the 30th, by five Assiniboines that a large number of them were coming; we have much need of them, having done nothing till now." On May 3rd "this great band was reduced to few;" on the 10th, Nolant, "despairing at no more coming, asked leave to set out, representing to me that there were no more provisions and that they could not remain longer. I did my best to induce him to have patience for some time yet, being much vexed that he should go empty," but permission was finally given him. That evening fifteen Assiniboines arrived to notify that "there were sixty huts coming; tobacco was sent "to hasten their coming. They arrived on the 18th, and did their trading in a short time.. Further delay was asked for on the 20th, "that thirty huts would arrive;" again tobacco was speedily sent with like purpose.

Here Verendrye seems to have halted in his run of recording current events, to make this entry:

"I discovered these days a river flowing to the west. All lakes and rivers of which I have any knowledge go to Hudson Bay, the Northern Sea., except the Mandan river."

This entry seems to have been intended as a sort of summary of the ultimate knowledge gained by this expedition to the Mandans—that the River of the Mandans (Missouri) was a highway to the "Western Sea," in that it flowed to the west." He adds: "I will obtain complete knowledge of it this summer, either by myself or some other person on my behalf."

The closing paragraphs of his long letter to his immediate official chief, Beauharnois, state that he had deferred departure of his canoes until the 28th [of May], "waiting uselessly for the people to come; only a few arrived, "all postponing their coming till summer. They are so stupid that they think they will be waited for into the summer, and that there will always be time enough to carry off their beavers. I promised them that as soon as my son and the two men arrived, whom I had left with the Mandans, I would remove as from this quickly as possible." Here ends that journal, nothing more being said therein concerning the son.

The general journal now takes up the narrative. The canoes left Fort la Reine May 27th, (1739) "to go to the Great Port-

age and to get there the merchandise which my equippers had promised to send to me from there, and my men remained there eighteen days waiting, and they fasted during that time in spite of all they could do. They set out to go to Missilimakinak and on arriving there they were presented with an order from the Intendent, with the request from my equipper to seize merchandise valued at 4000 livres, although he had failed in his promises. In this embarrassment in which my men found themselves, they addressed themselves to the Commander of Missilimakinak and told him of the risks which I would take in that country if I were not aided. He helped them to obtain some merchandise very dear, and they came to join me the 20th October, in three canoes, light, but full of people."

In view of these circumstances, Verendrye records: "I found myself in great trouble, having to pay well and furnish food, and being obliged to give up the enterprise of the two forts which I had planned to build, and all through lack of merchandise.

He now faces the alternative of a fourth trip to Montreal: "Seeing that I was without resources I set out to descend to Montreal in order to have the honor to present to M. le General the sad situation in which I found myself. I left as commander of the fort my son the Chevalier, with ample instructions concerning what to do in my absence."

Upon arriving at Michilimackinac the 16th of July (1740), he "sent an equipment to my sons who were in the country and I gave an order to my eldest son to go that autumn to the Mandans with two Frenchmen, one of whom is an interpreter. I sent him all that would be needed by him on his trip and to to assure him of guides among the Mandans to take him to the Sea."

This last paragraph proves two things: That Pierre was "my eldest son," who had been left at Fort La Reine, and that the two who were "in the country" (in the Lake Winnipeg region), were Francois and Louis-Joseph. And that the father had, before returning again to Lower Canada, resolved not to himself make another journey into the farther West, but that the final expeditions into the trans-Missouri region should be executed by some or all of his surviving sons.

Upon arriving at Montreal, on August 25th, [1740], Verendrye finds "that someone had brought an action against me in regard to the posts which I had established. I, who had lawsuits in horror, never having had one in my life, accommodated them, to my great loss, not having meanwhile been in the wrong by far."

The whole succession of his experiences seems to have constituted a series of obstacles thrown in his way, only to make him more determined to carry out his vast projects and to frown down despair itself, time and again, without being once actually dismayed.

At Quebec he had the honor "to render to M. le General an account of the trip. He had the goodness to offer me his house. I remained there and followed him in the spring to Montreal. He again did me the grace to honor me with his orders to return to the pursuit of my discovery."

This, again, proves Verendrye's determination to return and remain as far west as his principal establishments from which base to encourage and assist his sons in the final expedition.

He proceeds: "M. de la Porte being at Quebec during this time, I had the honor to inform him of my troubles, and yet in spite of the derangement in which I found myself and my affairs, the envy and jealousy of many people had persuaded them to impose on the court, insinuating in their letters that I thought only of amassing great wealth.—If more than 40,000 livres of debt, which was hanging on me, are an advantage, I flatter myself with being very rich, and I would become so more and more if I had continued."

La Verendrye, in the face of these evidences of slander of his action and motives, boldly hurls these insinuations back upon his envious and jealous maligners, by calm and brave reference to his life-purposes embodied in his great record as explorer:

"I have been misjudged; it has never been greed which has urged me forward. I have sacrificed myself, as my children have, for the service of His Majesty, and for the good of the Colony. People will later on realize what advantages will come from it."

How prophetic this last sentence! His marvelous work is still far from being appreciated at its value, in either France or North America. But the truth has so far developed as that Verendrye's life work and that of his sons is dawning into the day of permanent effulgence.

"In addition do they count for nothing the great number of tribes to which this enterprise has supplied means of life, the slaves which this procures there to the country and all the hides from which the English profited heretofore," he continues.

In all my misfortunes I had the consolation to see that M. le General took my view. He recognized the uprightness of my intentions, and continued to do me justice in spite of the opposition which they had wished to stir up there."

This fact of general Beauharnois' constant faith in Verendrye's ability and determination to make his scheme of discovery and dominance of the far West a success, which should redound to the glory of France, is the dominant note running all through Verendrye's records. It must have been his sustaining prop when all else seemed to hinder his enterprise.

The journal runs on: "To take up again the course of my discourse, from which I departed only because of the grief, which I resented continually over the bad rumors spread abroad concerning me, I set out from Montreal with the Reverend Father Coquart, who had been given me for a missionary. During the sojourn which I was obliged to make at Missilimakinak, jealousy was aroused against Father Coquart, and it hindered him from following us, to the great regret of all my people and of myself in particular. However, through the request of M. le General we have the missionary back today to the great contentment of all people."

Having arrived at Fort St. Charles, Lake of the Woods, on September 16th, [1741] Verendrye "found everything in good condition there, except that the savages were stirred up for war. I talked to them, offering them presents which they accepted, and they promised me not to go, also the Christinaux whom I found on my route.—They had promised me the same thing, but the bad spirits had caused them to break their word." The important part taken by Verendrye and his family in pre-

venting what would doubtless otherwise have been frequent hostilities between the northern Indians and the Sioux, during a long series of years, speaks much for the wisdom and the influence of the explorers.

Back at Fort La Reine, on Oct. 16th, 1741, La Verendrye records: "I found there my eldest son [Pierre] who had returned from the Mandans, not having gone further for lack of a guide. He gave me a cotton blanket after the workmanship of the whites which are on the sea, which I have sent to M. le General."

It will appear by necessary inference at least, from a reference soon to be mentioned, in the present journal, that none of Verendrye's sons were in the Mandan country in April, 1742; since we find him sending Francois, the Chevalier, north to establish Fort Dauphin in October, 1741. Pierre, who is, we believe, the son left in charge of Fort Charles in 1738 had, as we have seen returned from the Mandans. And we shall see that in April, 1742, two sons (no names mentioned) were sent to the Mandans from Fort la Reine. We believe it is certain that they were the Chevalier and Louis-Joseph.

Verendrye records that, immediately upon his return to that post from Montreal, October 13th, 1741, he sent Chevalier to establish Fort Dauphin at the Lake of the Prairies." And we also find G. Mercer Adams ("The Canadian Northwest") placing his post on Lake Manitoba. However, the St. Boniface records represent that this post stood at the junction of two small streams a short distance west of Lake Dauphin, in western Manitoba, the village of Dauphin being hard by the site. Now, Lake Dauphin is a small body of water some twenty miles west of the northern end of Lake Manitoba; it is connected by an outlet northward, with Lake Winnipegosis, and thus a continuous waterway from the Saskatchewan southward to the vicinity of Fort Dauphin—supposing it to have been at Lake Dauphin—existed, at least during periods of high water. And it is not improbable that this post was adjacent to Lake Dauphin, as a point to which to draw Indian trade to the French and away from the English. If it was located there, it is probable that Verendrye understood that Lake Dauphin

was connected with Lake Manitoba, and thus mentioned the locality as being on the border of the latter lake.

Verendrye adds: "I have also given my orders for the establishment of Bourbon at the foot of Lake Winnipeg at the mouth of the great Poskayac River." It does not appear as to the precise date when this order was given, but it was prior to April, 1742, and it was probably given at or very soon after the Fort Dauphin trip was arranged for.

Now, according to St. Boniface, there were two Forts Bourbon, the first founded in 1748 at the mouth of La Biche river on the West shore of Lake Winnipeg, and the second, founded between 1748 and 1755 was on the Saskatchewan at the point where it enlarges to form Lake Bourbon; this lake being also known as Cedar Lake. Bourbon, or Cedar, Lake is a short distance north of the northerly end of Lake Winnipegos (the "Lake Winnipeg" of Verendrye's above note—Lake Winnipeg proper being then known as Lake Cristinaux). But Adams declares that the Verendryes established Fort Bourbon "on Cedar Lake," no date being given, other than that this and their other posts in the Northwest were established prior to 1763.

To return to the journal concerning the last Mandan expedition: Verendrye says: "The 29th of April (1742) I sent two of my sons to the Mandans well equipped with all that was necessary for their discovery and in order to await the arrival of the Gens des Chevaux (Horse Indians), as I have already remarked in my last journal." This reference to his "last journal" must mean a previous part of the present journal,—his orders of July 16th, 1740, from Mackinack; since nothing concerning sending his sons to the Missouri again, after the expedition of 1738-9, is said in his "letter" journal.

However, the reference to his "last journal" may be to one not yet published. In this connection, we recall that, in his "letter" journal, in relating his experiences in September, 1738, with certain chiefs at Fort St. Charles, he refers to those chiefs, "of whom I have several times spoken in my previous journals." To these previous journals we have not access.

He then closes his general journal in these paragraphs:

"I received news of them only through themselves, after an

absence of fifteen months. My son the Chevalier has made a little journal of the trip.

"It is best to remember that all these trips at different times have not been carried on without a good deal of expense.

"The savages of all the posts of this country have sent word that they are going together to strike the Sioux. I have spared nothing in breaking up their plans, without succeeding, in spite of all the presents which I gave and had given for that reason. They were struck to their great loss, by tribes who were expecting them and who were in force, as I had told them. One cannot pacify these nations for a long time for they have been mortal enemies since time immemorial."

Here ends the Verendrye Journal, published in Margry, Vol. VI, pages 585-595..

THE TRANS-MISSOURI EXPEDITION OF 1742-3.

Neither of the journals of la Verendrye, the chief explorer, says anything by direct reference, concerning what the two Frenchmen who were left with the Mandans in 1738, learned about the country to westward of the Missouri, or as to what further information they derived from the Mandans, or otherwise, regarding the whites down the Missouri, or as to where was the mouth of that stream. We have seen that Pierre went to the Mandans some time in the fall of 1740, since he was ordered by his father "to go that autumn to the Mandans with two Frenchmen one of whom is an interpreter; that he "sent him all that would be needed by him on his trip and to assure him of guides among the Mandans to take him to the Sea;" and that, after La Verendrye had returned from Montreal to Fort la Reine in October, 1741, the eldest son (Pierre) "had returned from the Mandans, not having gone farther for lack of a guide. He gave me a cotton blanket after the workmanship of the whites which are on the sea," etc. Thus, no record was preserved as to what Pierre did, or discovered relative to the ulterior country, on the 1740-1 trip to the Mandans, beyond this bare reference to a blanket—which article was doubtless transferred to him by one of the Mandan chiefs, as a trophy of some encounter with a Spaniard somewhere down the Missouri.

But that none of the Verendryes had clear knowledge that the Missouri itself joined the Mississippi, or that its outlet was not on the seaboard somewhere far west of the mouth of the Mississippi, when they planned the expedition of 1742-3 for explorations west of the Mandan country, seems very probable. That they expected to have to cross a great range of mountains to find "the Western Sea," however, seems very probable, if not certain. And that, after all they had heard about whites far down the Missouri in the region of salt water, they still believed that it was to westward as well as to southward from the Mandan Villages that the mouth of that stream would be found, is practically beyond doubt. We shall see that it was not until after the Chevalier met the Bow Indians that he speaks of the Whites to the south as dwelling upon "a known sea" by which he doubtless meant the Gulf of Mexico.

And that they had learned, from the Mandans, of Indians of another nation west of the Missouri, and had already planned to await the arrival at the Mandan Villages before starting westward from that point on the coming and final expedition, is proven by the journal entry of the sending out of the two sons to the Mandans with equipments, etc., "in order to await the arrival of the Gens des Chevaux" (Horse Indians, or Indians-of-the-Horses), who, as will be seen, were somewhere to the southwest from where the expedition crossed and left the Missouri.

We have had much to say about the "loup" of the Mouse River and Verendrye's scoutings in its neighborhood—a mystery never to be wholly cleared up, perhaps.

Of another and far grander loup, in size and in portent, beginning, we think is practically certain, at Mandan, North Dakota, and to a certainty ending at Fort Pierre, South Dakota, is now to be exploited; this loup merging into a complete circle at the Mandan Villages. Like the mystery of the wanderings of La Verendrye's expedition about the Mouse loup, that connected with the final expedition of 1742-3 hangs upon the question: How far West did they go? In other respects the loup described by the Chevalier, his brother Louis-Joseph and the two attendants is substantially de-

terminable in rough general boundary; and all that is lacking to prove substantially the very trails traveled, is the element of daily distances covered by the explorers; since the initial point, the end of the loup at Fort Pierre, (through the planting of the tablet there) and, with very few exceptions, the courses of each day's travel are set down in the Chevalier's journal, "little" though it may have seemed to the father, who mentions it in his general journal.

The record in connection with which the Chevalier's journal of this expedition is published, and which immediately precedes it, is as follows.

"Setting out April 9 (should be April 29th), 1742 from Fort la Reine, Le Chevalier de la Verendrye and one of his brothers returned there the 20th of June (should be July 2nd), 1743. On this trip, while they regret not having always gone south-west and meeting the Spaniards, they arrived at the foot of the Rocky Mountains without being able to cross them. The nations which they visited call themselves: Les Mantanes (The Mandans), Les Beaux Hommes (the Handsome Men), Les Gens des Chevaux (the Horse Indians), Les Petite Renards (the Little Foxes), Les Pioya, Les Gens de l'Arc (the Bow Indians), Les Gens de Petite Cerise (Little Cherry Indians), on the banks of the Missouri, where the Chevalier performed the ceremony of taking possession, and finally Les Gens de la Fleche Colle, or Sioux of the Prairie."

"Journal of the trip made by Chevalier de la Verendrye with one of his brothers, to discover the West Sea, addressed to M. le marquis de Beauharnois."

The journal itself begins thus:

"Sir:

"I take the liberty of making for you this narrative of a trip that I made with one of my brothers and two Frenchmen sent by my father, charged with the honor of your orders to discover the Sea of the West beyond the Mandans, according to the report of the savages."

Down to the very day of the commission, and of the departure of this famed last of the Verendrye adventures in

search of the Unknown of the Setting Sun, as in the record itself, it is still "The Western Sea" that looms on vision and directs the course of empire! And it is still the lore of the "savages" that gives the cue to the quest.

And notwithstanding all that the two Frenchmen who were left with the Mandans may have learned from them concerning whites far down the Missouri, and may have communicated to the Verendrye sons, it was the far Pacific shore, beyond the untraveled Mountains, that furnished the lure and enhanced the prospects. For among the archives of Canada, which had been filed in 1737, was a map, fashioned after Sieur Jemmeraie's accounts of the Hudson's Bay country and its western counterparts, upon which we find the "River of the West" delineated as issuing from an intra-mountain lake and debouching upon an ocean coast to westward, at whose mouth was placed the magic word "Quivira"—that unknown quest of Coronado. And that the Verendryes entertained views in this connection in common with those of Jemmeraie and the French of New France in general is obvious.

The Chevalier's journal of this trip begins: "We set out from Fort la Reine the 29th of April and arrived at the Mandans the 19th of May. There we remained until the 23rd of July, awaiting the arrival of the Horse Indians, which kept us hoping from day to day."

Whether this means that they proceeded to the neighborhood of the mouth of the Knife River, where the Mandans were found by Lewis & Clarke, or whether they passed on down to where, as we have already stated, we believe the "Mandan Villages" of Verendrye's time were located, at and opposite the mouth of Heart River on the Missouri, we cannot know. If they crossed the Missouri at the latter point, they traveled some 60 miles farther down that stream than if they had crossed at Knife River, and probably something over 100 miles to southward of the first "fort" found in 1738. Roughly estimated, they traveled some 325 to 350 miles from Fort la

Reine during the 21 days,[25] or about 15 to 17 miles per day—but this was over a now well known route and in the flush of the outset of the journey.

It is very probable that the long waiting for the "Horse Indians" was largely because of Verendrye's belief in their superior ability to act as guides on this expedition into the country west of the Missouri, otherwise it does not seem reasonable that so long a delay would have occurred in making the start; and fear on the part of the Mandans that the territory to be explored might contain bands who were their enemies, or that tribal boundaries must be crossed, may account for a possible general unwillingness on their part to become guides. Be this as it may, we find the Chevalier recording: "Seeing the season was advancing and not wishing to give up absolutely, I sought two men among the Mandans to serve as guides to the land of the Horse Indians, in the hope of finding some village near the mountains or on our way; two offered themselves willingly. We hesitated not a moment about departing. We marched twenty days west-south-west, which to me did not seem a good omen of our route; we found no one, not even other savages. I noticed in many places soils of different colors, as azure, a sort of vermillion, grass-green, shining black, a white as of chalk, and also the color of ochre. If I had seen that I would not be returning through this country I would have taken a piece of each with me.

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[25]Largely the "farthest west," of the Verendrye exploration must be determined by the average distance traveled daily. Hence the importance of determining how far they proceeded each day upon known routes of travel. The actual distance from Fort LaReine to Mandan is about 250 miles; how widely they wobbled in the course is unknown. The actual average was less than 12 miles, by wobbling they may have made this up to 15 miles per day. If so, it is much farther than they traveled upon any other known route. Upon the return they were 41 days going from the Mandans to Fort LaReine, or an average of six and one-fourth miles of actual distance, but upon this occasion they were drawn far out of their direct course by a party of indians with whom they traveled. Indians always traveled very slowly unless urged on by stress of circumstances. In 1838, General Henry H. Sibley went from Saint Paul to Northern Iowa upon a hunting trip with a party of Indians. In no case did they travel more than ten miles in a day, and frequently they did not travel at all. In 1840 Dr. Stephen R. Riggs crossed from Lac Quiparle to Fort Pierre with a party of Indians. They traveled only 6 or 8 miles a day when moving, frequently remaining all day in camp. Francis Parkman accompanied a war party in the Laramie mountains, and spent some weeks with the party who moved about at will, but made no progress, and at the end were not far distant from the starting point. A great cloud of testimonies might be adduced to show with what astounding deliberation Indians moved, and the white men in their company would be entirely subject to their whims. Four to six miles per day, when traveling with their families and living off the country is a good allowance for the days when they move and from one fourth to one-half of the time they remain in camp.—D. R.

I did not want to burden myself, knowing that I had a long journey to make. We arrived, the 11th of August, at the Mountain of the Horse Indians. Our guides not wishing to pass over, we constructed a small hut for ourselves, there to await the first savages who might discover us. We built fires on all sides for signals, in order to attract people to us, being resolved to join the first people that presented themselves."

If only we could know with substantial certainty where this "Mountain of the Horse Indians" was located, we could with far greater accuracy, and, it is believed, with substantial certainty, determine about how far west this journey took the explorers.

In attempting to fix the situs of this mountain, the references in the journal to the vari-colored "soils" met with by the Chevalier play a very important part. That he was here traveling in or in the near vicinity of the "Bad Lands" of the Little Missouri River is a conclusion that any one knowing anything about the character of that region of country will readily reach. If he started from either Mandan or Stanton, North Dakota, and reached, say Red Butte, not far east of the Big Bend of the little Misssouri and about 35 miles south from Medora, N. D., on the Northern Pacific Railway, he would have covered about 125 miles "as the crow flies," or say 225 to 250 miles of actual travel—or some eleven or twelve miles per day. And that rate of travel, with guides presumably knowing where this mountain was located, and in view of the absence of anything in the journal indicating that they wandered far from some practicable trail, and supposing that they kept for the most part on the divide between principal streams,—would not be at all improbable. The Custer military expedition of 1875, with nearly a thousand men, with their horses and 650 mules, went from Fort Lincoln, just below Heart River, to the Belle Fourche River on the northern outskirts of the Black Hills, South Dakota, and actually traveling 288 miles, skirting far around to westward to the Cave Hills, S. Dak., and by a point only forty miles south from said Red Butte—in seventeen days,—resting one whole day en route; or at the rate of eighteen miles per day; on which trip Prof. Winchell and Geo. Bird Grinnell had time, from day

to day, to make their geological observations upon which the excellent Winchell Report is based (Washington, 1875). And they reached said point south of Red Butte—167 miles distant by travel from Fort Lincoln—ten days out from their starting point. On the basis of actual mileage of the Custer expedition during that ten days, Chevalier Verendrye, if he actually went as far west as Red Butte to reach "Horse Mountain," need have traveled no more than from 175 to 200 miles at most—or nine or ten miles per day.

And the fact that he dwells so long upon the peculiar discolorings of "soil"—by which he must certainly have meant to refer to various degrees of sandstone, shale and other kindred formations, as well as the soil proper—indicates that he probably came in contact with some extremely marked specimens of "Bad Land" territory; and the lower Little Missouri is the most picturesque of all the Bad Land regions of the Northwest.

The writer of this paper, and Doane Robinson,—who have earnestly struggled over all data at hand in endeavoring to fix the course pursued by Chevalier Verendrye—agreed in the outset that during said twenty days he reached the neighborhood of the Big Bend of the Little Missouri; and have at all times regarded it is not improbable that he could have done so, whatever the truth may be as to where he found this mountain.

The point is this: The writer believes, and is unable to refrain from believing, that **if Verendrye reached the neighborhood of the Little Missouri in the twenty days, he ultimately reached a point some distance west, and some distance south of west, from the most westerly point of the foothills of the Black Hills**; and the mountain to which he and the Bow Indian chief's party went, at the westerly end of the trip, was, on this theory, in all probability either the northerly end of the Laramie Mountains or the easterly end of Rattlesnake Hills, or one of the sub-ranges west of the Salt Fork of the Powder River on the loup of the latter; which points are in the neighborhood of Caspar, Wyo., on the North Platte River, and the heights referred to as near the Powder, are straggling outposts of the Big Horn Range.

But, as we shall see further on, the trouble about this theory of his having gone that far west—the very serious trouble is, we cannot account for his return to the Missouri River from so far west, in the time mentioned in his journal. If he reached the Caspar region, how did he cover the long distance thence to where he planted the leaden plate at Fort Pierre, South Dakota?

Now, as to the peculiarities of the soil and rock formations observed by the Chevalier, there are two important facts to be noted in weighing the significance of these journal entries, in their relation to the question of the route taken by him during said twenty days. First: he says he noticed them "in many places,"—not merely at or about the neighborhood of the "Mountain of the Horse Indians;" and he makes no mention of this peculiar phase of country thereafter. Second: If he actually reached the outlying knobs of the Little Missouri in the neighborhood of the Great Bend, and traveled thence south-west-west, he would necessarily have come in contact with more or less of similar territory for many miles to southward. But on the other hand, we find that, had he started from the neighborhood of the mouth of Heart River—near where Fort A. Lincoln was afterwards built—and proceeded thence west-southwest for twenty days, or even from near the mouth of Knife River and traveling in the same general direction, but at a much slower rate than necessary to have reached the Little Missouri in the twenty days, and had reached—say from Heart River—some point on the south fork of Cannon Ball River, such as Les Belle Pierre Hills or White Clay Butte, of the Custer expedition, he would have come in contact with a number of these peculiar discolorations in soil and stone-formations. Custer actually traveled 109 miles from Fort Lincoln to those Hills; and his geologists found, at and southwestward from a point about 60 miles out, on those Hills. —and far down toward the Belle Fourche in South Dakota, for that matter—these peculiar spectacles, such as "light, marly clay," "lightcolored sandstone," "greenish" shale, "lignite beds," "white spots" of marl, "light yellow marl," clay showing "a belt of light, glittering exposures," "white, massive sand," "fine white sand," "huge rusty lumps" of sandstone, "light-brown bedded clay," "burnt, red spots," "scoria-

like masses," some of which were "almost black," "bedded blue clay," "light-yellowish, argillaceous marl, with ochre concretions," "gritty clay, weathering bluish," reddish sandstone "semi-fused," "black shale or clay," etc. Supposing that the Chevalier made 125 miles where Custer's trail shortened distance to 109, he would have made about six miles per day. And while, if he went by or near this White Clay Butte, he turned more abruptly to southward thereafter, and so traveled south of the Custer trail thence, yet he would have seen more or less of this same character of country, though perhaps less than he had already seen, for some distance into South Dakota. In other words: whether he reached the Little Missouri, or whether he went only part way there and then turned southward, he would have met with these sights in question, in greater or less degree.

Who were these "Horse Indians?" We do not and never will know, to a certainty. It is possible that they were the Cheyennes; who came out from nothern North Dakota on that Cheyenne River flowing into the Red River of the North, and who, according to tradition, crossed the Missouri not far south of the mouth of the Cannon Ball River. In the early part of the nineteenth century they were known to have had horses to ride. If the theory that these were Cheyennes were shown to be probable, this "mountain of the Horse Indians" might well harmonize with their supposed habitat on or near the Cannon Ball. Capt. Ludlow's report of said Custer expedition refers to this mountain as "a very prominent object, rising higher in the horizon than any other object in that quarter." And as it is about ten miles long, extending from northwest to southeast, it would be such an obstacle as might well cause the Chevalier's Mandan guides "not to wish to pass over," especially if in so doing they might be crossing a tribal boundary in territory.

According to the tradition of the Northern Cheyenne Indians, vouched for by no less an authority than the eminent George Bird Grinnell, the Cheyennes came to the Black Hills country about the beginning of the eighteenth century; and this tradition is also to the effect that they found there the Kiowas and the Commanches, who remained there for many years thereafter. This tradition will be referred to hereafter in connec-

tion with the "Snake" Indians referred to later on by Verendrye. For the present, suffice it so and, that these "Horse Indians," or even the "Bow Indians" mentioned further on, might have been Cheyennes.

However, the supposition that they were Cheyennes need not be indulged in, in order to account for Indians in that locality at that time, who were famed as owners and users of horses. All of the tribes of Caddoan stock who, as Aricaras or Rees, Pawnees or Panis, constituted the northern groups of that general generic family, and who inhabited the Upper Missouri country from earliest historical times, were famed as owners of and traders in horses—captured or traded for from the Spaniards toward the Gulf of Mexico. And any of these tribes roaming to southward of the Mandans would naturally be regarded by them as "Horse Indians," as distinguished from those farther west and north. And, as it is not quite certain that the Cheyennes were west of the Missouri in Verendrye's time, we regard it as not improbable that these "Horse Indians" were Aricaras, as perhaps were all those afterwards met by the Chevalier's party, save the Beaux Homme (Handsome Men), who may not improbably have been Crows; since that tribe have been known from the beginning as at once peaceable and of sturdy and strikingly fine appearance.

In seeking a solution of the vital and very important question as to where, and how far west, this expedition traveled, we have concluded to follow this course: To discuss first that theory which we regard as the most probable under all evidence now at hand; tracing the lines followed by the Chevalier as nearly as possible from his journal in the light of present knowledge of the teritory over which he actually or probably traveled; going with him southwestward, then back to where he reached the Missouri at Fort Pierre, South Dakota. Second, to work out the theory of a farther westward expedition, from the basis of the supposition that the "Horse Mountain" was in the neighborhood of the Big Bend of the Little Missouri; and thence back to the Missouri.

In following these theories, respectively, we shall assume a much slower rate of travel, as a rule, in dealing with the first, than in the case of the second—partly from necessity, and in part from the reasons involved.

And in both cases the writer will, as he feels bound to do —regard the Chevalier's journal as to **courses** taken by him, as substantially true to the facts and experiences of the expedition.[26] Not that he invariably proceeded in precise accord with his notes on this head, but that, when he says he traveled at a certain period of the journey in a certain direction, he will be regarded as having taken that general direction at that stage of the trip. We cannot escape the conviction that one who, like Chevalier Verendrye, was making the final expedition into the unknown West which would, in all probability, form the climax to all that had preceded in the long and remarkable series of explorations of his family into the hitherto unknown regions of the American Northwest; who knew that his father's fame, already great, would be given more splendor and glory through the present distinctly new and ultimate reaching out for the "Western Sea;" who realized that the eyes of the world would soon be turned toward his account of the journey, and that historical and scientific associations all over Christendom would hail with enthusiasm, while holding him responsible for the evidences recorded in this journal,— and who, as experienced explorer and, in substantial degree, engineer, must have known that his entries as to **directions** taken would, in the absence of even rough estimates

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[26]Only in the most general sense does the editor feel bound by Verendreye's estimates of distances traveled, or his statements as to direction. To be so bound would have taken him to a point so remote that by no possibility could he have returned to the Missouri in the time mentioned. That the general tendency was to the southwest is the best I can concede. The Frenchmen during the autumn of 1742 visited eight different Indian camps. It is practically certain that they were compelled to zigzag back and forward to reach these camps, and while at the end they were further west than at the start, they must at times have traveled east and southeast as well as south, southwest and northwest as the text relates. In interpreting the journal it must be remembered that it is in the form of a letter written after his return to Canada. If he had any memorandum at all kept from day to day it was very meagre. My belief is that after he returned his father urged him to make such a report as he could from memory and other data. His father regarded it of small consequence, and calls it a "little journal." In all of our considerations we are bound to be limited by the distance required to be traveled in getting back to the Missouri.

If we concede that the Verendryes did not go farther west than the Black Hills, then we must construe the journal in harmony with that view. That is the fundamental thing. If they were approaching the Black Hills, how could they approach them consistently with the record left by the chevalier. To my thinking the record and the fact can only be harmonized upon the theory that they came to the People of the Beautiful River far down that stream, perhaps as low as the mouth of Cherry Creek, and thence proceeding up the stream, "southwest, sometimes northwest," reached the Black Hills.

As I have suggested in this note, the distance the party could have traveled in the time mentioned, upon the return trip, shows beyond question they could not have been farther west than the Black Hills. If this is true, every other consideration must be subordinated to this fact. —D. R.

of **distances traveled,** be regarded as true in more than the rough or general sense—that in view of all these elements he would not have set down so specifically the **directions** taken by him, unlesss he meant to be understood as having done so in order to give the clue to where he went, both as to distance and courses.

In this respect the writer and Mr. Robinson are not entirely at one as to conclusions; since he is inclined to give much less credence to these entries, in the sense of using them as intended and close guides set up by Verendrye, than is the writer hereof.

Let us return to the "Mountain of the Horse Indians." They had arrived there August 11th (1742), and tried for over a month, by lighting fires for signals and by climbing heights from which to look for "the first people that presented themselves," to get in touch with the "Horse" Indians or some other tribe, but without avail. The journal proceeds:

"The 10th of September there remained with us but one Mandan, his comrade having left, ten days before, to return to his lodge. I went or sent every day to see what could be discovered from the heights. On the 14th of September our watches discovered a smoke to the south-south-west of us I sent a Frenchman with our Mandan who found a village of Beaux Hommes (Handsome Men) who received them well. They made them understand by signs that there were yet three Frenchmen resting not far from there. The next day the chief sent with ours two young men of the tribe to seek us. We come up with them on the 18th and were received with demonstrations of great joy. Our Mandan desired to return home, fearing a nation which would be their enemies. I rewarded him generously and gave him that which would be useful and necessary to him on his return home, as I had before this done to his companion."

Now, as the distance between the "Horse" mountain and the smoke was first traveled by the Frenchmen, who then returned from the Beaux Hommes camp, after which Verendrye's whole party again crossed this space, these operations covering some five days, this new camp was perhaps eight miles south-southwest from the "Horse" mountain. And

as the Mandans had been scared out, the expedition was now without guides. As the last Mandan did not leave until they had met the Beaux Hommes, the Indians whom he feared "would be" his people's enemies were doubtless some tribe farther south or west. Moreover, the Beaux Hommes were friendly toward Verendrye, and probably also, to the Mandan. Perhaps he learned something from these Indians indicating hostiles farther away.

If these Beaux Hommes were in fact Crows, whose general habitat at the dawn of their history later on was on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains about the Yellowstone and the Big Horn Rivers, while they might have been met in the region between the Little and the Great Missouri, it seems more likely that they would have been found west of the Little Missouri at this time. At some pre-historic period they had separated from the Hidatsas, in the Upper Missouri region in the Mandan country, and had migrated to the mountains. We cannot know whether they were at this time on good terms with the Mandans at large.

"We remained," continues the journal, "with the Beaux Hommes twenty-one days. I made them understand to the best of my ability we wanted guides to lead us to the Horse Indians. They replied that they had young men who would guide us to the first people that we should meet. I gave them many presents with which they appeared well satisfied. We took our departure the 9th of October. We began to understand them very easily for all our wants. Our guides conducted us south-south-west."

From this it may be that Verendrye's party could not make clear to the Beaux Hommes what tribe was meant by the "Horse Indians;" or the former may not have known the latter by any such name. Possibly this uncertainty tends to support the theory that the Beaux Hommes belonged farther west and were now far from their habitat. Again, it may be that the Frenchmen who had been with the Mandans to learn their language, may, through such knowledge, have been better able to grasp the meaning of the Crow language—supposing these to have been Crows, and that their former habitat on the Missouri had given their language or dialect

some degree of similarity to that of the Mandans, so that the Frenchmen could understand them "very easily."

Now, with Beaux Hommes as guides, and traveling south-southwesterly: "The second day out we came across a village of the nation of Little Foxes, who exhibited great joy at seeing us. After giving them some presents I said to them through our guides that I sought the Horse Indians who would guide me to the Sea. That caused the whole village to move and always in the same direction. I well knew then that we would be able to find only a known sea. The second days march brought us to a very strong village of the same nation. They treated us very friendly. I gave them many presents, which they regarded as great novelties, and they appeared to me very sensible. They led us to a village of the Pioya, where we arrived the 15th (October). We were there well received. After having given them some presents I proposed to them that they guide us to some nation that was on its way to the sea. We continued our route to the south-west. The 17th we came upon a large village of the same nation. I gave them some presents."

The elements of certainty in the foregoing are, that they spent the time from October 9th to the 15th in traveling from where they found the Beaux Hommes to and beyond the second village of the Little Foxes, to that of the first Pioyas, that they spent a part of two days on each of two periods of marching, and some time on a third; that they were going south-southwest, that the Little Foxes were all friendly to the guides and the explorers; that they went south-west to find the second Pioya village, and spent perhaps part of two days going thence; that they were still in quest of "Horse Indians" until their request broadened into one that "some nation that was on its way to the sea" be found.

Also, the very significant fact appears, that the Chevalier now learned, through the accompanying Indians' deliberate movement "always in the same direction"—south-southwesterly—that they understood that to be guided "to the Sea" meant to continue in this general direction, and moreover, that there was no longer any sea of which his Indian guides were aware, which answered his dream of an unknown ocean

over-mountains to westward. In other words, he knew that it must be a sea well known to all of the Indians of the Northwest with whom he had so far come in contact, as being in the region of the whites about whom they had learned at the Mandan villages. And we are probably warranted in concluding that what Verendrye learned of these trans-Missouri Indians made it more certain that the whites mentioned by the Mandans were located more to southward than to westward from the Upper Missouri region. This prospect of finding "only a known sea" seems to have been noted in his journal as a distinctly disappointing discovery, which tended to change his concept of his journey from the visionary to the real.

We may only surmise from what is said in the Chevalier's journal, that these "Little Foxes" and "Pioyas" were bands of some one or more of the tribes inhabiting that part of the country; since we find no clear reference to either of these names in general Indian History of the Northwest. These "Little Foxes" could have no connection whatever with the Fox Indians of the Wisconsin country. And our first impression that "Pioya" might have been a dialectic variation from "Kiowa"—of which latter tribe we shall soon learn—is made untenable by the fact that, whereas these "Pioyas" were friendly, the Kiowas will, in all probability, be identified as the "Snakes" mentioned as enemies of the "Horse Indians."

However, there is quite substantial evidence tending to show that this band of "Little Foxes" were none other than Cheyennes. We are indebted to George Bird Grinnell for information to the effect that there is, or at one time was what he terms an "important soldier society" among the Cheyennes, known as the "Fox Soldiers." He avers, however, that it should be "Kit-Fox Men," i.e., Little Fox Men; and he conceives that Verendrye may have met this "Soldier Society" off by itself. The same eminent authority adds, however, that the Blackfeet (Sik si kau) and other plains tribes have, or had, "soldier bands of this name." We see, therefore, that the fact that this name "Little Foxes," or Little Fox Men" was aplicable to the Petite Reynards or Little Foxes of Verendreye's journal, is not conclusive proof that those Indians were in fact Cheyennes. The writer, however, is strongly inclined to the view

that the evidence communicated by Mr. Grinnell gives strong probability that Verendrye here met a band of the Cheyennes.

Suppose, then, that from the 9th to the 17th the party actually traveled between five and six days,—a distance of 35 miles, to reach the second Pioya village. Then:

"All together we marched south until the 19th (October), when we arrived at a village of the Horse Indians. They were in great desolation. There was only tears and cursing, their whole village had been destroyed by the Snake Indians, from whom very few of them had escaped. These Snakes were very brave. They were not content in the campaign, with simply destroying a village, as was the custom of the savages. They continued the war from spring until autumn. They were very numerous and woe to those whom they found in their way. They had not a single nation for friends. We were told that in 1741 they had entirely defeated seventeen villages, had killed all the men and aged women, made captives of the young women and had sold them on the sea for horses and merchandise. Here, at the home of the Horse Indians, I enquired if they knew of a nation which lived by the sea. They replied that none of their nation had ever been there as the road was barred by the Snakes; that we might be able to see, in the course of time, some nation who traded with the whites of the Sea by making a long trip. By presents I engaged them to march with me to show me the home of the Bow Indians, the only nation which by their bravery did not fear the Snakes. They are themselves feared for the wisdom and good judgment of the chief who is at their head. This gave me some hope that he would be able to give me some knowledge of the sea, being friendly to the nation which went to trade there."

Assuming that the party spent two days' more time in travel to reach the Horse Indians, and taking a south-west course, we find them at the "home" of that tribe, say twelve miles beyond the chief Pioya village. This term "home" must probably be understood as indicating the seat, for the time being, of a large number of campaigning Indians who had been worsted by the "Snakes" to southward or westward, and were here congregated by way of rendezvous after their

defeat. Since, if they were really Aricaras, as seems not improbable, we shall find that their principal base and probable real central home was on the Missouri far to south-eastward of the present village.

And while it is not certain that the Horse Indians meant to represent to the Chevalier that all of the seventeen villages defeated by the "Snakes" were Horse Indians, yet the fact of their "great desolation," and "tears and cursing" indicates that such may have been the truth. This much at least seems certain: They had now reached a locality to southward or southwestward of which was the great battle-ground that was the theatre of a stern struggle between two leading groups of Indians who were deadly enemies, in a warfare of some years' duration; and we shall see that of these combatants, the "Snakes" had for their base the mountains, while their adversaries were of the plains; that the mountaineers' hands were against all other tribes of the region; and that they barred the way "to the Sea" against the Horse Indians and their allies.

One word more concerning the "Handsome Men" before we cease to mention them herein—for they seem to be still with the Verendrye party. Whether they were or not Crows, it is certain that they must have been somewhat familiar with the country as far south as this "home" of the Horse Indians; since they have not erred in directing our explorers to villages whose occupants led them to the very tribe they were seeking. It would seem that all these more northern Indians were on terms of amity with each other and had general knowledge of one anothers' habitat.

But it was the "Bow Indians" who, as chief among the enemies of the "Snakes," were the bravest of those among whom our party of explorers came, and who themselves were "feared" for the prowess of their chief. And who were the Bows? Here again we are forced to the expedient of surmise; but it is very probable that they were so designated because they had become known among neighboring tribes as adepts at using the bow and arrow in warfare and, perhaps also, in pursuit of game. It is clear that they were on the best of terms with the Horse Indians, and we believe the latter were

either members of the Bow tribes at large, or were in close alliance with them—or vice versa. While it may be improbable, we here suggest that it is more than possible that these Bow Indians were Cheyennes, or perhaps Sutaios with whom the former are said to have become amalgamated after crossing the Missouri. And while the inference is quite far-fetched, we find that less than a century later the Southern Cheyennes—who formerly roamed in this very territory—are referred to as having as one of their tribes the "Bowstring Society." (See, Handbook of American Indians, Vol. 1, page 253.)

It further develops that this strong chief of the Bows was on friendly terms with "the nation which went to trade" by the sea. The Chevalier hoped to gain knowledge of that sea through this chief. Who were this nation of traders with the seaside people? Nothing definite is revealed on that head; but it was something to the Chevalier to deal with an Indian leader who himself knew that nation.

Just when Verendrye left this "home" of the Horse Indians is not clear. They had arrived there the 19th of October. Suppose they remained there two days, and left on the 21st. The season was far advanced for exploration in that region, so far from the explorer's base and in a hitherto untracked wilderness, and he was now doubly anxious to meet a chief who was at once feared by Indians who might pounce upon this very party any day and who knew so much that might give light toward "the sea."

"Having always marched to the south-west," says the Chevalier concerning the onward journey after leaving the Horse Indians, "we found ourselves, on the 18th of November, in a village containing a great number of the Belle Riviere Indians. They gave us information concerning the Bow Indians, who were not far away. We marched together to the south-west. The 21st we discovered a village which we saw was very great. All the people of this country have great numbers of horses and mules. They use them to carry their luggage and for mounts, more for the hunt, however than for their travels. Arrived at the village the chief took us to his lodge. They made their salutations to us which they only know after the manner of savages. He placed all our baggage

in his lodge, which was very large, and took good care of our horses."

The Chevalier proceeds: "Up to this time we had been very well received in all of the villages through which we had passed, but it was nothing to be compared with the delightful manner of this great chief of the Bows. A man by no means self interested as were all the others, and who always took very good care of all that belonged to us. I became attached to this chief, who merited all our friendliness. I learned a little of the language at this time, enough to make myself understood and also to understand that which he desired to say to me, through the pains which he took to instruct me. I asked him if they knew the Whites of the Sea and if they were able to lead me there. He replied to me, "We know that from what the prisoners of the Snakes have told us that we ought to meet shortly. Do not be surprised if you see all the villages assemble with us. Word has been sent on all sides for the tribes to join us. You will hear every day the war cry, which is part of the plan. We are going to march to the side of the great mountains which are nearer the sea, in order to seek the Snakes. Apprehend nothing in coming with us. You have nothing to fear. You will be able to see the Sea which you seek.' "

"He continued his discourse thus: 'The French who are on the sea,' he told me, 'are numerous. They have a great quantity of captives which they place on their lands in every nation. These have their own homes. They intermarry and are considered free, which causes them to be satisfied with their lot and they do not seek to escape. They raise quantities of horses and other animals which they use in working their land. They have a number of chiefs for their soldiers. They have also some priests.' He spoke for me some words of their language. I recognized that he spoke Spanish and that which completed the confirmation of it for me was the story which he told me of the massacre of the Spanish who were going on an exploring trip of the Missouri, of which I had heard spoken. All this strengthened my own impression of the known sea. In the meantime I very much wished to proceed there if it were at all feasible."

Here, then, is a record of a continuous march of, say, twenty-five days' time, to the south-west from the "home" of the Horse Indians, to some point where a band locally known as "Belle Riviere Indians" was met. Where was this camp with reference to the river referred to, and what river was this?

They had met no other village of Indians on this particular phase of the trip, and were evidently being guided by Horse Indians—and doubtless also by some of those with whom they were previously in contact—who knew where they were going, since, as we shall soon see, they were now near to and were very soon to meet the Bow Indians. We are unwilling to assume that they traveled less than six miles per day; which would make the traveled route from the Horse Indians to the Belle Riviere about 150 miles. This would make the total mileage thence from the "Mountain of the Horse Indians" 205 miles, on the averages of daily travel already assumed. And the general direction taken between those two points, as shown by the journal, was somewhat west of south-south-west. But assuming, for present purposes, that it was substantially south-south-west,—or as far easterly as can possibly be presumed if we are to give the Chevalier's statements on this head roughly substantial credit,—and we find that, if these Belle Reviere Indians were supposed to have derived their name from their having a habitat on the Belle Fourche River—the north branch of the Cheyenne River of South Dakota,—still they must have been met by Verendrye some distance north of the most northerly course of that stream, and yet, at a point nearly as far west as the said bend of Belle Fourche from northeast to southeast,—or say, a point due north of Sturgis, South Dakota. This conclusion seems warrantable from our own estimates of distances and courses so far traveled from the "Horse Mountain," and also from known distances to southward and westward from the point here supposed to have been the meeting-place with the Belle Rivieres; since the air-line distance from said White Clay Buttes southwesterly to the nearest point on the Belle Fourche is about 125 miles, making the necessarily traveled distance from 225 to 250 miles; whereas, as seen, we have supposed their mileage to have been but

about 200 miles. While, if we suppose them to have met these Indians on the Belle Fourche, the journal hereafter to be considered will, if given any rational credit upon the faith of its language, show that the party must have traveled after reaching the Belle Riviere, a distance which would bring them to a point too far west to harmonize with the dates of their sighting, and reaching, the Black Hills of South Dakota as the "Mountains" of their westward destination. And we are now seeking to test the theory that the Black Hills was that destination.

Now, it is not at all improbable that this band of Belle Riviere Indians had their habitat somewhere along or near the Belle Fourche River, and took their name therefrom—a name that in earliest days was applied to the river even to its mouth. That stream is one furnishing strikingly beautiful scenery; it is and has been ever since the whites came to settle in that region, somewhat famous in this respect; and it is understood to have been impressed with this repute of loveliness by the traditions of the Indians themselves. It is the Wapka Wasta (Beautiful River) of the Sioux or Dakota Indians, and this fact points to its having had a similar reputation among the predecessors of the Sioux in that quarter, who are believed to have been, as already stated, the Aricaras. It skirts the foothills of the Black Hills, or Black Mountains, in a grand sweep around from their western declivities to their easternmost slopes where it joins the south branch of the Cheyenne—clasping the Hills in its embrace on the northerly, as does its mate on the southerly side.

Supposing, then, that the Chevalier went southwest from a point north of the Belle Fourche and on the longitude of Sturgis, accompanied by the Belle Rivieres, after remaining one day with them—for they were now so very near the Bows that they must have wished to hurry thence—and traveled two days and ten miles to gain the great Bow village; this may have brought them to the banks of the Belle Fourche, or if not, very close thereto. So great crowds of Indians as they now had with them made their movements more slow than usual. Yet we cannot believe that, if the party was in fact journeying toward the Black Hills and had not already

gone some distance to westward, they had now actually reached the Belle Fourche; since, if they had, they must have been at some point thereon from which Bear Butte, a very prominent outpost of the Hills not more than fifteen miles south of this stream, would have been seen by them; while as we shall see, it was weeks thereafter before they saw the mountain which was their westward destination.

Again: These Bow Indians had heralded abroad the fact that they were going on a winter campaign against their dreaded and vengeful enemy, the "Snakes," and bands from all quarters were evidently assembling with that end in view. This very entertaining and powerful chief is also found urging the Verendrye party to join them in this campaign,—apparently holding out the double prospect of finding special information by which to reach "the Sea" and for witnessing, if they did not participate in, the discomfiture of that enemy in its mountain stronghold. It does seem certain that such an expedition, in which so many allied bands were joining, who had evidently assembled from wide distances, and whose chief was a red man of probity and exalted standing, was destined to some locality farther away than the northern Black Hills, if the expedition itself was to set out from the banks of the Belle Fourche. "We are going to march to the side of the great mountains which are near the sea, in order to seek the Snakes." If the Black Hills were, in the conception of this chief and his followers, the great continental range beyond whose confines was the bourne of the ocean, the fact does not argue their possession of more than a very narrow comprehension of the country to southward and westward. On the other hand, all that this chief told the Chevalier concerning the "Whites of the Sea" indicated, beyond all doubt, his knowledge of well-known facts among the Indians in his vicinity who had been captured by the "Snakes," concerning whites who were none other than Spaniards; and that those whites must be located far away to the south and west—months of journeying beyond the Black Hills Range—is likewise knowledge ascribable to this chief and his once-captured bandsmen. In the face of evidences of such traditions, we are at loss to know how much of sincerity was behind the chief's

declaration that, when Verendrye's party had gone with them to the Snakes' stronghold "You will be able to see the Sea which you seek." If it was said on the Belle Fourche and the enemy was in the northern Black Hills, and we could know that to be true, the effusive utterances of the Bow chief might well be discounted as an effort in oratory to persuade the Chevalier to go along with the campaigners for the moral effect his presence would have on the attacking warriors—and mayhap, for his services as diplomat in case of another defeat. Such a motive may indeed have moved him had this scene been laid much nearer the main Rocky Mountain Range. Now, if these Indians were Aricaras, it is difficult to believe that none of them had ever been south of the Black Hills and westward from thence far enough to have discovered that that was not the main range, but was in fact detached therefrom by many miles of substantially level country. Even the "Snakes," if regarded as the supposedly invincible Kiowas, would not have prevented them from invading, however temporarily, the region just mentioned. And as this chief "spoke Spanish," and knew of a great massacre of Spanish explorers "of the Missouri," he had doubtless himself traveled far south of the Black Hills. Yet he seems all the time to be trying to convince the Chevalier that to proceed toward the Mountains—**westward** as well as southward—would bring them where the Sea these explorers sought could soon be found.

One further suggestion here as to where the party now was, will be made: If we suppose that they crossed the Missouri and started west from near the mouth of the Knife River, North Dakota, then the "Horse Mountain," instead of being at or in the region of White Clay Buttes on Cedar River or the south branch of the Cannon Ball, would be likely to have been found by Verendrye fifty or sixty miles to northward, or on or near the north branch of the latter stream; and—still supposing the rate of travel to have been as already assumed—they would now be that much farther northward than we have so far presumed; they might have been in the region of the southern branches of the Moreau River, or of the remote sources of Cherry Creek, a branch of the lower Cheyenne; since, even if they were at last guided by the

Belle Riviere Indians whose actual habitat was on the Belle Fourche, they may well have been returning home from a northern hunt, and have come upon the Bows a considerable distance north of that stream. These suggestions may be of some value further on, in considering how the explorers and the Bow tribes spent much time before reaching the neighborhood of the **locus** of the "Snake" camp in the mountain, supposing the latter to have been in the Black Hills.

To resume the narrative: To the Beaux Hommes and the Horse Indians, or such of them as remained with the expedition, we have seen that, on the 21st of November (1742) a "great number" of Belle Rivieres and the "very great" village of the Bows had accrued. Supposing that explorers and Indians were visiting for five days preparatory to the movement on to the Mountains; and that they were now at or very near the Belle Fourche. Verendrye proceeds:

"We continued our march, usually south-south-west, sometimes northwest. Our troop was continually being increased by meeting with many villages of different nations. The first of January, 1743, we found ourselves in sight of the mountains. The number of warriors passed two thousand, which with their families made a considerable army, moving steadily over the great prairies where the wild game is in abundance. Every night there were only songs and yells, for no other reason than to persuade us to accompany them to the war. I resisted always by saying that we were there to pacify the country and not to stir it up. The chief of the Bows repeated often that he was grieved in our behalf to know what all of the nations thought of us, seeing that we had difficulty in following them, and he asked us as a favor (being engaged with them and not being able to retire until the end of the war) to be willing to accompany him in order to be spectators merely, not asking us to expose ourselves; that the Snakes were our enemies as well as theirs and that we ought to know that they had no one for friends. We consulted among ourselves as to what we ought to do. We resolved to follow them, seeing the impossibility, situated as we were, of being able to take any other position, and also because of the desire which I had of seeing the sea beyond the mountains.

I made known to the chief of the Bows what we had decided. He appeared very satisfied with this. They gathered together then, a great council to which we were called with them as was the custom. The speeches were very long on the part of each nation. The chief of the Bows explained them to me. All talked over those measures which they had to take for the safety of their women and children during their absence, and on the manner of approaching the enemy. Then they addressed to us a speech asking us not to leave them. I replied to the chief of the Bows, which he repeated to the whole of the assembly, that the Great Chief of the French wished his children to be peaceable and had given us orders to leave all nations in peace, desiring to see all nations in quiet and not at war; that knowing their hearts were justly troubled, I bowed my head and said that I would gladly accompany them as long as they wished, but only to aid them in their councils when it was needed. They thanked us heartily and held long ceremonies with the peace pipe."

Here is a record of a marching period covering twenty-five days,—supposing that five days elapsed between the meeting with the Bows and the resumption of the march. New Indian accessions had come to the numerous tribes and "nations" already enroute, probably every day or two, all of which incidents and the successive renewals of the journey doubtless absorbed much time during which no progress was actually made. Moreorever, with so vast and cumbrous an equippage as must have accompanied the warriors, the daily marches were doubtless much shorter than had been usual for the Verendrye party in this expedition. Let us presume —for we are still supposing a minimum of speed, for purposes heretofore stated—that while "marching" the whole body moved but five miles per day; and that two whole days were spent in the great council; and that of the remaining twenty-three days ten days' time in all was absorbed in meeting and discussion with the acceding bands from day to day enroute. This would leave thirteen days' actual travel, or a total of sixty-five miles onward from the Bow village. This route was not among rough hills—it was over "great prairies where wild game" was abundant, so there was no need of delay to acquire means of sustenance. And they were now—Jan-

uary 1st, 1743,—only "in sight of" the mountains. If those were the Black Hills, where were the explorers now?

This depends mainly upon the locus of the Bow village. In any event—unless we still further discount the time actually spent in travel—that village, unless located as far to southeast as the forks of the Cheyenne, must have been far north of the Belle Fourche; it must have been somewhere in the neighborhood of the southern branches of the Moreau River, or of the headwaters of the Rattlesnake Creek branch of Cherry Creek, in order to account for this twenty-five days' journey across fine prairie country, and supposing, furthermore, that it ended on or still north of the Belle Fourche. This last supposition seems essential too, since, if they had actually passed the Belle Fourche somewhere about the longitude of Sturgis—our previous postulate—they not only would have sighted Bear Butte or some other highland in the Black Hills, before January 1st, that Butte being only about fifteen miles southward from the Belle Fourche,—but they would have come so near the Mountains proper as to make it very improbable if not out of the question for them to have spent the time yet to be absorbed in reaching another spot arrived at and which, in turn, was still several days' march from the "Snake" mountain. But on this trip ended January 1st, if the Bow village was on or near a Moreau branch, they might well have turned northwest at times, in rounding some of the buttes enroute, such as Deer's Ear or Owl Butte, or even farther south. On the other hand, if this Bow village itself was on or only a short distance north of the Belle Fourche, we cannot account for this twenty-five days' trip southwestward from that stream and which only brought them "in sight of" a mountain. Such a supposition is simply incredible.

There is, however, one, and but one theory upon which this twenty-five days' journey might have been made from the locus of the Bow village supposedly on the Belle Fourche, and still have only reached a point "in sight of" the Black Hills or some prominent out post thereof regarded by Verendrye as a mountain,—namely, from the junction of the Belle Fourche with the south fork of the Cheyenne. If they had trav-

eled thence up the valley of the Belle Fourche about 65 miles, or, if they had gone southwest to a branch of said south fork and thence northwesterly a substantially like distance, they would probably have reached a point from which Bear Butte or some other peak might have appeared as a "mountain."

This we understand to be Mr. Robinson's theory, at least in rough outline. But the writer hereof does not regard it as at all probable that the Chevalier could have reached the Belle Fourche at its said junction, on his westward journey, he believes that stream, if visited on the outbound trip, was reached or crossed at a point at least 60 or 70 miles farther west, as already pointed out. To suppose that they were so far east as the forks junction does too much violence to Verendrye's specific references to courses traveled by him. It is true, as we shall find later on, that his astrolobe—an instrument by which he after the fashion of his day took observations by the sun's aid,—was or became out of repair before he reached the sight of Fort Pierre, South Dakota, on his return from the mountains. But that he or any other intelligent observer of the sun from day to day enroute, could well have known substantially the directions in which he traveled, is not only very probable, but, in view of his responsibility as an explorer, his efforts to ascertain the courses pursued should, we believe, be regarded as having been successful to the end of enabling him to make the detailed and almost constant notations of the directions taken, found in his journal.

Bear Butte, for instance, is north of due west from this fork junction. Upon no theory which, in view of Verendrye's notes, we can regard as tenable, would that prominence have been sighted by these explorers as the initial outpost, by going anywhere near a southwesterly direction from the forks junction. Of course some other and much less prominent a point in the eastern Black Hills might have been sighted on such a route, traveled over in the manner indicated for this twenty-five days' trip. Still, on that theory, the same difficulty concerning the long time yet to be accounted for before they reached even the neighborhood of the "Snake" village, is encountered.

The writer's belief is, that if it was in fact the Black Hills that now came in sight of the explorers on January 1st, they either had arrived at or had passed the Belle Fourche in the neighborhood of Sturgis; that Bear Butte or some other high point in that quarter of the Hills was now "in sight." Let us again follow the journal.

"We continued the march until the 8th of January. The 9th we left the village. I left my brother to guard our baggage which was in the lodge of the chief of the Bows.

"The greatest part of the people were on horseback, marching in good order. Finally on the twelfth day we arrived at the mountains. They were for the most part well wooded with all kinds of timber, and appeared very high. Not far away was the greatest of the villages of the Snakes. The scouts returned to us that the Snakes had escaped with great precipitation and had abandoned their lodges and a great part of their equipage. This word terrorized our people, in the fear that the enemy having discovered them would hurry on to their villages and arrive there before them. The chief of the Bows did what he could to dissuade them and to engage them in pursuit. No one would listen to him. 'It is too bad,' he said to me, 'that I have brought you thus far and am not able to pass over.' I was very much disappointed in not climbing the mountains as I had wished. We joined the party in turning back. We had come thus far in good order, but the return was very different, each fleeing his own way. Our horses, although fat, were very tired and not often fed. I marched in company with the chief of the Bows, my two Frenchmen following us. I perceived, after having gone quite a distance on the road, without looking behind me, that they were missing. I said to the chief of the Bows that I could not see my Frenchmen any more. He replied to me, 'I was about to stop all the people who are with us.' I turned about at once and saw them at a point of a wood where they had stopped to feed their horses.

Coming toward them I saw fifteen men who were approaching from the woods and were covering themselves with their shields. One was a little in advance of the others. We, with our guns half-raised, permitted them to approach. See-

ing that they were about to attack us, I deemed it well to fire a few shots at them, which obliged them to retire promptly, this arm being much respected among all nations which did not use it, since their shields were not able to protect them from the bullets. We remained there until nightfall, after which we marched as was the plan, in the hopes of finding our Indians again. The prairie through which we were passing was hard and dry, the hoofs of the horses not leaving a mark. We continued our route in good luck, but not knowing that we were going correctly. Finally we arrived at the first of the villages of the Bows, the 9th of February, which was the second day of our retreat."

Now, in order to estimate the time spent in marching on from where the mountains were sighted, let us suppose that, while camping there and debating over the question whether the Verendrye party would continue to accompany the Bow chief's party to the mountains, and how best to protect the non-combatants among the Indians, etc., two whole days were occupied. That they started on the 3rd of January (1743). Here, for the first time, the Chevalier omits mention of the direction taken; but as the expedition was supposedly still trending to south-southwestward in order to find "the Sea," we feel bound to assume that now they steered somewhere from southward to westward. They may however have gone due west, or to the northwest. They traveled, say from January 3rd to the 8th; remained in this new camp until the 9th, when they "left the village." This must mean that there were the women and children and male non-combatants, from whom the warriors and the Verendrye party were thenceforth disencumbered, so that "the greatest part of the people" now enroute to the mountains "were on horseback, marching in good order." Finally on the twelfth day we arrived at the mountains." What is meant by this "twelfth day?" Let us suppose that, although mostly mounted, the cavalcade were going over rough foothills country, and that they traveled only five miles per day to the last camp, and six miles per day thereafter. If the "twelfth day" is counted from the day when they left this last village (January 9th), then, on our estimate of daily travel, they would have gone forward from 90 to 100 miles; which might well mean that

they had progressed in an air-line at least forty to fifty miles. But if the "twelfth day" meant that many days after they sighted the mountains on January 1st, then they would have spent only about three days (from the 9th to the 12th of January) after leaving the said village, before turning back after having discovered that the enemy had decamped; and the total distance traveled betwen the 1st and 12th of January would be about 45 miles—which again might mean an advance in air-line of twenty or twenty-five miles. Ordinarily, the "twelfth day" entry would be understood as counting from the last stop—the "village" nearest the mountain destination; but on that theory here applied, how can we account for a round hundred miles traveled, nearly or quite all south of the Belle Fourche, and an air-line advance of forty-five miles —before reaching the mountains proper of the Black Hills? Fifty miles actual travel southward or southwestward from a point on that stream north or northeast of Sturgis, would bring one into the edge of the mountains proper,—say at Deadwood, or at points east or northwest therefrom; it would carry one far south, or west, from Bear Butte—the great local landmark of that vicinity, but which is not part of the range proper. But we have seen that, after reaching the vicinity of the "Snake" village—their destination westward—they in their mad rush back into the plains "arrived at the first of the villages of the Bows * * * the second day of our retreat." What village is here meant? The village left on January 9th, nearest that destination, or the Bow village first met on the southwesterly journey? If the former, it is plain that they could hurry back in a fright of fear and on the second day of retreat reach the village where had been left the women and children and baggage, and which village was only about three days' ordinary travel from where they turned to retreat. But if that "first of the villages of the Bows" was the "first" Bow village to which the Belle Rivieres took Verendrye,—and which, upon our theory of distances traveled, was twenty-five plus sixty-five miles, or some 90 miles from the Bow village nearest the "Snake" village,—then it seems ridiculous to construe the journal to mean that they retreated to **that** village in two days. It but adds to the sense of the ridiculous to construe the term

"twelfth day" as meaning that twelve days' travel intervened between the village where the baggage was left, to the point where the retreat began.

But again: This sense of the ridiculous may be turned into something quite rational if we assume that, instead of having traveled roughly southwestward, or westward, from where they sighted the mountain (supposedly on or near the Belle Fourche) to where the retreat began, we assume that they took a sort of zigzag course describing the greater part of a circle—for instance, that they went southeast and skirted around Bear Butte, thence southwest to Sturgis and on to Deadwood, thence northerly to a point east of Round Top, to the retreating point; they could then have retraced their route to the baggage village as stated, or they could have hustled eastward and to north of Bear Butte back to the point of first sighting the mountains, in two days—by covering say fifteen or eighteen miles per day over the bare ground in a practically open plain. This latter route would have completed a circle, though it would not have brought them back to "the first of the villages of the Bows," if that meant where the Belle Rivieres first took Verendrye. And this theory would account for the Indians having "milled around" in a confused way for a long time. Indeed, on this theory we can account for the additional travel of twelve days between January 9th and 21st, making the "twelfth day" to date from the leavetaking of the baggage village. But on no other supposition than that this twelve-days' trip was substantially a back-track route toward the Cheyenne Forks, instead of toward the mountains where this expedition was presumably going, it is reasonable to suppose that, on a two-days' retreat from near the "Snake" village, the party arrived at the Bow village at or near that Forks as the place where Verendrye first met the Bows. It seems impossible that the Snakes' rendezvous in question could have been located nearer the Forks than fifty miles westward in an air-line. It is almost improbable, in our view, that the two-days' retreat could have been made to the Bow village first met by the explorers, supposing it to have been found near

where we have assumed it to have been approached by them, north of the Black Hills.

Hence we feel bound to discredit the idea of a twelve-days' march between the baggage village and the point of retreat of the expedition, as well as that of reaching the Bow village first found by them, in a two-days' flight such as Verendrye journalizes.

And upon no theory can we account for the expedition's travel between January 1st and 12th—supposing the "twelfth day" to mean that date,—or between January 1st and the 21st—supposing that term to mean the twelfth day from January 9th, when they left the baggage village,—without presuming that, even though circling about much of the time, they must have been **amid** the northern Black Hills part of the time. That is, supposing it was those Hills they sighted, from a point north or northeast from Sturgis.

But there is another feature of time spent which, when considered, forces the conclusion that this Snake village toward which they were heading was much farther away than we have so far supposed. This is the seemingly strange recital that, although they retreated from the farthest point of their journey thence, back to the "first of the villages of the Bows" on "the second day of our retreat," yet that this date was **February 9th**,—or 28 days after they reached that turning point—if they reached it January 12th,—and nineteen days after they reached it, if the latter event occurred on January 21st. Here are 26 days, or 17 days, as the case may be, to account for and during which the scouts were hunting out and making a report on this Snake village while Verendrye's party tarried "at the mountains," and before they turned back with the fleeing Indians. Suppose they spent two whole days in listening to this report and in determining what to do before consternation impelled commencement of flight,—a liberal estimate in our view. Then the scouts spent 24 days, or 15 days, as the case may be, in going from a point "at the mountain" to the principal Snake village, reconnoitering the place and returning to the awaiting warriors and explorers. While they would naturally be cautious not to proceed too fast, yet here were thousands of warriors in mid-

winter, ready to make a dash upon the enemy as soon as located, and attended by whites who had reluctantly consented to accompany them,—all anxiously waiting for this report. Suppose they traveled only six miles per day; that they circuited three miles in advancing one; that they were two days spying around the neighborhood of that Snake village after reaching its immediate vicinity and before starting back: and that they had but fifteen days to spend thus. They would have traveled 78 miles, or 39 miles going and the same on the return, and would have covered an air-line stretch of thirteen miles—the distance between the Indian camp and the Snake village. If they spent 24 days on this scouting trip, the same basis of calculation would show the traveled distance between the two points to have been 72 miles, the air-line distance 24 miles. The enemy's camp may then have been thirteen, or twenty-four miles straight into the mountain forest from its edge, or in some other direction away from the Verendrye party's farthest part of their westward journey, but in the mountains; and presumably that much farther away from the Belle Fourche than the estimates previously made.

These mountains, says Verendrye, "were for the most part well wooded with all kinds of timber, and appeared very high." The Black Hills timber would probably answer this description with substantial verity.

The historian Francis Parkman, who in the course of gathering materials for his "California and the Oregon Trail" and some other writings, actually traveled into the Mountains on horseback, as far as Fort Laramie on the North Fork of the Platte River, and northward, and who in his "Half Century of American Conflict" recounted the various expeditions of the Verendryes—from which latter we have already made quotations,— but who believed these mountains whose foothills were reached by the sons January 1st, 1743, were the Big Horn range, supposes the "twelfth day" of this journal meant that the party traveled that many days from the baggage village to the "foothills of the mountains." He speaks thus of Verendrye's aspirations as he looked upon the mountains: "He longed to climb their great snow-encumbered peaks, fancying that he

might then see the Pacific, and never dreaming that more than eight hundred miles of mountains and forests still lay between him and his goal." He thought that "they saw what was probably the Big Horn range of the Rocky Mountains, a hundred and twenty miles east of the Yellowstone Park." If, however, the mountains they saw were near the bend of the Belle Fourche, then Verendrye was nearly 150 miles farther from the Pacific than Parkman supposed.

Who were these Snake Indians? If they were in fact resident in the Black Hills, it seems more than merely probable that they were the Kiowas; since this tribe, originally inhabiting the sources of the Yellowstone and the Missouri much farther westward, had migrated or been driven eastward and southward into the region of the Black Hills, if history based upon tradition is to be credited, and subsequently were driven from this stronghold, not by the Aricaras, but by the Sioux; becoming eventually allied with the Comanches on and south of the Arkansas. There seems to be no positive evidence that the Kiowas were ever known as "Snake" Indians. But the theory that these Indians whose village was the quest of the Bow Indians of Verendrye's journey were the Kiowas then known by their enemies as Snakes, is based upon the well-known habit of various tribes in the Northwest who designated hostile tribes by typifying them as "Snakes"—using the word as synonymous with "enemy." Furthermore: If these "Snakes" of the Black Hills in that day were not Kiowas, we are at loss to account for any other tribe who made those mountains their stronghold before the Sioux took possession of that region, and who could have been feared as were these "Snakes" by the Bows and the Belle Rivieres—whether the latter tribes were of Aricaran or Siouan origin.

But Parkman speaks of warfare carried on between the Sioux and the Snakes of the Rocky Mountains proper, and in the proper habitat of the Indians of the Rockies who have since the dawn of Indian history in that quarter been well known by the name of Snake Indians, or Shoshones, but who were entirely distinct from the Kiowas. Speaking of this expedition witnessed by Verendrye, he says it "must have been the result of unusual exasperation. The object was to

surprise the Snakes in the security of their winter camp, and strike a deadly blow, which would have been impossible in summer." He of course regards those "Snakes" as those Rocky Mountain Indians above referred to as known by that and by no other name, except "Shoshones." And while he does not attempt to identify any of the bands who joined Verendrye before he reached the Bows, he says the latter "may have been one of the bands of the western Sioux,—the predominant race in this region,"—meaning of course, the region of the Big Horn Mountains. Verendrye gives these "Snakes" who were enemies of the Bows, the generic name "Gens du Serpent."

Parkman says further, concerning the Snakes: "Through the whole of the present century the villages of the Snakes were at a considerable distance west of the Big Horn Range, and some of them were even on the upper waters of the Pacific slope. It is likely that they were so in 1743, in which case the war-party would not only have reached the Big Horn Mountains, but have pushed farther on to within sight of the great Wind River Range."

Parkman also construes Verendrye's journal concerning the two-days' retreat to the village as meaning "reaching the camp where the women and children had been left," showing his disbelief that they went back to the Bow village first visited by Verendrye.

The writer's conclussion is that, if the Black Hills or its northern border was the "mountain" to whose edge Verendrye's party arrived before turning back, he did not in any event proceed farther westward than to near the western boundary of South Dakota. We believe the supposition that he may have gone that far is entirely consistent also with the facts relative to his east-bound journey to the Missouri River at what is now Fort Pierre, as recorded by him.

Verendrye's Return From the Mountains.

Let us revert to Verendrye's narrative of the return from the "Mountains" to which his party had arrived on the out-bound journey. We left him where, as we believe the evidence shows, he had returned,—at the camp of the Arc Indians

nearest the mountains,—the chief having become separated from the Verendrye party.

"The chief of the Arcs had gone on ahead in order to stop his band which had marched with us, but the terror was too much among them to stop in a country so near the enemy. The chief had been troubled all night. The next day he had made a great detour in the road. He did not cease to seek for his men but did not succeed in finding them. He arrived finally at the village, five days after us, more dead than alive, and in great disappointment, not knowing that we had arrived before. The first news that he received was that we had arrived happily on the eve of the storm, more than two feet of snow having fallen in a veritable blizzard the day after our arrival. His sorrow changed to joy; he was unable to give us caresses and attentions enough. What surprised them was that the chief of the Arcs with many others had separated his people in order to encircle us to the end of being able to discover us. While doing this he had arrived day after day at villages which were in gloom, believing us to be hopelessly lost. All the other nations had separated in order to find more for them to live upon. We continued to march with the people of the Arcs until the first day of March, making always east-south-east.

"I sent one of my Frenchmen with a savage to the lodges of the Gens de la Petite Cerise (Little Cherries), having learned that they were approaching. They took ten days on this trip and brought word to us, inviting us to join them."

Assuming that this baggage village where Verendrye became snowbound was somewhere north of northeast of Deadwood and between that city and the Belle Fourche,—say in the neighborhood of Whitewood, South Dakota; and that the Gens de l'Arc chief remained there one day after finding our explorer, before they started on eastward. This would make the date of departure from thence, the 16th of February (1743). While deep snow had fallen, some or even the largest part of it may have disappeared in the mean-while; a "Chinook wind" from over the Rockies may have melted it; or most of it may yet have remained. But we may be assured that all parties were anxious to get away from the neighborhood of

this mountain containing the dread enemy, and that all due speed was made to that end. And that they simply followed the Belle Fourche valley down to the Cheyenne Forks is morally certain—this was the general direction taken, says the journal, and this would tave taken them substantially directly to Fort Pierre,—supposing they were now in the northern Black Hills.

By traveling 70 or 75 miles the party could without doubt have arrived at the Cheyenne Forks from Whitewood, or at a point up the South Fork of the Cheyenne, say at the mouth of Elk Creek. In the twelve days to March 1st this trip would have required a daily travel of but about six miles,—this might easily have been done, even with considerable snow on the ground, since the territory covered presented no considerable difficultics at any point. They might have crossed the South Fork, in fact, and have reached a point at or near the headwaters of the Wapka Shisha, or Bad River, to southeastward. Somewhere on Bad River, we believe, were these Little Cherries, who, if there, would follow that stream down to its mouth at Fort Pierre, in order to reach their "fort," soon to be mentioned in the narrative. But, as Verendrye was now about to part from the chief of the Arcs, it is probable that they camped on or near the South Fork. They probably heard as soon as they reached this Fork, that the Little Cherries were not far to eastward, and immediately sent forward the Frenchmen. If he left this camp March 1st, he would have returned to where he then found the Verendrye party by the 10th,—they may then have been at said camp, or on their way eastward. So also is it probable that, after having sent word to Verendrye by messenger, the Little Cherry band, after the return of the messenger, turned eastward and proceeded down the Bad River,—or, if they were somewhere on the divide between the Cheyenne and the Bad River, they doubtless went down some branch of the latter, thence to the Missouri, but were overtaken, as we shall see, by Verendrye's party.

"I communicated our plan to the chief of the Gens de l'Arc," continues Verendrye, "who was visibly touched at seeing us resolved to leave him. We were not less so at

leaving him, for the good attitude which he always had had toward us. In order to console him, I promised to return to find him, supposing that he wished to go to establish himself near a little river that I had indicated to him, there to construct a fort and to raise grain."[27]

Was this "little river" this South Fork of the Cheyenne? Or the Belle Fourche? Not improbably one of these, if they were now east of northern Black Hills. But this journal entry is significant in another direction,—it indicates that this Arc chief was an agriculturalist, and could build a "fort,"—additional evidence that he was of the Pawnees, or the Aricaras, and not a Sioux.

"He acquiesced in all that I proposed to him," says the journal, "and asked of me that as soon as I had seen my father at Fort la Reine, before leaving it again the following spring that I would come to join him. I promised him for his consolation all that he desired and made him a present of all that I believed would be useful to him.

Not seeing any hopes of being taken to the settlements of

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[27]In my earlier study of this subject, the suggestion that the Bows were a fort building, planting people indicated beyond question to my mind that they were of the Arikara-Pawnee alliance. Since, however, Mr. George Bird Grinnell has sent me some tradition that in the earlier time the Cheyennes were builders and planters, which if true, makes it possible they were Cheyenne. While I think the weight of probability favers the former (Caddoan) theory, the latter theory is worth consideration. Bearing upon it, Hon. A. L. Van Osdel, many years ago wrote of his observations in 1863 of the remains of earth villages on the Sheyenne, of North Dakota, the old home of the Cheyennes. What he saw there he describes as follows:

"We visited the old deserted Indian village. It was situated one-half mile below, near the southern verge of the plateau on a high bank facing the river, and covered an area of about fifteen or twenty acres. Several old dirt lodges were still standing, delapidated and in the last stages of decay. These old structures were built in a circular form, and were from fifteen to twenty feet in diameter.

Their foundations were prepared by digging two or three feet into the ground, and forming the earthen floor by leveling to the required size of the circular lodge.

The substructure was formed by arranging fixed posts inside the circular excavation, one against the other, making a solid outer wall around the circle. Resting on the upper end of these timbers were plates to keep them in position, upon which were huge rafters rising at an angle of about thirty degrees to the apex or skylight, left open in the center of the circular roof, to light up the interior, and for the exit of smoke from the central lodge fire. The roof of the lodge thus formed was supported and upheld by timbers set perpendicularly under beams passing passing around beneath the roof. On the upper side of the rafters willows were laid crosswise to protect the timbers from coming in contact with the earth with which the lodges were covered over with a thick layer.

One of these old structures was larger than the others, and was evidently used as a council lodge, as the roof was strewn with old decayed buffalo skulls and other tokens used in their mysterious ceremonies."

In an editorial note, upon Mr. Van Osdel's article published sixteen years ago, I suggested that these were Ree or Mandan remains, but it is quite possible they were the remains of an earlier Cheyenne Culture.—D. R.

the Spaniards and not doubting that my father was very anxious for us, we set out to go at once to Fort la Reine and left the chief of the Gens de l'Arc with much regret on both sides."

That this chief and his people were of the same "nation" or clan as the Gens de la Petite Cerise (Little Cherry) Indians, will be further evidenced by our explorer's journal.

"We arrived the 15th of March at the camp of the Gens de la Petite Cerise," says Verendrye. "They were returning from their wintering place and were then a two days' march from their home, which was on the banks of the Missouri.

"We arrived the 19th at their fort and there we were received with great demonstrations of joy. I applied myself to learning their language and found much of it very easy. They had a man with them who had been raised among the Spaniards and spoke that language as well as his mother tongue. I questioned him often and he told me all that had been reported to me about his case, that he had been baptized and had never forgotten his prayers. I asked him if it were easy to travel there; he replied that it was far and that the road was full of dangers. According to the report of the Gens du Serpent (Snakes), it took twenty days at least to make the journey on horseback.

"I informed myself about their trading. He told me that they worked in iron and had a great traffic in the hides of cattle and in slaves, giving in exchange horses and merchandise as the savages wished, but never guns nor ammunition.

"He told me that at a three days' journey from there was a Frenchman who had been established many years. I would have gone to find him if our horses had been in condition. I resolved to write to him to engage him to come to find us, that we would wait for him until the end of March, hoping to set out at the beginning of April to return to the Mandans and from there to Fort la Reine, and that if he were not able to come he would at least let us know his story."

To reach the camp of the Little Cherries enroute eastward, on March 15th, at a point "two days march" from the Mis-

souri,—but which we have seen was a four days' march for the joint party,—Verendrye had traveled from where he parted with the Bow chief to some point on or north of the Bad River, say twenty miles from its mouth. Suppose one day was spent in that leavetaking, and that Verendrye started on on March 2nd. If he had traveled during this thirteen days at six miles per day, as before supposed on the trip to the Forks, the 78 miles would cover the travel distance from the South Fork of the Cheyenne near Elk Creek, to the twenty-mile point above indicated. Of course the Little Cherries must necessarily be presumed to have traveled eastward upwards of fifty miles from where Verendrye's Frenchman met them, to this twenty-mile point, and therefore to have been overtaken by Verendrye. Now, if the joint party reached the Missouri at the mouth of Bad River—the site of Fort Pierre and, as we shall see, of the planting of the famous leaden plate,—and if the "fort" to which they arrived four days after the meeting on the prairie, was on the site of the great redoubt of the Aricaras some eight miles above and to northwest of Fort Pierre, on the precipitous westerly bank of the Missouri, as we have no doubt was the case, this fact aids us in more clearly understanding why the joint party spent four days in traveling over a route "two days march" from the "home" of the Indians. They probably lingered at the mouth of Bad River, and it is not at all improbable that while reconnoitering that very locality, Verendrye the "Chevalier" of the leaden plate set eyes on the selfsame knob, looming up from the mouth of Bad River about midway out to the far back-bluffs, upon which the plate was found one hundred and seventy years later to a month!

Did Verendrye Reach the Big Horn Mountains? Or the Laramies?

Before further mention is made of the doings of the Chevalier Verendrye in the vicinity of Fort Pierre, South Dakota, after returning from the west, let us now revert to the subject of his westward journey, on the theory that he went farther west than the Black Hills—that he proceeded to the out-post of some mountain range at least far enough toward the main range of the Rocky Mountains to have

reached the eastern extremity of the general range of the Big Horn Mountains, or the northern limit of the Laramie Range.

And, as stated in the outset of our discussion where we found him at the "Mountain of the Horse Indians," this theory pre-supposes two main facts,—that that mountain was in the neighborhood of the Big Bend of the Little Missouri River and part of the "Bad Lands" of that stream; and, second, that his rate of travel was materially speedier than that which we have assumed was taken on the theory that he went no farther west than the Black Hills. And if in fact he did arrive at said "Bad Lands" in the twenty-day journey from the Missouri River at the Mandan villages, it is not only permissible to assume that he made greater distances on each day's subsequent travel than we have supposed under the other theory, but such conclusion is necessary in order to give Verendrye due credit for speed in general on the entire expedition, and to preserve the natural harmony of parts in the sequences of his experiences enroute. We shall here give him also the same degree of credit concerning his journal entries as to courses pursued after reaching the "Horse Mountain," as obtained in following our first theory; until we find at the ultimate westward destination to which our present theory may lead us; but shall be obliged to recognize the necessity of deviating somewhat from his journal, in following him back to the Missouri River. And we shall find it necessary to suppose, with Parkman, that he skirted the southern boundaries of the Black Hills for some distance in making such return trip, and that he made such comparatively rapid marches enroute eastward as to appear remarkable in comprison with the speed theretofore made, even under our second theory.

This is Parkman's version of the locality of the "Horse Mountain:" "On the 11th of August, after a march of about three weeks, the brothers reached a hill, or group of hills, apparently west of the Little Missouri, and perhaps a part of the Powder River Range. It was here that they hoped to find the Horse Indians, but nobody was to be seen."

If this hill or mountain was at the east side of the Powder River range,—say at or near Dear's Horn Butte to eastward

of O'Fallon's Creek, in Montana,—Verendrye would have traveled farther west than we have supposed by about sixty miles by air-line, or say 100 miles of travel,—or about fifteen miles per day from the Missouri out to this Montana point; and must have crossed the Little Missouri and her "Bad Lands." If so, then he could have proceeded south-southwest—after remaining there about a month—and would have located the smoke-signalled village say twelve miles away, or about midway between O'Fallon's Creek (flowing northward into the Yellowstone) and Big Box Elder Creek, a branch of the Little Missouri.

Here again, Parkman's account is: "One of their Mandan guides had left them and gone back to his village. The other, with one of the Frenchmen, went towards the smoke, and found a camp of Indians, whom the journal calls Les Beaux Hommes, and who were probably Crows, or Apsaroka, a tribe remarkable for stature and symmetry, who long claimed that region as their own." This reference to the Powder River country as the habitat of the Crows is authentic according to general history, as is his description of those Indians; and accords with the present writer's view heretofore expressed, that those Indians would have been more likely to have been met west than east of the Little Missouri Bad Lands.

Marching south-southwestward from the Beaux Hommes village, from October 9th to the 17th and until they had met the Little Foxes and reached the second Pioya village, a distance of upwards of fifty miles (our estimate at the supposed slower rate being 35 miles), the party would have reached a point at the source of said Big Box Elder Creek and between it and the Powder River Mountains, something like 100 miles north of the Wyoming state line. Then the march thence to southward to the Horse Indian village, reached October 19th, would take them, say eighteen miles further, or within eighty miles or so by air-line, of the Wyoming line.

Parkman's account says of this part of the journey: "In two days they met a band of Indians, called by them the Little Foxes, and on the 15th and 17th two villages of another unrecognizable horde, named Pioya. From La Verendrye's

time to our own, this name 'villages' has always been given to the encampments of the wandering people of the plains. All these nomadic communities joined them, and they moved together southward, till they reached at last the lodges of the long-sought Horse Indians. They found them in the extremity of distress and terror. Their camp resounded with howls and wailings; and not without cause, for the Snakes, or Shoshones,—a formidable people living farther westward,—had lately destroyed most of their tribe. The Snakes were the terror of that country. The two brothers were told that the year before they had destroyed seventeen villages, killing the warriors and old women, and carrying off the young women and children as slaves."

We quote Parkman here in full, as showing that he seemed to have no doubt that these "Snakes" were the Shoshones of the Rocky Mountains; and that, as such, they were "the terror of that country." In other words, he entertains no doubt of their prowess being something to be reckoned with as redoubtable foes of the plains Indians to eastward.

The next marching period was that which, in our previous treatment of Verendrye's record, we assumed was for twenty-five days, or a distance of 150 miles, to the southwest, to where they met the Belle Rivieres. And, supposing they traveled nine miles per day, instead of six (as before supposed), the distance traveled would have been about 225 miles, or about 150 miles forward by air-line distance. This would bring the party some forty or fifty miles into northern Wyoming; and while they might be considered as having traveled substantially southwestward and still have kept around the eastern border of the Little Missouri Buttes, we shall assume that they came to the east branch of the Powder River near the state line, and followed it up to the southern end of these Buttes, but passing along their western side. And we will presume that they passed on beyond the Belle Rivieres fifteen miles (instead of ten, as before supposed) to where they met the Gens de l'Arc, or Bow Indians. This would bring them to a point south-southwest of the Little Missouri Buttes and into the neighborhood of Gillette, Crook County, Wyo., on or near the Burlington Railroad route; and this locality is twenty

miles or so west of the more remote upper Belle Fourche River where it flows northeast around the northwestern corner of the Black Hills.

Having, on this second theory, brought the Verendrye party to a point west of the Black Hills, and in so doing, having followed Parkman's theory of the location of the "Horse Mountain," the writer hereof will state his own belief as to the course pursued by Verendrye, on the theory that the "Horse Mountain" was part of the "Bad Land" group of the Little Missouri near the Big Bend.

We believe it very probable, under this second theory, that they passed south-southwesterly from the neighborhood of Red Butte, N. D., along the west side of the Short Medicine Pole range, thence approaching the Little Missouri, and following the course of that stream into what is now the northwest corner of South Dakota, and thence by or near the site of Camp Crook, S. D.; thence onward up the Little Missouri to the Buttes of that name; continuing thence on the route heretofore mentioned under Parkman's theory, or by passing along the east side of those Buttes and between them and the Belle Fourche, thence southwesterly to the neighborhood of Gillette, Wyo. We are decidedly of the view, however, that if they passed through that immediate region, they took the route west of those Buttes.

Let us again quote from Parkman: "None of the Horse Indians had ever seen the Pacific; but they knew a people called Gens de l'Arc, or Bow Indians, who, as they said, had traded not far from it. To the Bow Indians, therefore, the brothers resolved to go, and by dint of gifts and promises they persuaded their hosts to show them the way. After marching southwesterward for several days, they saw the distant prairie covered with the pointed buffalo skin lodges of a great Indian camp. It was that of the Bow Indians, who may have been one of the bands of the western Sioux,—the predominant race in this region. Few or none of them could ever have seen a white man, and we may imagine their amazement at the arrival of the strangers, who, followed by staring crowds, were conducted to the lodge of the chief." This proves Parkman's belief in the presence of the Sioux in the region between the

Black Hills and the Big Horn Mountains. And as further evidence of his understanding that the enemies of these Indians were denizens of the Rocky Mountains, we find him adding: "The first inquiry of the travelers was for the Pacific; but neither the chief nor his tribesmen knew anything of it, except what they had heard from Snake prisoners taken in war." Parkman's vivid description of the onward march after these Indians broke camp—pictured from his own later observations—is extremely lively and interesting; but space forbids its inclusion here, save his concluding sentence: "Most of the warriors were on horseback, armed with round, white shields of bull-hide, feathered lances, war-clubs, bows, and quivers filled with stone-headed arrows; while a few elders, wrapped in robes of buffalo-hide, stalked along in groups with a stately air, chatting, laughing, and exchanging unseemly jokes."

The next marching period—which brought Verendrye "in sight of the mountains" covered in all about twenty-five days' time, as we have endeavored to show under our first theory, with but thirteen days of actual travel, and that at a reduced rate of speed owing to the great number present and their constant parleys with acceding bands. Supposing the daily travel to have been seven and one-half miles (instead of five, as before supposed), this march, "sometimes south-southwest, and now and then northwest", as Parkman puts it, may be presumed to have brought the party from the neighborhood of Gillette, Wyo., a traveled distance of about 100 miles, or, in an air-line, some fifty miles southwest of Gillette, or to southward of Middle Butte and eastward from the southern end of the loup of the Powder River.

While Parkman's reference to the character of country traversed by the party immediately after leaving the big Bow village, is by mere incidental remark that "the march began over prairies dreary and brown with the withering touch of autumn," his view of the later trip changes, both as to courses traveled and the incidental obstacles to be overcome. He says:

"The variations of their course were probably due to the difficulties of the country, which grew more rugged as they advanced, with broken hills, tracts of dingy green sage-bushes,

and bright, swift streams, edged with cottonwood and willow, hurrying northward to join the Yellowstone. At length, on the 1st of January, 1743, they saw what was probably the Bighorn Range of the Rocky Mountains, a hundred and twenty miles east of the Yellowstone Park."

As we have heretofore pointed out, the closing words in the above quotation show that Parkman believed that Verendrye was now near the eastern border of the Bighorn Range proper; and it would be something like fifty or sixty miles farther west-northwest than we are supposing him to have thus far gone, under our second theory. But the general description he gives of the broken country supposedly traversed would hardly apply to the locality to which we have brought the party; since, as we have seen, Verendrye says this route was over "great prairies where wild game" was abundant and the region between the sources of the Powder and of the Belle Fourche, would for the most part answer fairly well his journal entry.

Parkman merely says, regarding the Bow Indian camp where they sighted the mountain: "On the 8th of January the whole body stopped to encamp, choosing, no doubt, after the invariable winter custom of Western Indians, a place sheltered from wind, and supplied with water and fuel. Here the squaws and children were to remain, while most of the warriors advanced against the enemy."

We have seen that Verendrye says nothing about **directions** traveled after this near-mountain camp was left behind. But we have assumed heretofore that they probably continued on a course generally southward, or westward. We felt justified in presuming this, under our first theory of a destination in the northern Black Hills—the quest was supposed to be westward, for one thing; and there was no difficulty encountered in bringing the party back eastward to the Missouri River from the uttermost northwesterly point of the Black Hills in the time specified in the journal.

But under our present theory of a much farther progress westward, we feel the expediency of speculating on a supposed southerly course from this baggage village, and also upon a westerly or northwesterly one,—the first to seek to verify

our own view, the second, to further what was probably that of Parkman. And still another supposition must now be indulged in—that regarding speed—in order to make probable our theory of an approach southward to the Laramie Mountains, or to the Rattlesnake Hills, to west of the northern end of the Laramies. For, if they approached the "Snake" enemy in the latter region, we must show this baggage village or camp to have been some thirty-five miles farther south than we have so far supposed, else they would not be likely to have sighted a mountain to southward.

But, first, let us suppose they went westward, or northwestward, and from the point to eastward of the southern end of the bend of the Powder River. Remembering our previous calculations of either a twelve-days' march or a three-days' march, according to whether said "twelfth day" meant twelve days' travel from camp to retreating point, or whether it meant that many days after January 1st (1743), and that, on the former supposition, a travel distance of nearly 100 miles, or, in air-line, forty to fifty, and that, on the latter supposition, the mileage would be 45 travel miles, or, in air-line, twenty or twenty-five,—our present relative estimates of distances on increased speed basis would be, that they reached the neighborhood of the enemy's village some 75 miles by air-line, or 150 miles of actual travel, or (on a supposed three days' travel trip), some 38 air-line miles or something less than 70 miles of actual travel,—to west or northwest of this camp. To be fair with Parkman's assumption of facts and with his expressed belief that the "twelfth day" meant that many days' actual marching from the said camp, his theory on this head will be adopted. Now, seventy-five miles northwestward from this camp, located as assumed, would bring the party along the Willow Creek branch of the Powder River **in the edge of the Big Horn Mountains.** While if they went directly west, the same mileage would have brought them **to the Bighorns farther to southward.**

Parkman's account of this part of the expedition contains this observation: "They were on horseback, marching with a certain order and sending watchmen to reconnoitre the country from the tops of the hills"—drawing, here, upon

his memory of actual Indian cavalry expeditions. "Their movements were so slow that it was twelve days before they reached the foot of the mountains, which, says La Verendrye, 'are for the most part well wooded, and seem very high.'"

If Verendrye's "Mountain of the Horse Indians" was in the neighborhood of the Big Bend of the Little Missouri, it is not believed that in any assumption we have made of the further progress of the expedition upon that theory, set forth in the foregoing, either as to distances traveled or routes taken, any ground has been laid for serious criticism. If correct in this conclusion, the proof that he actually saw the Bighorn Mountains, or some other range of the Rockies farther north, depends,—if regarded as based solely upon the evidences down to the return eastward—upon whether we have assumed too rapid a pace of daily travel, or have allowed too much time for actual travel and too little for camping and parleys. We have tried to be fair and just in both of these latter particulars, and believe we are not far from the mark therein. If only we could get them back to the old Missouri at the Aricara redoubt at Old Fort Pierre in time, without making them "hike" as did the South Dakota boys across country in the Philippines!

To return to the writer's supposition that, if Verendrye went west of the Black Hills, he probably saw the Laramie Mountains or Rattlesnake Hills, Wyo.: We must, to that end, fix the location of the baggage camp around thirty-five miles south of the location heretofore assumed. And if the twenty-five days' journey before mentioned, involved eighteen or twenty days of actual travel, instead of thirteen, as before assumed, and if they made somewhat more speed than supposed, this thirty-five miles might well have been covered by January 1st (1743). This would have brought them in sight of either of the ranges in question; and we would find them somewhere in the neighborhood of fifteen or twenty miles northeast of Caspar, Wyoming, near the North Fork of the Platte River.

If this latter locality be supposed to be the site of the baggage camp nearest to the "mountain," then Verendrye and the Bow Indians could have made the further advance of

75 miles air-line, or about 40 miles, as the case may be—distances we have heretofore supposed them to have traveled westward or northwestward from the neighborhood of the bend of the Powder River—to southwest or southeast, and have reached the edge of either the Rattlesnake Hills or the Laramie Range. And upon the writer's theory that the "twelfth day" meant January 12th (1743), the less than 40 miles by air-line might have brought them into the foothills of those mountains.

Now, if they went to the border of the Bighorn Mountains, let us consider over what route they returned and reached the Missouri River at the Little Cherry "fort." Later we will discuss their return eastward, supposing they sighted the Laramies.

If they went northwest 75 miles by air-line from the baggage village to the Bighorns, they probably could not have returned to that camp, and then have gone down the Belle Fourche northeastward to its main bend—to near where we brought them on the Black Hills theory of their westward destination—without actually traveling from 225 to 250 miles. If they went but something less than forty miles west or northwest from the baggage village—as we believe is more likely—a return via the Belle Fourche as stated, to its bend, would involve something like 150 to 175 miles actual travel. Or, they may have circled or "milled around" in entering the edge of the mountains, and have made much less distance than we have supposed, away from the baggage village, in which event they would not have reached the foothills of the Bighorns, but one of the straggling butte-ranges to eastward. Is it possible that they went so nearly northward from the baggage village as that we may suppose that, in their flight on the retreat from the Snakes' neighborhood they might, "on the second day of the retreat" have actually come upon the "first of the villages of the Bows"—understanding that phrase to mean the Bow village first encountered on the westward trip, and which we have supposed to have been located near Gillette, Wyo.? Such supposition we regard as entirely inadmissible, since there is no mountain from which they could have fled eastward to such site of the Bow village in two days' time. We have seen that Parkman understood the

said "first" village to have been what we have termed the baggage camp; in which view we have coincided.

The purpose of the present discussion is this: to ascertain about how much more mileage must have been covered in returning to the Missouri River from an ultimate western destination in the neighborhood of the out-ranges of the Bighorns or of the Laramies, than was necessary to return to the Missouri from the northern Black Hills. When that point is ascertained, we may judge with some degree of accuracy how probable, or otherwise, is the supposition—necessarily involved in our second theory—that they traveled this additional mileage on such return. And, embraced in this question is another and important one: Did they return by skirting around north of the Black Hills, or by making a circuit part way around the south side, say down the South Fork of the Cheyenne to the locality of Battle Creek, or farther down and toward Box Elder Creek, thence eastward to the south fork of Bad River, thence down the latter. Whether they went the one or the other of these routes, the distance from the Missouri River to this baggage camp supposedly loacted near to and eastward from the south end of the bend of the Powder River near its sources, would not be widely different, though the southern would be considerably the shorter course. However, if instead of following the very course of the Belle Fourche, the party, in returning, had cut across south of Bear Lodge, thereby saving the circuit of the sharp bend to northward of that butte, some forty or fifty miles' travel could have been saved and, in that event, the total distance to the Missouri via the northern route in question would have been about the same as by the southern; while the distance traveled from the point of flight from the mountains to northern Black Hills would be reduced to, perhaps, about 125 to 150 miles. The distance would have been about the same southeastward to a corresponding point on the southern border of the Black Hills, say at the present state line of South Dakota; as between which two points in those mountains the southern would be twenty miles or so farther from Fort Pierre. But from said baggage village to said state line, either way, by shortest practicable route, would not be more than 100 miles. It would be about the same distance to

said state line at the southern Black Hills, from our supposed baggage village on the supposed journey to the Laramie Mountains; but the more open country would have made the eastward trip thence a day or two shorter as to time.

We have seen that, under our theory that Verendrye went no further west than the Black Hills, the party proceeded east-southeasterly from the supposed baggage village in the northern Hills a distance of about 175 miles to the Missouri River, spending in actual travel, as estimated, twenty-nine days; or an average daily mileage of six miles. To travel 275 miles—or the 100 miles more to reach the west line of South Dakota, from the supposed more westerly baggage village, in the same period of time, to the Missouri, would require a daily trip of nine and one-half miles. There was heavy snow on the ground in Wyoming five days before they started—if there it was they were snow-bound. This snow, as before stated, may have largely disappeared before they had gone far. The further fact that they were fleeing from a greatly feared enemy for a considerable distance; that they were encouraged to greater speed by hopes of meeting the Little Cherries; that they had guides, and were beyond doubt traveling most of the way along or near waterways presumably furnishing quite practicable thoroughfares,—combine to render it not improbable that they might have, and did, cover such a distance within the time specified in Verendrye's journal.

But the elements of distance and time are not the only factors in this calculation. Thus far we have said nothing about courses taken on the return journey, supposedly from west of the Black Hills. Nor have we mentioned the phase that, in any event, a trip eastward from that far west, either north or south of the Black Hills, must have been over entirely new routes, to our explorers. The uncertainty of the Bow Indians' finding a free passage south of the Black Hills, as against their enemies—call them Snakes or call them Kiowas, is still another point to be considered. So far as regards the novelty of any route eastward, the suggestion is of little moment, since, on either of our main theories, that feature is in the case. But there is a fourth factor in this discussion which we regard as of greater significance than any other—not even excepting that of the courses taken—as making against the

theory of a return to the Missouri River **by skirting the Black Hills on either side.** If they did so, why does not Verendrye mention **passing**, or **passing around** this one hundred miles square of mountains whose topmost peak (Harney's) is over seven thousand feet above sea-level? A range which Lewis and Clarke, traveling no nearer it than the course of the Missouri River, mentioned when they were yet east of the mouth of the Niobrara (in eastern Nebraska) and which they ceased not to mention as a great landmark around or past which they were journeying, until they had reached the Marias River basin in Montana? They were known to the Indians, and to early explorers, not so much as Black **Hills,** as Black **Mountains.** They are as lofty as the eastern Bighorns or the northern Laramies.

Now, as to the directions pursued on the return trip: We have seen that, if the return was made from northern Black Hills, the journal record of "east-south-east" fits in with the situation precisely; and we have all along regarded this record as intended by Verendrye for a substantial guide as to the courses taken by him on the various marches of his expedition. If the same test is applied to the theory of a return from the region to which we have traced the expedition westward of the Black Hills, a somewhat substantial variation from the journal record becomes necessary; since, by tracing the lines of latitude from the supposed locus of our baggage village near the southern end of the bend of the Powder River, eastward to the mouth of Bad River, South Dakota, the trend of the course is east-**north**-east. We must of course presume that Verendrye used the same means of ascertaining his courses, whatever may have been his real destination westward,—in other words, that he made his computations **enroute,** eastward as well as westward; and that he in both progressions did not know either latitude or longitude of the **destination.** Therefore, it cannot be assumed that, when he started eastward from the snow-bound village, he made any calculation as to what would prove to be the general direction which he would actually pursue in reaching the Missouri; but that he took local observations, based upon all evidences at hand, from time to time, in making the return journey. If he did this, then how could he have

failed to have noticed a sharp turn to northeast—if he returned to northward of the Black Hills—or to southeast if he went around the south side thereof—in reaching either the north or the south side of that general range? And why fail to note the turn to southeast after reaching the northern point indicated, if he went that way, or to note a somewhat corresponding turn to northeast if and when he had reached the southern point indicated? Either one of these turns would have been as abrupt as was that taken after he reached the "Horse Mountain." In either event, how could he have failed to know he was rounding a great body of what must at least have struck him as exceptionally high buttes, and why fail to make some manner of reference thereto?

Now, suppose again, that the baggage village was to southward some thirty to forty miles, where we have assumed it to have been on a route to the Laramie Mountains or to Rattlesnake Buttes to westward—or say, fifteen miles northeast of Casper, Wyo., and near the North Fork of the Platte. The direction from that general quarter to Fort Pierre would not be far from east-**north**-east; and to give credence to any mode of deliberate calculation of courses taken, which would result in Verendrye's having set down the trend between those two points as being east-**south**-east, requires a distinctly different standard of judgment than we have assumed in treating his journal entries on this head up to the retreat to eastward.

But the writer believes, with Parkman—for his map of the supposed route eastward to the Missouri River outlines the course taken through the **southern** Black Hills—that if the party went west of the Black Hills, they returned eastward by or near the South Fork of the Cheyenne. As we have aimed to make clear, we are unable to conclude that, if they got that far west, they did not also go far enough **southward** to reach at least the region immediately southeast from the bend of the Powder, and we strongly incline to the view that they came to the more southward point from which they saw the Laramies. In either of the two latter events, we think it far more likely that Verendrye, in journalizing the course as east-south-east back to the Missouri, did so because the early part of the return trip would, on our theory of a passage south

of the Black Hills, have given him the impression of a **general** trend in that direction all the way back. Moreover, the initial part of the return journey, supposedly from near Casper, would have been to southward of due east, in getting by the extreme southwesterly foothills of the Black Hills, which fact might likewise have impressed the explorer as above indicated.

The best we can do then, in treating Verendrye's journal as to courses pursued on the return trip to the Missouri, is to assume that here, for the first and only time during the entire expedition, he substantially varies from the facts in indicating the course pursued, supposing that he were returning from near the Bighorn or the Laramie range. Still, if he went that far west, but did **not** go far enough southward to get below the latitude of the southern edge of Bear Lodge in northwestern Black Hills, his return to the Missouri would have been correctly indicated, as to courses, by his journal, on a passage north of the Hills.

One more suggestion concerning the discrepancy in Verendrye's journal, upon a theory of a return from west of the Black Hills, will end our discussion upon this head: The fact that they were facing at least two new elements on the return—fear of hostile Indians, and the exigencies of a mid-winter snow storm where, as we have seen, even the Indians became temporarily lost,—the expectation of soon meeting the Little Cherries who, as no doubt they learned, would pilot them to the banks of the Missouri,—and, above all else, the realization by him that now he had gone the end of his west-bound trip and would soon be on his way back to his father and Fort la Reine;—all these elements of distraction from thoughts of the precise direction taken in returning, may not improbably have had the effect of causing him to make an erroneous entry as to the general trend of the east-bound trip, whether he and the Bow Indians actually rounded the Black Hills, to northward or to southward, enroute. The same circumstances may possibly have caused omission therefrom of mention of the Black Hills.

Now, as to hostile Indians being in, or south of, the Black Hills, and the improbability of their having passed

to southward of the Hills on the return because of this fact: We may surmise that there is great weight in this suggestion. After all, it is but surmise; since, although the Kiowas are understood to have inhabited and, for a greater or less period of time, to have dominated the Black Hills and the immediate region thereof, it is not at all certain that they had not been driven from thence southward or southwestward before this expedition took place. That they did pass southward, into and beyond the Laramie Mountains, at some indefinite date in what seems to have been regarded as pre-historic times, and that they did so only when and by reason of being driven thence by foes to the northward, is apparently well established. Is it improbable that these Gens de l'Arc Indians, whom the writer and others regard as having been Aricaras and who, as such, beyond all peradventure in Verendrye's time dominated the whole region from the Black Hills far to northward and as far east as the Missouri River, might have driven the Kiowas—in Verendrye's time called by the Bows, "Snakes,"—out of the Black Hills and into the Laramie Range, and that the latter was the "Mountain" of Verendrye's journal?

In this connection, let us recall what has heretofore been remarked concerning the Bow chief's assurances to Verendrye to the effect that, if he and his party would accompany that immense concourse of Indians under his chieftaincy in their campaign against the "Snakes" in the mountains toward "the Sea," he, the explorer, would be able to view that great objective—the far Western Ocean. When we consider what a really powerful host of warriors this chief was able to assemble from over large areas which, under any permissible theory of Verendrye's westward course, must have embraced the entire region over which he traveled from the "Horse Mountain" around to the Missouri at Fort Pierre, save at most a mere fringe of the Snake "mountain" region, it seems to the writer inadmissible to presume that this Bow chief, or any of his warriors, had never ascended the South Fork of the Cheyenne River to the southwestern corner of the Black Hills, and had not there discovered—what no one traveling thence could fail to see—that there was a wide sweep of prairie country between those Hills and the farther western outposts of the Rocky Mountains proper, and that it would

be preposterous to suppose, after learning this fact, that the "Western Sea" could be reached without climbing another range of mountains far beyond those Hills. We are unwilling to assume, on evidences at hand, that the Bow chief did not, in the year 1742 or earlier, know that the Black Hills was an isolated range of mountains, and not really a physical continuation of the main ranges of the great divide beyond, known to the early American explorers as the Stony (Rocky) Mountains, from Indian tradition. If he or his warriors did know this fact, it does not, indeed, prove that the "Snake" enemy to whose neighborhood Verendrye followed them, and from which they so precipitately fled, was not domiciled in the Black Hills. But it would certainly lend much credibility to our second theory of an advance by Verendrye to a point southwestward of those Hills, and of the locus of the "Snake" village in either the southeastern extremity of the Bighorns, or the northern end of the Laramies; while it would largely dispel the supposed obstacles of a hostile country southward from the Black Hills and which, if it existed, would or might prevent this expedition from returning via that locality.

Parkman evidently did not nicely weigh the probabilities of Verendrye's traveling from the Bighorn mountains proper to the Missouri River in the time referred to in his journal. His map, to which we have referred, shows the supposed route taken to have terminated on the Missouri River at the mouth of the Niobrara, on the northern boundary of Nebraska,—one hundred miles farther from the Bighorns than is Fort Pierre, and 175 miles by air-line southeast of the latter point. His account of the trip, after leaving the snow-bound village, is brief:

"The great chief and his followers moved slowly through the snow-drifts towards the east-southeast, accompanied by the Frenchmen. Thus they kept on till the 1st of March, when the two brothers, learning that they were approaching the winter village of a people called Gens de la Petite Cerise, or Choke-Cherry Indians, sent one of their men, with a guide, to visit them. The man returned in ten days, bringing a message from the Choke-Cherry Indians, inviting the Frenchmen to their lodges. * * * The Frenchmen repaired to the

village of the Choke-Cherry Indians, who, like the Bow Indians, were probably a band of Sioux." Here ends his reference to the return to the Missouri, and prior to the planting of the leaden plate. Later on he thus speaks of this expedition in general, in connection with that of Lewis & Clarke: "The first stages of that remarkable exploration were anticipated by the brothers La Verendrye. They did not find the Pacific, but they discovered the Rocky Mountains, or at least the part of them to which the name properly belongs; for the southern continuation of the great range had long been known to the Spaniards. Their bold adventure was achieved, not at the charge of a government, but at their own cost and that of their father,—not with with a band of well equipped men, but with only two followers."

We feel entirely safe in saying that it can never be known how far west, or southwest, from the Missouri River at or near the Mandan Villages, the Verendrye sons explored,—or whether they went no farther than the Black Hills before turning back, or whether they reached the base of the Bighorn Mountains, in the neighborhood of the Laramies. If the former theory is adopted it is perfectly clear as to about where they traveled in returning to what is now Fort Pierre on the Missouri. If the latter, while it is not at all clear as to whether they returned by circuiting the Black Hills to northward, or to southward, the writer believes that the most probable theory is that of a southern passage.

On the whole record of Verendrye's journal, and from such lights concerning the topography of the country probably traversed, and of absolute and relative distances involved, as we have been able to marshal here, we are strongly inclined to the view that he went no farther west than the northwestern part of the Black Hills; but we are not by any means convinced. We feel that there are many factual elements tending to show our second theory herein advanced—that of a more southwestern destination—to be probable.

Now our explorers are on the Missouri, at the "fort" of the Gens de la Petite Cerise; and we have seen that the "man with them" who had been raised among the Spaniards, had previously been reported to Verendrye—probably through

the chief or some of the tribsmen. Evidently he was an Indian, and had perhaps been captured in his boyhood by the Spaniards, or in some other way had become attached to one of their communities far toward the Gulf of Mexico, where he had remained until he had reached manhood. His information that "it was far and that the road was full of dangers, on account of the Gens du Serpent," in reaching the Spaniards from this Aricara "fort," and that at least a twenty days' journey on horseback was necessary to cover the distance, was of course indefinite, but suggestive as to the direction in which the route thereto lay. We must assume that the daily travel would be comparatively short, on account of the dangers mentioned. If it were, say eight miles per day,—little enough, even with apprehended dangers from enemies to deal with, if, as we may suppose was true, the route was one well known,—the trip would cover 160 miles. But the "Snakes" were evidently in the way, somewhere along this route. It is not fair to suppose that the Kiowas (supposing them to have been the feared enemy) were in control of any of the country down the Missouri valley from where Fort Pierre is located in Verendrye's time. The Aricaras—branches of the Pawnees—had migrated northward from the region of the Loup Fork of the Platte River in what is now Nebraska, to the Missouri River at the mouth of the Niobrara, thence up the great river, and their principal habitat in this up-river region, at this time, was doubtless from the neighborhood of our Little Cherry "fort," on up to the neighborhood of the Grand River, some 125 miles to northward. We have seen that these bands—for it is all but certain that they were the same Indians—were in control of great areas to west and northwest of Fort Pierre; and we are not aware of any probative evidence that the Kiowas ever closed in behind the Aricaras, from the southward, as the latter progressed northward up the Missouri Valley. Therefore, it seems very probable that those Spaniards of whom these Indians spoke had, in Verendrye's time, established themselves at some point westward of the Missouri toward the Rocky Mountains. If we suppose that the route from the Little Cherry redoubt to the Spaniards led substantially southward, or south-southwestward a 160 mile trip in that direction

would hardly have reached the Niobrara or Running Water, in what is now northern Nebraska. But if there was a Spanish settlement of any character that far north in the middle of the eighteenth century, history does not, so far as the writer knows, note the fact. The Spanish settlements much farther to the south and southwest, and extending from the region of the Arkansas River over to the Rio Grande, may well have been in the minds of these Indians when they were giving Verendrye these accounts of the mysterious whites so far away toward or upon the border of "the Sea;" and the best that we can do is to discount quite liberally the estimate of this Spanish-raised Indian as to the period of a journey thence.

On the other hand, the reports which the Chevalier's journal says he had learned of, and referred to by the Bow chief, doubtless related to the tragedy of 1720,—that of the massacre by the Missouri Indians of a large party of Spaniards enroute from Santa Fe east-northeast to meet and unite with the Osages in a campaign against the Missouris farther north—this in order to break the prestige of the French on the Missouri river. This campaign and its bloody denouement is told by Savage, in his history of Nebraska (page 44), as follows:

"As early as 1719, the Spaniards of New Mexico, alarmed at the rapid encroachments of the French in the upper and lower Mississippi valleys made strenuous exertions to dispossess them. In order to accomplish this they thought it necessary to destroy the Missouris who were in alliance with the French. Their plan was to excite the Osages against their neighbors—the Missouris—and then take part in the contest against the latter. An expedition was fitted out at Santa Fe in 1720; it was a moving caravan of the desert. The Spaniards were led to the very tribe they would have destroyed, supposing them to be Osages. The result was that all were killed except one who succeeded in making his escape." The foregoing appears to be derived from Charlevoix.

Now, this expedition of the Spaniards could not have been destined to the Mississippi River; since the Osages were far to westward and probably in western Missouri and eastern Kansas of to-day—their habitat being in the Osage and Kan-

sas rivers region; while the Missouris had their base anywhere from near the mouth of the Grand River (in present northern Missouri), on the east side of the Missouri, northwestward to near the mouth of the Platte. These Spaniards doubtless expected to meet the Osages somewhere west of but near the Missouri; but as they were evidently in the hands of hostile guides, they were probably taken to some point farther north where were the Missouris. And as the latter were found by some explorers on the west side of the Missouri as far north as near the mouth of the Platte, this massacre may have occurred not far from the Platte—a region in which the Pawnees and Aricaras were roaming, no doubt, and so the report of this deed came to them up the Missouri valley. The Spaniards well knew of the alliances between the French and the Missouris, whom the French had found, about 1700, on the left bank of the Missouri near the mouth of Grand River, and where they had built a fort. Nor is it at all certain that, had the Spaniards dealt with the Osages at that time, they would have met with hearty co-operation; since they too had been on friendly terms with the French—had assisted in defeating the Foxes at Detroit. French traders had met them before 1719, in which year Du Tisne officially visited them on the Osage River; and Charlevoix met them as far east as the Kaskaskia River (eastern Illinois), in 1721. Not only were the Osages dominant over a large area of country, but they were held in terror by the Caddoans to westward.

Now, it is within the range of probabilities that when Verendrye visited the region west of the Missouri River and approached the mountains—whether at the Black Hills or farther west-southwest, some remnants of the Comanches may still have been roaming in those parts, and that the "Snakes" of the Bow Indians may have been Comanches, or if not, that they embraced an alliance of the Kiowas with the Comanches. The latter, originally part of the Shoshones of the Wyoming country, were eventually driven southward by the Sioux and other plains Indians. It is far from clear as to the period when this movement to southward occurred, but it is said that tradition is to the effect that the two tribes lived in proximity to each other in southern Wyoming before this pressure of their foes drove the one south and the

other farther into the mountains westward. In this connection we learn, through the courtesy of Mr. Grinnell, that according to the accounts given him by Northern Cheyennes within the last quarter-century, the Comanches at one time roamed as far north as the Yellowstone River. This is not at all improbable, since, their early habitat being among the sources of the Yellowstone as well as of those of the Platte, they might naturally have descended the Big Horn, the Powder, or other branches, to the Yellowstone, and even beyond the latter. That they for some considerable period lived on the North Platte is rendered certain from the fact that the Sioux (who called them Padoucas) gave to the North Platte the name Padouca Fork, by which name it was known in Lewis & Clarke's time. However, at the latter period the northern limit of their hunting grounds seems to have been the Arkansas and its branches. On the other hand, they are not known to have been confederated with the Kiowas as far back as Verendrye's time; the Handbook of the American Indians recording that they have been "close confederates" of the Kiowas since about 1795. Mr. Grinnell declares that the Northern Cheyennes called the Comanches "Snake People," and that they called the Indians of the Mountains generally known as Snakes, "Sussoni," or Shoshones; while, according to the same authority, the Kiowas' name for the Comanches is "Snake Men;" also, that in the sign language of the Kiowas and the Cheyennes, the sign for Comanche is snake. Grinnell thinks that Verendrye may well have gotten his name "Snake" from the Cheyennes, who in turn may have been the Gens de l'Arc.

It may here be said, concerning the Cheyennes, that evidences are extant which point with some degree of probability to the existence of village remains—lodge circles and defensive ditches surrounding or nearly surrounding village sites—situated on various branches of the Yellowstone and the Missouri Rivers, which remains, while substantially identical in character with those of the Aricaras and the Mandans, may well have been the handiwork of the Cheyennes, or some other tribes than either the Aricaras or the Mandans. This suggestion arose in the mind of the present writer many years ago, and took the form of more than mere plausibility, from

the fact that these village sites were in many instances long distances from the Missouri River—the long-known habitat of the Aricaras and the Mandans, who, according to the general belief, generally kept closer to the banks of the great river. The Cheyennes may in time be proven to have been the builders of many of those villages. In this connection, mention might be made of the fact that in July, 1863, similar earthworks, but of much later date of construction, were found by members of the Sibley expedition into the valley of the Sheyenne in eastern North Dakota; Honorable A. L. Van Osdel, a member of the expedition, having recorded this fact. The supposition is that these village remains in the Sheyenne valley—some fifteen or twenty miles south of Valley City, N. D.—were erected by the Cheyennes. They resembled so closely in all essential particulars those of the Mandans and the Aricaras that any one at all familiar with the character of the latter would find their exact counterpart in Van Osdel's description of them. The emigration westward of the Cheyennes, after being driven from the Red River Valley by the Assiniboine Sioux, was to or near the Missouri River, where their evident presence for generations gave rise to naming the Little Cheyenne (a streamlet flowing into the Missouri from eastward, some fifty-five miles north of Pierre, South Dakota), the Cheyenne River proper of South Dakota, and, later on, even of the Cheyenne River Agency Indians—a membership of the Sioux Nation whose reservation department was on or near the Cheyenne River for many years, the headquarters of which is still on the Missouri nearly opposite the mouth of the Little Cheyenne. None of the Indians upon this reservation are, however, Cheyennes. As to the probable date of arrival of the Cheyennes on the Missouri, Mr. Grinnell states that, relying entirely upon tradition among the Northern Cheyennes—they reached the Missouri about 1676; lived there many years, associating with both Aricaras and Mandans at different times; that they lived in "permanent houses of earth"—dirt lodges like those of the Mandans; that they were agricultural, raised corn, etc.; that their removal therefrom to the Black Hills was very gradual; that a Cheyenne who died less than a dozen years ago informed him that wher

he was a boy "the women still planted corn on the head of the Little Missouri River."

Lewis & Clarke also recorded that, at a point which is about thirty miles north of the South Dakota line in North Dakota and about twenty miles south of the mouth of the Cannon Ball River, and near but on the east side of the Missouri, they found an old village site which their Aricara guide informed them was of Cheyenne construction and former occupation. Grinnell regards it as certain that in Verendrye's time the Cheyennes were still growing corn, and were perhaps living in earth houses. Unfortunately Verendrye's journal is barren of any reference to the character of the dwellings of any of the tribes met by him west of the Missouri. But, as we shall see, he advised the chief of the Bow Indians to carry on agriculture during the next season, on a near-by stream—indicative of the idea of those Indians then being agriculturalists.

The only other Indian tribes aside from the Pawnees and Aricaras, whose possible presence west of the Missouri valley in this general region might account for the Bows' enemy in the mountains at the period in question, would be the Poncas, the Omahas and the Iowas. These were all of Siouan origin, but at the dawn of history through earliest explorers these were at war with the Sioux who were pressing westward and southwestward from the western branches of the upper Mississippi in the now Minnesota country. These three tribes, then in alliance, are understood to have gone westward from the neighborhood of the Pipestone quarries near the mouth of the Big Sioux (southwestern Minn.), to the mouth of the Niobrara—driven thence by the Sioux—from whence they proceeded up the Missouri to the mouth of White River (about 100 miles southeast from Fort Pierre, S. D.); where the Poncas are said to have separated from the other tribes and to have gone via the White River to the Black Hills and to the Little Missouri River. This is said to have occurred about 1650. How long they remained in the mountains is not known; but that they returned and joined the Omahas and Iowas either above or at the mouth of the Niobrara is apparently well authenticated by Indian tradition and collateral history. An-

other account makes this separation of the Poncas to have occurred at the mouth of the Niobrara instead of at White River. Now, these Poncas and Omahas were agriculturalists and had earth lodges, etc., and were in many respects like the Pawnees or Aricaras. And while there is nothing sufficiently authentic to show that the Poncas were established in and about the Black Hills country long enough to have made the formidable stand against the Bows and Belle Rivieres which the "Snakes" of our narrative undoubtedly did, or that they were in that vicinity at all as late as 1742.

We have continued this narrative relative to the Spaniards, in order to bring into relief the fact that, whatever may be the bottom truths as to the limit, northward, of Spanish settlement and enterprise in conquering this far northern country, down to the time of this final Verendrye expedition, it is matter of tangible history that the French had at that time made advances up the Missouri River into the immediate neighborhood of, if not much farther north than this Arickara post of the Little Cherries above Fort Pierre, South Dakota. In this connection we are not giving credit to the French by virtue of the narrative of the Bow chief to Verendrye concerning what he termed "the French who are on the sea," since it is plain that Verendrye understood this to refer to people who were in fact of Spanish blood.

Aside from this Verendrye journal, in which is recorded the statement made by the Indian who "had been raised among the Spaniards," concerning the Frenchmen who, three days' journey from the Little Cherry "fort" had been "established many years," we have no record at all authentic, of any French trading post or other establishment on or near the Missouri River in South Dakota, at an earlier date than 1794, when Trudeau's House was established on the east bank of the Missouri, about forty miles above the mouth of the Niobrara, and that of the "Loisel House," at Cedar Island, in the Big Bend of the Missouri, about fifty miles below Fort Pierre, established about 1797, we believe. Now, it is quite probable that this establishment mentioned to La Verendrye was in the immediate locality of this "Loisel House," of over half a century later. It must have been somewhere below the Fort Pierre coun-

try, since, had it been above the Little Cherry redoubt, Verendrye would have visited it on his up-river journey homeward. That it was not more than about three days' journey down the river is evident from Verendreye's statement that he "resolved to write to him to engage him to come and find us," and, as he promised to wait until March 1st for him to come, and Verendrye had arrived at the Missouri on the 19th, and as we cannot suppose that he expected the Frenchman below to come instanter, after receiving the letter, there was not time for more than such a trip to be made before he left for the north. Therefore we deem it substantially proven that a French trading post or other settlement existed "many years," or, say ten years, prior to 1743, or in 1733, at or near the Big Bend of the Missouri in South Dakota.

But among the many entries in Margry's repository of French history (in Vol. VI., page 453), we find one headed: "A Frenchman established with the Panimahas goes to the Ricaras." This reference is to an extract "from a letter of M. de Bienville to the Minister of Marine," which letter bears date the 22nd of April, 1734. The extract is as follows:

"A Frenchman, who lived for many years with the Panimaha, established on the Missouri, having been with the savages to the Ricaras who inhabit the upper part of this same river, and who have never yet seen Frenchmen, has found in many places mines of silver, which to him have appeared very rich, one among others which he believes pure. Two voyageurs setting out with him verify this report."

Now, the Panimahas are understood to have been one of the tribes or bands of the Pawnees, or Panis, whose habitat was on and, at times, for some distance up the Platte river from the Missouri; and they belonged to the generic group known as Pawnees; as were also the Ricaras or Aricaras who, as stated, had migrated farther up the Missouri. And this journey mentioned in the Bienville letter was no doubt taken up the Missouri to either this very locality to which Verendrye had come on his return, or, as may be probable, to a point much farther north, or to or near the well-known principal headquarters of the Ricaras or Rees in Lewis and Clarke's time, on the north bank of the Grand River at the so-called "Aricara Vil-

lages," in northern South Dakota. To whichever one of the Aricara villages this Frenchman of the Bienville letter went, he and his fellows had returned to some point far down toward the Gulf of Mexico in 1734, and so must have reached the Aricara village as early as 1733, or ten years before Verendrye visited this region. And as this Frenchman had, prior to his making this trip, "lived some years with the Panimaha" in the Platt River country, we have here evidence of French habitation of the country as far north as central Nebraska, as early as about 1730.

Documents will be appended to this paper, of French official origin, showing earliest references to the ascent of the Missouri, and concerning the earliest known Indian tribes of those regions. Space forbids further reference thereto herein.

The Tablet Deposited at Fort Pierre, South Dakota.

We have now arrived at the point of mention and description of the famous leaden plate left by the Chevalier Verendrye as a memento of the brothers' expedition of which we have given an account down to this point of the journey. His journal entry on this head is exceedingly brief, but is fraught with a meaning far more significant than the casual reader would imagine:

"I placed on an eminence near the fort a tablet of lead, with the arms and inscription of the King and a pyramid of stones for Monsieur le General; I said to the savages, who did not know of the tablet of lead that I had placed in the earth, that I was placing these stones as a memorial of those who had come to their country. I had very much wished to take the altitude at this place but our astrolabe had been out of service since the beginning of our journey, the ring being broken."

Now, it is a fraction over seven miles from where this plate was actually found, to the location, almost due north but about a mile to westward of north, of the famous redoubt of the Aricaras of history, which is known as the last stronghold of that tribe on the Missouri river south of the mouth of the Cheyenne, some twenty-seven miles to the northward; which redoubt we believe is none other than the "fort" of Verendrye's journal.

What a calamity that that ring was broken! If the astrolabe had been in working order, the world would have known to such certainty where Verendrye traveled west of the Missouri, that such speculation as has been indulged herein would would have been not only unnecessary, but for the most part ridiculous—doubtless some of it will be so regarded, in the present circumstances. And had it been known, as it would have been, could Verendrye have used his instrument when this plate was deposited, where in latitude it was placed, there can be no question that it would have been discovered long before it was accidentally found by a school-girl of Fort Pierre on a Sunday afternoon; it would have been diligently hunted down by many an eager quest of habitants, and of historical students from many widely separated localities in the American Northwest.

One more reference to fact, and an allusion to a very important incident as prophecy, before we relate the actual finding of this tablet:

Cherry Creek,—for long known by that name, is a small stream whose main source is the Rattlesnake Creek hereinbefore mentioned; its general course being southeasterly. It empties into the Cheyenne river about thirty-five miles above its mouth, the latter stream debouching into the Missouri at the westerly end of the Little Bend, about thirty-five miles north-northwest from Fort Pierre and Pierre, South Dakota; and the mouth of Cherry Creek—on the north side of the Cheyenne—is about fifty miles northwest from said cities. From this Cherry Creek, as it is believed, did the "Les Gens de la Petite Cerise" take their name. The fact that those Indians, when heard of by Verendrye, were making their way from some point to westward of their "fort," to that place, indicates that their plains habitat was in the locality of this creek; and we may recall that all of the tribes met by Verendrye in his most westerly circuit were almost certainly traveling in territory north of the Cheyenne.

Bishop Thomas O'Gorman, who delivered a very interesting and instructive address before the State Historical Society of South Dakota, at the old Statehouse in Pierre, in January, 1903, upon the subject "Verendrye and Other Early Explor-

ers,'' in presenting his views as to where the Chevalier and his party deposited the plate referred to in the Verendrye's journal, declared, after referring to the facts as to the location of Cherry Creek and this band of Indians with whom the explorers came to the Indian camp on the Missouri River:

''I believe they were a band of Sioux who lived along Cherry Creek, and also had an encampment on the Missouri. * * * Somewhere between Fort Bennett and Fort Pierre was that camp of Little Cherry Indians where the Verendrye expedition rested a while. Some day or other the exact spot may be found, for in the account I read: 'On an eminence, near the fort (camp), I placed a leaden plate engraved with the arms and inscription of the King and some stones in shape of a pyramid in honor of the General.' ''

Now, Fort Bennett, a federal government Indian agency and trading post, was located on the west bank of the Missouri about thirty-five miles above Pierre and Fort Pierre, and some five miles below the easterly end of the Little Bend, or about ten miles south-southeast from the mouth of the Cheyenne. And this Little Cherry ''fort,'' if it was the redoubt we have assumed it to have been, is located about twenty-eight miles by travel south-southeast of Fort Bennett; and as it is also about seven miles north of Fort Pierre, the Reverend Bishop O'Gorman's estimate of the whereabouts of the leaden plate was remarkably close.

The writer hereof, in delivering the biennial address as president of the said State Historical Society, in January, 1913, also had occasion to refer to this expedition of Verendrye in connection with the subject ''Colonial Claims and South Dakota,'' and to Bishop O'Gorman's remarks, above quoted; and observed concerning his predictions: ''Although no trace of the monument in question has thus far been found, those conclusions seem quite probable.'' Little did the present writer then imagine that twenty-five days thereafter the precious tablet would be discovered.

Finding of the Tablet.

On Sunday afternoon, February 16th, 1913, at about half past four o'clock, a party of seven young people—Hattie Foster, her sister Blanche, Ethel Parrish, Martha Burns, George F. O'-

Rielly, Leslie Stroup and Frederick Demmon—were strolling on the bluffs toward the rear of Fort Pierre, South Dakota, enjoying the bright sunshine and the balmy air. The girls had just climbed the sharp declivity of a "gumbo" hill upon the nearly level but narrow top of which there had been constructed, a year or so previously, a schoolboys' redoubt, from behind which many a terrific and soul-stirring defense had been made to as many ferocious attacks of the "enemy" in the "game of war;" the boys having joined them soon thereafter. This knob had been dubbed and was well known in the public school circles as "Harney," after Harney's Peak, the highest point in the Black Hills, or Black Mountains, concerning which we have had so much to say herein. This little fortress or bank of earth ex-



Fort Pierre from Hill where Plate was Found.

tended east and west for some eighteen feet, it being some two feet in height, the shallow scoop-out area in the making of which redoubt extended northward to within a foot or eighteen inches of the very spot where this memorial plate was about to be discovered; the redoubt itself being some eight feet to the southward. Time and again had this identical spot, freighted with its immeasurably precious mine of metal that had been borne hence from so many thousand miles away in Lower Canada, been trampled over in those mimic battles so different from that one with the rough elements of Nature with which its famed carrier had contended in finding for it here on this "eminence," this "hillock," this later "Harney" of youths' dreams, a resting place to tell to generations then unborn of the dis-

covery by representatives of the French of vast areas to west of the great Missouri.

This hill had also been chosen by the school-boys and girls as a playground because of its prominence as a general view-point up the river, down-river and across-river. From hence almost due east and just beyond the front of the village-city swept majestically from south to east the main channel of the Missouri by the mouth of the little Wakpa Sicha or Bad River of which we have already spoken. From far up stream rose to view the beautiful plain between the high bluffs and the river bank fringed with timber—a stretch of seven miles to that famous Little Cherry "fort"—in the near center of which had



Place where Plate was found from Fort Pierre.

towered for thirty years the Old Fort Pierre Trading Post—the most famous landmark of the Upper Missouri River region,—and dotted over the whole of which, at periods between 1817 when Ft. LaFrambois[28] was erected, down to 1864, when the second Ft. Pierre saw the last of the fur-trade in this part of the West, had stood eight different trading posts as pioneer sentinels of coming civilization. To southward across the wooded bottom of Bad River, the high Missouri River bluffs formed a prominent back ground—broken to westward only by the intrusion of this

[28]Laframboise, or LaFramboise. This is a notable name in Canadian and Northwestern American history. Bertrand Fafard came from France and settled in Three Rivers, Canada, about 1640; for some reason he was soon nicknamed La Framboise, (the raspberry), and the name has stuck, and been adopted by the family. The family is still very numerous in Three Rivers. Several members were courier de bois, and especially interpreters. One of them was interpreter to Du Luth, upon his voyage to the Sioux country in 1678, which shows that from 1660 to 1678, the courier des bois of Lake Superior knew the Sioux very well.—Benjamin Sulte.

little stream—for it must have an outlet; while far back to the southwest, west and northwest extended in unbroken phalanx the general bluff-line of the great waterway. A certain bold, graphic air of awe, not unmixed with romance is lent to the whole ensemble of bluff, river and plain from this viewpoint, by the contrast between the many "gumbo" patches far and near, and the more natural hues and characteristics of the scene at large. To cap the climax of this wonderfully fair prospect in the modern day, the eye beholds, straight across the "Big Muddy" herself, the "Peerless Pierre" of the great "Capital Fights" of Dakota territorial and South Dakotan history—the present seat of government of that new Commonwealth whose varied resources of agriculture, grazing and mining have few equals among the sisterhood composing the Federal Union; whose terraced hills in themselves, set in the embrace of the encircling river in whose midst four fair isles are seen, with the mighty half-circle of those back-bluffs of the Missouri—of which we have spoken as a nearer boundary of Fort Pierre—extending from far to northwest to as far eastward as the eye can reach as her secondary background, beyond Riverside Park and the Woods of LaFrambois Island in the middle distance—mark her one of the lovliest city sites in the United States of America! Small wonder that Verendrye selected this very "eminence," half a mile west of the mouth of Bad River and midway between the Missouri and her said back-bluffs, as the theatre of his immortal deposit.

But the picture of that Sunday afternoon would doubtless be wanting in completeness of outline were we to forget that, beside and beyond enjoying the sunshine and air, those boys and girls were to a certainty inspired by one another's presence. George Olson was at this moment tarrying half way down that declivity,—but became a member of the party later when they were dispersing. As to "which was which" as between boys and girls, history doth not record in this dry journal.

Hattie May Foster, a girl of fourteen, saw something on the ground near where she stood that attracted her—some sort of metal plate, something like one and one-half or two inches of one end of which protruded above ground. She partly loosened it from the surrounding gumbo soil by cuffing it with the toe

of her shoe, then stooped down and pulled it out of the ground, in which it had been embedded, laying at a sharp angle with the horizon—something like thirty or forty degrees. Some of the young men in the group were standing ten or twelve feet to the westward when the plate was extricated from its burial-place. Miss Foster scraped from the plate some of the earth that clung to it. All hands were now clustered in a group of which Hattie was the center, eagerly gazing upon the tablet; no one as yet imagining that it was of any particular moment or value George O'Reilly, a boy of fifteen, took it and scraped off some



The Plate Finders.

Leslie Stroup Harriet Foster George O'Reilly

of the particles of soil still adhering to its surface, and remarked that the number on it was 1743. One of the girls,—perhaps Martha Burns,—remarked that it might be Moses' tablet. Then she looked at it again and said she believed it was not lead, and George said he would scrape it off and see if he could read it. Somehow in this process of examining and passing it back and forth, it may have fallen to, or been thrown upon the ground; if so it was immediately picked up again. As the comments of the various members of the party went on,—some dis-

paraging and some more favorable as to the value of the plate, —some of the boys derisively hurled clods of earth at one or two of the others who were examining the tablet, and remarking that it might be "worth something." George O'Reilly then took it to the home of his father's family, that of William O'-Reilly in Fort Pierre.

As the details of the finding of this tablet are deemed of more than ordinary importance, we will reproduce here the written account of that event, kindly furnished to the writer hereof, at his request, by Miss Hattie Foster.:

"In the beginning, we girls were out walking, and went upon the hill. We were up there a little while, and in a short time the three boys came upon the hill. They had been out hunting. We were standing there talking, and I was scraping in the dirt with my foot. I was facing to the northeast, George (O'Reilly) was at my left, Leslie (Stroup) was at his right, Fred (Demmon) at Leslie's left, and the girls were at my right. As I was scraping in the dirt I saw the end of the plate showing about one inch above the ground cross-wise the plate as it was slanting in the ground. The end that was showing was toward the boys (to the northwest.)

"When I saw it I kicked it out and picked it up, and as I picked it up it looked like a lining out of a big range stove. As I looked at it, I asked, 'What is this?' George (O'Reilly) said, 'It is a piece of lead.' It was covered with dirt but there was some reading on it, and I asked 'What is this reading?' George (O'Reilly) had a knife, and said 'Hand it here and I'll scrape the dirt off so we can read what is on it.' I handed George the plate, he scraped the dirt off, and all that we could read was '17'—something, and I don't remember the other two numbers. But George didn't throw it down, neither did he give the plate to me. George then said, 'It isn't anything but a piece of lead, I will take it to the hardware store and sell it for about five cents.' Martha Burns said, "It is the stone Moses wrote the Ten Commandments on.' I don't remember what the others or I said, but we were making light of George going to sell it. Not a member of the party knew it was of value. In a few minutes George started home, for he said he had to milk the cow. He got a little way down the hill, just on the other side of where

we had our picture taken when we were sitting down, but to the left as we went down. But before George got to the bottom of the hill he met George Olson, a high-school boy, and George (O'Reilly) just started to throw the plate away when the Olson boy asked him what he had, and George showed it to him, and the Olson boy told him to take it home, that it was of value, and George took it home. But the other girls and boy and I were on top of the hill where I first picked it up, and we didn't hear what the boys said, but we saw them talking, and the Olson boy told what he said to George about the plate at school the next morning. The next day I asked George for the plate, and he said he took it home and was going to have it. He still has the plate as far as I know."



George O'Reilly Holding Plate.

This tablet is in the form of a parrallelogram, eight and one-half inches long by six and one-half inches in width, the plate being about one-eighth of an inch in thickness. It is of lead, hardened somewhat by an alloy, probably of zinc. The color of the metal is a light dull gray, the whitened appearance being evidently the result of age and exposure to the elements. There are some slight warpings of the plane of the plate, which may or may not have been caused by pressure after it was buried in the soil, or by being wrenched somewhat at some quite recent period and before it was discovered,—for it is quite possible that it may have been trampled upon in the rushings back and forth of the schoolboys at their games on "Harney." However, none of these points of unevenness on the tablet seemed to have been

occasioned by the handling of it in the process of taking it from its burial place, as at those points, as elsewhere, there had formed this somewhat whitened scale or covering of the metal which appeared to be without abrasions. Each of the four corners was evenly rounded.

The question as to which side of this particular tablet should be designated as the obverse, and which the reverse, is evidently one upon which differences of view exist. The writer hereof had been inclined to the belief that the side containing the arms of France and the Latin inscription might be termed the obverse side. On the other hand, the inscription upon the opposite side, which refers specifically to the act of depositing the tablet and commemorating the momentous deeds leading up to the act, may well be regarded as the principal inscription of the tablet as a whole. The latter view, being the one taken by His Excellency, M. Jusserand, as we shall soon see, will therefore be adopted by the writer.

The obverse side of the tablet, before the lettering placed thereon when the plate was buried was done, was entirely plain and unfigured. Upon this surface, in five imperfect lines, the following words and figures were roughly engraved—done without doubt at or immediately before depositing the tablet:

POSE PAR LE
Chevaly-et dE Layr.
Lo Jos Louy la Londette
A Miotte
le 30 de mars 1743.

For the exact photographic representation of this inscription see engraving at page 100 and 101.

On the reverse side of the tablet a border of two parallel lines runs entirely around the plate, the flower of France appearing in the two upper corners, while the arms of France occupies the center at the top. Below this device, in four lines, appear in Roman capitals the following:

ANNO XXVI REGNI LUDOVICI XV PROREGE
ILLUSTRISSIMO DOMINO DOMINO MARCHIONE
DE BEAUHARNOIS MDCCCXXXXI :
PETRUS GAULTIER DE LAVERENDRIE POSVIT

The interpretations and explanations of the inscriptions upon both sides of this tablet, given by His Excellency, Jusserand, French Amabassador to Washington, are highly interesting and instructive:

After referring to a more formal deposit of a similar tablet on the banks of the Ohio River in 1749, by M. de Celeron, Jusserand proceeds:

"There was much less solemnity in the case of the Chevalier de la Verendrye; no arms of the king at which the Indians might have taken umbrage were hung up to view: it was not a case of actual and regular annexation, but one, apparently, of asserting influence and preventing for the future other people's claims. Contrary to the Celeron examples, no taking of possession was mentioned." His excellency adds, a little further on:

"The text of the plate so wonderfully recovered has a little story to tell. As it was not easy to print a text on the way during such difficult expeditions, people would start with ready-prepared ones. The Chevalier seems to have provided himself with one which had been made in view of his elder brother's before mentioned expedition of 1741. It bears, in fact, the name of the eldest of the La Verendryes, the text stamped under the arms of France reading:" etc. And, after quoting the reverse inscription, His Excellency continues:

"That is: 'In the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Louis XV, the most illustrious Lord, the Lord Marquis of Beauharnois being Viceroy, 1741, Peter Gaultier de Laverendrye placed this.'"

His Excellency then gives this version of the obverse inscription:

"But the obverse of the plate, shows that it was really turned to use by the Chevalier and at the exact moment mentioned by him. Instead of the beautiful regular inscriptions engraved at home in Latin for the elder brother before he started, we have but a rough one, made as best they could, with the point of a knife, and certainly not by La Verendrye himself. As the placing of the plate in the earth was done secretly, and he himself was probably staying, as usual, with the chief of the tribe, he apparently gave orders to one of his followers to do the nec-

essary work. That follower must have been one of the 'two Frenchmen' which he mentions without giving their names as having accompanied him. It was not his brother who is not named in the plate, and who, as we shall see in the journal, would sometimes be stationed at a different place. The author of the inscription was a man of little education who writes 'chevalier' with a y and a t: 'Chevalyet,' and who apparently performed his work in some hurry." And, after copying the obverse inscription from the tablet, His Excellency continues:

"Louise or St. Louis la Londette and A. Miotte who sign as witnesses were undoubtedly the 'two Frenchmen' who had accompanied the Chevalier.

"Everything about the plate tallies with everything in the journal; its authenticity cannot be doubted. As a reminder of the plucky attempts of ancestors, acting under most trying difficulties, the new-found relic has a truly sacred character for Frenchmen and for Americans both."

Photographs of both sides of this tablet having been submitted to His Excellency, M. Jusserand, by Hon. Chas. H. Burke, and having been submitted by His Excellency to certain specialists whom he consulted in Paris, France, concerning the inscription upon the obverse, he makes this observation by way of the interpretation placed upon the four letters at the beginning of the third line:

"To what I said I have only to add that the specialists whom I consulted agree that the separate letters at the beginning of the third line of the French text on the plate must be taken as an abbreviation of the name 'Toussaint' a well known French Christian name. Those letters as you remember read

t o st

The full name of the first witness would thus be Toussaint Louis la Londette."

The "t o" in the above quotation have been otherwise variously read as "t v" and "t b." Professor Gastine, a retired French college professor of languages, of Fort Pierre, S. D., has suggested that these letters (which he interpreted as "t v"), may mean "witnesses," since the character stands for the initial letter of the word "temoin," the French word for witness.

Thus we find that the plate itself, with the engraving upon

its reverse side, was prepared beforehand—no doubt in France—at the request of the elder Verendrye, and in anticipation of the expedition of 1741 which had already been planned for the then eldest son, Pierre, into the Mandan country. And that the entire inscription upon the obverse side was placed thereon at or in the immediate vicinity of the Little Cherry camp or "fort," in what is now Stanley county, South Dakota, at the time of the deposit of the tablet. If history shall ever record any art-work upon a metal background done by the hand of a Caucasian in the State of South Dakota, or anywhere else west of the watershed of the Upper Mississippi River in the United States of America, at an earlier date, we promise it will be a very rare monument indeed.

But further light has been thrown upon the obverse inscription, by Benjamin Sulte, in response to requests made of him by Mr. Robinson and by the present writer, for an expression of his views thereon; some of his remarks relative to the subject being of marked significance. He believes that the name in the third line is, in part, that of Louis-Joseph, the younger brother of Francois the Chevalier; and is also inclined to the belief that the "to" (it is thus read by him) at the beginning of that line means "temoin," or "witness." We quote from his excellent memorandum upon this head:

"Believing as I do that, in 1743, le Chevalier de la Verendrye was Francois, I feel inclined to take "to Joe Louy la Londette" for the mark of Louis-Joseph, his younger brother—but the "Londette" is a puzzle to me. No name resembling that existed in those days, nor even now.

"I would say, * * * that 'to' is there for 'temoin,' and that Joe t' means 'Joseph.' 'Londette' remains mysterious."

He thus reads "s t" as "Joe t."

Mr. Sulte also furnishes the following explanation on the word "Miotte" in the fourth line, which places a new and important significance upon that name in this connection:

"'A. Miotte' may easily be Amiot, Amyot, Amyotte, the name of a Quebec family anobile par Louis XIV, and always notable. One of them, Jean, was a merchant in Quebec in those days."

If Mr. Sulte's theory is correct then, we have accounted for the names of both brothers who made this expedition of 1742-3, and of the third party ("Miotte"), as completing the record on the obverse of this tablet; and, upon that supposition, both Louis-Joseph and Miotte are referred to thereon as witnesses to the deposit of the tablet in the name of the chief of the party, the Chevalier.

A corroboration of Mr. Sulte's theory of the obverse inscription upon this tablet, is furnished by Miss Louise Phelps Kellogg, chief of the research staff of the Wisconsin Historical Society, and editor of the "Proceedings" of that society for 1913, in connection with the forthcoming publication, in said "Proceedings," of Mr. Robinson's paper upon "Verendrye's Farthest West." In a footnote to the Robinson paper so published, appears the following rendering and comment:

"'Placed by the Chevalier de LVR (La Verendrye) Lo Jos (Louis Joseph, his brother) Louy La Loudette A Miotte (the two employees) the 30th of March, 1743.' * * * The identification of the second name, (that of the younger brother of the Le Verendrye family) is the editor's conjecture."

The writer hereof strongly inclines to the belief that the above rendering will in the end prove to be the correct one.

We are indebted to the "Nation," in its issue of July 16, 1914, for the information given as regards the above footnote; in which publication an account of the Verendrye tablet, communicated by Mr. John Thomas Lee, Chief Bookkeeper, Department of State of the State of Wisconsin, is published.

Again, as to "Londette" or "Loudette:" Upon the authority of Mr. Sulte, it learned that a family of Lalonde, anciently of the isle of Montreal, and whose twenty-seven families resided on both sides of the mouth of the Ottawa, were well-known voyageurs of the early days; and he suggests that "perhaps 'Londette' of our plate is not foreign to that family."

We learn, through the same source, that, as the ending "ette" merely indicates, in the French language, the diminutive or, again, "my intimate friend," etc., this termination may well have been attached to the name "la Londe," and thus have become "la Londette." And Mr. Sulte has found, in the long

list of names of members of the Lalonde families, one Louis, who may have been the very "Louy Londette" of this tablet. The Canadian records show the original American ancestor to have been Jean Lalonde, born in 1640, at Havre, Normandie, and who came to Canada with his wife about 1672. That their son, Guillaume, was born at Lachine, in 1684; was married in 1710 or 1711; that Louis, a son of this latter family, was born at Lachine in 1714. That this Louis married, on Feb. 7th, 1740, Louise Picard; and that the children from this marriage were: Jean Louis, born Nov. 17th, 1740; Joseph Marie, born Aug. 20th, 1742; Marie-Renee, born about 1744; Genevieve, born July 24th, 1746; and the last child (not named), born in 1760. That the original Jean Lalonde was killed in 1687 by the Iroquois. Now, if this Louis, son of William, was in fact the "Londette" mentioned on this tablet, he would have been about twenty-nine years of age when the tablet was deposited.

The discovery of this tablet set the whole town of Fort Pierre into a fever of excitement and consequent discussion and wide speculation as to the identity and significance of the memorial—for it was believed to be nothing less than a French memorial of some character. The fact of the finding of the plate was at once telephoned across the river to Pierre, and when the information reached certain parties there, it was understood that, to a moral certainty, the famous tablet of the Verendrye journal had at last been unearthed. Arrangements were immediately made to cross the river on the succeeding morning (Monday); in the forenoon of which day Doane Robinson, C. S. Stevenson, his assistant as Secretary of the State Historical Society and State Statistician, Hon. G. W. White, State Representative from Lyman County, S. D., and the writer hereof, went to Fort Pierre, saw and examined the tablet, which was then and is still in the possession of Mr. O'Rielly; and then proceeded, in company with various of the young people who were present when the plate was discovered, and other residents of Fort Pierre, to the very spot at which it was taken from the ground. A piece of iron pipe was driven into the ground to mark the identical location of the buried memorial. It is predicted that in due time the authorities of South Dakota will place thereon a lasting monument,

suitably inscribed, to mark for future generations the place where Verendrye commemorated his long wanderings into the most westerly of the wilds of North America, north of the fortieth parallel of latitude, that had ever been trodden by the foot of white man down to that time. While there, this writer, in the presence of Messrs. Robinson and Stevenson, set down in writing, the testimony of each party present when the plate was found as to what actually occurred at the time.

Is it wholly certain that the tablet was buried precisely where it was thus found? We believe there should be no manner of question upon this point.

True, there was no pyramid of stone above or close by it—



At Place where Plate was Found Feb. 17, 1913.

or anywhere else in the neighborhood, for that matter. Nor are there any boulder or cobble-stone along the bluffs of Fort Pierre for some distance to northward from the site of this discovery; although there were plenty of them lying on the surface of the ground, from a point a little north of the city limits on up-river on those bluffs, many years ago, and there still remain a quantity of them not far from the city. But the fact that when the tablet was discovered no pyramid, or even an irregular pile, or assembly, of stone was to be seen at or in the immediate vicinity of this spot, is believed to be readily explainable upon a probative theory entirely consistent with the supposition of an original visible stone monument thereon.

The then village of Fort Pierre proper—as distinguished from the site and close proximity of the famous Old Fort Pierre Trading Post—located a mile and seven-eights above the mouth of Bad River—began to take on something like its modern growth in the year 1890, when the greater part of the former Great Reservation of the Sioux Nation of Indians was thrown open to homesteaders, and Fort Pierre, which community, until that time had been that of an assembly of "squatters" in the Indian Country. As the town thus began to develop out of and beyond its former estate of the Missouri River end of the also famous "Deadwood Trail"—over which all commodities had for many years been hauled from the western termini of railroads on the river, by "bullwhacker" and "muleskinner" outfits,—houses and business structures set upon regular wall foundations were constructed, and many wagon-loads of stone were hauled into the river bottom at Fort Pierre from the surrounding bluffs. It is not only probable that, in this process, these stone which once formed the pyramid erected by Verendrye's Frenchmen in March, 1743, were thus utilized in a not less palpable if much more humble way, but we believe there is tangible evidence that such was the fact.[29]

Mr. William H. Frost, now a hardware dealer, one of the very few survivors among the earliest residents of the modern Fort Pierre, who served as Register of Deeds of Stanley County for two terms, as County Auditor for two terms, and as a member of the City Council of Fort Pierre some six years, and who is a gentleman of character and probity, states that he distinctly remembers that when he first came to Fort Pierre and about 1877 or 1878, he saw a pile of stones on this very hill where this tablet was discovered. That when he first saw it it was shaped like a pyramid, was about three feet high and, maybe three or four feet in diameter. That this was during the freighting days, and that he always supposed it was put there by the Indians; that it was somewhat talked and remarked about—what that pile of rock was put there

[29]The testimony of citizens of Ft. Pierre is overwhelming to the fact that a considerable amount of field stone was scattered about the hill in the vicinity of where the Verendrye plate was found, and that these stones were gathered up and used about the wharf and elsewhere in the village.—D. R.

for; that he was taught that these rock piles were placed by the Indians, and that they indicated that water was close by. That people walked about on this hill more or less, and that these stone afterwards got scattered around somewhat. That this gumbo ridge was a place from which one could look a long way up and down the river. That one James Dowd, who was connected with the freighting on the river, and others, would go up there to look for boats that were approaching Fort Pierre—that from that particular point one could see a long way down the river, etc. The very spot where this tablet was found was pointed out to Mr. Frost by one of the girls who were present when it was discovered, and he declares that, according to his present recollection, it was the identical place where this pyramid stood.

Mr. Lee Moore, also a resident of Fort Pierre for a somewhat less period than that of Mr. Frost's residence there, is vouched for as being able to recall that one David Lexau, now deceased, but for many years a resident of that town, and who was a teamster, hauled rocks from the hill in that part of the rear of the then village, on to the premises of a party who was then having a house built in the lower part of the town.

Even in the absence of this tangible evidence of the presence of a monument of stone at the place in question, another element of fact might here be considered, in accounting for the absence of a well-formed pyramid of stones on this hill in recent years,—namely, that any well-constructed pyramid of stone upon this particular knob or hill, so long ago, would be likely to have been so largely undermined by the combined effect of rainfalls and winds during the 170 years in question, as that the individual boulders would have become loosened, and some of them, perhaps moved to some distance from the general pile or pyramid. The earth formation at this point being of "gumbo," upon whose surface not a particle of vegetation has germinated down to the present time, and the brow or top of the knob itself being not more than forty or fifty feet in its widest diameter, it is not improbable that, during the long period following the construction of the pyramid, the surface of the knob became somewhat worn down

by these processes of erosion. In such a process, the undermining of the outer layers of the base of the pyramid would loosen the outside foundation stones and they would gradually become scattered; and when to this is added that there has been more or less of foot-travel over this very hill for no one can say how long, since it may have been trod by the Indians long before the site of Fort Pierre was known in commercial activities in the nineteenth century,—the gradual dispersion of these stones from the pyramidal formation, and the incidental removal of some of them, became almost inevitable.

Further more: If this spot is not in fact that at which this tablet was originally deposited, no one, so far as is now ascertainable, ever discovered on the bluff-line between the mouth of Bad River and the Indian redoubt in question, any formation of boulders which would account for this pyramid.

Another fact, of more than possible significance in this general connection, should not be overlooked: Besides this redoubt or "fort" of which frequent mention has been made herein, two other Aricara village remains exist between Fort Pierre city and this principal redoubt; one, situated about four miles due north, the other about two miles further north-north-west of the spot where this tablet was found. These village remains consist of the usual lodge-circles or foundations, being depressions in the surface of the ground, the whole group, in each instance, being inclosed on the ends and rear by a ditch, leaving only the side toward the river uninclosed—the front side being here, as in all other cases, at the edge of the terrace on which the village is located, with lower ground between it and the river. Now, either one of these two lesser fortified village sites may have been the one referred to by Verendrye; since these encircling ditches were, when the village was occupied, accompanied by something in the way of a palisaded defense against Indian enemies. However, the writer feels free to assert the very probable fact to be that, when Verendrye visited the Little Cherry camp on the Missouri River, he found his hosts established at the upper or great redoubt ("fort") in question. But if it were

otherwise, then this tablet was deposited that much nearer the camp visited by our explorer.

A half-tone picture of this upper redoubt, showing its unique defensive position on the verge of the high river bank, is shown in Vol. III. of the Historical Collections of the State Historical Society of South Dakota, opposite page 321, in connection with the paper therein published upon the Aricara or Ree Indians as among "The Aborigines of South Dakota."

Before continuing the account of this expedition, covering the return to the Mandan villages from the Little Cherry camp, some further historical notes are in point, among which reference will be made to an entry in the document, written by Pierre Gautier de la Verendrye, as a memoir "which he has the honor to present to My Lord Rouille, Minister and Secretary of State of the Department of Marine," embracing an outline of his services from 1728 to 1747, and published in Margry, Vol. VI., page 629; in the fourth paragraph of which he refers to what the casual reader might erroneously believe to have been intended as this same expedition, although he mentions the year 1741. We refer to his reference to "two Spanish forts."

The passage, in the original, is as follows: "En 1741, il partit, seul avec deux Francois, pour aller faire de nouvelles decourvertes, qu'il a poussees jusqu'aupres de deux forts espagnols."

Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee, between whom and Mr. Robinson some correspondence has passed relative to the true interpretation of the above quoted passage, states: "The last words I would translate 'which he pushed to a point not far from two Spanish forts.' I take this merely to refer to the Spanish settlements, of which he and his brother had heard when they were among the Gens de l'Arc and which they understood to be then at no very great distance.

"The earlier part of the sentence is more difficult to interpret. As you (Mr. Robinson) suggest, one would naturally translate it, 'In 1741 he went alone with two Frenchmen.' Possibly he merely intended to convey the idea that they had only two Frenchmen with them, it being understood that his brother was of the party. In fact, as his brother had been

the leader, and had written the official account of the journey, it is difficult to suppose that Pierre deliberately intended to convey the impression that he alone had led the expedition, as the Minister to whom his Memoire is addressed must have been familiar with the facts. There is of course, another possibility, that Margry's copy of the document may be inaccurate."

The foregoing expressions are brought into this paper here, in order to make clearer that this "Memoire" of Pierre de la Verendrye, wherein it refers to the explorers having come into proximity to "two Spanish forts," should not be regarded as applicable to the expedition of the two younger brothers, begun in 1742, of which we are giving an account at this time; and in order also that it may be made plain that said "Memoire" was not written by either of the two sons of the present expedition. Doubtless Mr. Burpee's conclusion that the "forts" therein referred to were such as Pierre himself had heard of while among the Mandans in 1741, is correct. We have seen that the Chevalier does not in his journal make any claims of having either come in contact with, or having approached the near neighborhood of any Spanish "fort."

Another thought arises in connection with the westward trip of the Verendrye brothers, under the theory that they went no farther than the Black Hills and—adopting here the further supposition of Mr. Robinson—that they reached the Cheyenne River (Belle Riviere) not further west than the Forks: If such were the case, it is possible that in the subsequent travels westward they may have passed up the South Fork valley, instead of that of the North Fork or the Belle Fourche, and in this connection the reference to having proceeded "sometimes south-south-west, sometimes north-west" might be pertinent to a route up said South Fork to where it turns from the northwest to southeastward, and the upstream course thence would be northwestward. But if they in fact went via this route to the upper waters of the South Fork, then either one of two further theories as to where they went to the "mountain" naturally arises,—whether they entered the southwestern corner of the Black Hills, or whether

they proceeded southwesterly to the northerly end of the Laramie Mountains. The analysis we have endeavored to make of the time and the travel involved in the expedition, after they found the Gens de l'Arcs, might account for a march to those upper waters of the South Fork of the Cheyenne, thence to the Laramies, if we suppose them to have met the Bows near but south of the junction of the Forks. The distance is too great from those Forks to the Laramies, however, to permit of this theory as applicable on the ground of probability; while, pursuing such theory, we find the same difficulties already encountered in bringing the party back to the Missouri from the Laramies. On the other hand, if we suppose the actual contact with the Black Hills to have been from the southward, one feature of Verendrye's journal—that as to a "northwest" progress—becomes more tangible and probable as connected with a route toward the Hills, supposing the part to have already ascended the South Fork to where it turns southeasterly—downstream.

But, upon the latter of these ulterior theories based upon a supposed passage south of the Black Hills, we inevitably meet this further obstacle—the discovery by Verendrye and his Bow Indian attendants of a wide scope of country beyond and to southwest of the Black Hills, which discovery would render frivolous the story told by the Bow chief about a discovery of "the sea" after ascending the "mountain," supposing the "mountain" where the "Snakes" were encamped to have been in the southern, or the southwestern Black Hills.

Neill's account of the Verendrye expedition of 1742—supposedly to the Rocky Mountains—(Contributions to Historical Society of Montana), states that the discoverer reached the "country of the Mantanes" by "ascending the Assiniboine, and by the present trail to Mouse river." In a note to Neill's account, it is stated: "Father Coquard, who had been associated with Verendrye, says that they first met the Mantanes, and next the Brochets. After these were the Gro Ventres," etc; which note explains that the Brochets, or Fish tribe, may perhaps have been the Assiniboines; that that tribe "are said to have formerly lived on the Assiniboine and Red rivers." Neill then refers to Bougainville's version of the 1742

expedition, quoting him as follows: "He went from Fort La Reine to the Missouri. He met, on the banks of this river, the Mandans, or White Beards, who had seven villages, with fine stockades, strengthened by a ditch. Next to these were the Kinongewinris, or the Brochets (Assiniboines), in three villages; and toward the upper part of the river were three villages of the Mahantas." These Mahantas were understood by Neill as being the Mahas, or Omahas. Bougainville adds, after referring to the Mahantas: "All along to the north of the Wabiek or Shell river were situated twenty-three villages of the Panis." Neill, in his note, says: "'Shell' may mean the Musselshell river of modern maps," and adds: "The Pawnees on De L'Isle's map, are marked on the Missouri, and on Panis, now Platte river. Jeffreys on his map marks a tribe west of Lake Winnipeg, called 'Cris Panis Blanc. Drake speaks of White Pawnees, Freckled Pawnees and Pawnees of the Platte." These observations, in connection with Bougainville's account, are quoted as showing the vast range of speculation entertained in earliest days, as to where the Verendryes actually went after first reaching the Missouri River and the Mandans. If they reached the Musselshell, they crossed the Yellowstone, and traveled a distance by air-line of 125 miles northwest of where we have theorized they may have reached the Little Missouri. But we shall soon see that even this speculative trip is outdone by the imagination of so high an authority as Margry, who takes them to Helena, Montana,—200 air-line miles west of the bend of the Musselshell!

For here is Margry's introduction to his account of the Verendrye expedition of 1742:

"In 1742, four years after the first visit of the French to the Mandans, and 66 years before the expedition on which Lewis & Clarke discovered the mouth of the Columbia, the eldest son of M. de la Verendrye, accompanied by his younger brother and two Canadians returned to the Mandans; they crossed the Missouri and the 1st of January, 1743, they sighted the Rocky Mountains, probably, says Parkman, the Big Horn range, 120 miles east of Yellowstone Park; after a march of 12 days they reached a place that is supposed to be the site of the city of Helena, Montana. Then returning in

a southernly direction the party crossed the Musselshell. There they encountered the Flat heads, they crossed the Yellowstone, then on to the Wind River near Fremont Peak, where the Serpents told them of the Green river on the other side of the Wind River mountains, which is a tributary of the Colorado of the west and empties into the Gulf of California. The 19th of March, having come again to the upper Missouri, they found themselves with a tribe called by them, 'les Gens de la Petite Cerise,' they took possession of the country. The 2nd of July they had completed the return to Fort La Reine on the River of the Assiniboils."

Whence Margry derived his data for some of the conclusions embodied in the foregoing, is not clear. But it is doubtless true that, in seeking to account for such a story as was told to Verendrye by the Bow chief regarding the "western sea" and where to go to find a way thence, the backbone of the Rockies and the Colorado River would necessarily be drawn into consideration, as the latter stream had, in Verendrye's day, long been known as draining the western slope of the Rocky Mountains to southwestward, and as emptying into the "Western Sea," or the "South Sea"—the two names referring to what was indefinitely understood as the great western ocean beyond Mexico. In this same way the Great Salt Lake in Utah was long connected in popular contemplation, with the idea of the "Western Sea," and with the traditions of the far northern Indians concerning what was doubtless the Gulf of Mexico or, on the other hand, what is now understood as having been an inland sea so far north as Lake Winnipeg!

Evidently Margry never seriously thought of attempting to harmonize his theory of an expedition reaching Fremont's peak—in western Wyoming, west of the Big Horn Range and 250 miles south of Helena and the Musselshell—with Verendrye's journal wherein he marks the time between the retreat from the "Snakes" and his return to the Missouri river. He evidently had in mind, as a sort of landmark for calculation, the undoubted fact that, to reach the Pacific Ocean from a point in the southern Wind River Mountains—a locality from which an approach to a prominent branch of the

Colorado could be reached—the sources of the Green River were just across the Wind River Range from the neighborhood of Frenont's Peak; and here was a basis for location of the "Snakes" in the "mountain" of Verendrye's journal.

Return From Little Cherry Camp to Mandan Villages.

Verendrye now sets forth to northward, from the point on the Missouri River to which his expedition had come from the mountains, on his return to the Mandan villages; having, as we have seen, been furnished by the chief with "three young men" for guides, after having assured him that "although the Mandans were their enemies, they had nothing to fear while with us."

It is believed that, while nothing is said in the journal to indicate on which side of the Missouri the party traveled northward, they in all probability crossed the river at what is now Fort Pierre, and journeyed all the way on the east side of that stream. The journal proceeds:

"We set out on the second of April (1743) much to the regret of all the Indians. They heartily entreated us to return to see them.

"On the 9th about midday, we met with a village of twenty-five lodges of the tribe of the Gens de la Fleche Collee, otherwise called Sioux of the Prairies. We passed among the women and luggage; delaying very little. They were very friendly and showed us the place where they were going to camp. We placed ourselves in sight of their village, hoping that someone would come out to find us, but we were always on our guard. No one came."

Some estimate may now be made of about what was the average daily travel on this return route to the Mandans, and, incidentally, as to about where this camp of the Sioux was located.

While the channel distance from Fort Pierre, S. Dak., to Mandan, N. Dak., is 277 miles, we cannot believe that Verendrye undertook to follow closely the valley of the Missouri on this part of his trip, since not only is the distance far greater than any probable or necessary route between those two points, even in an early day, but, if he proceeded on the east side of the river, the country everywhere, a short distance

away from the river bluffs is so smooth that it would be little short of ridiculous to follow the sinuous windings of the river all the way up, or even over any very considerable part of the journey. By the old stage-route from Pierre to Fort Yates and beyond to northward, the distance between the two points in question is little if any more than 200 miles. We believe that 250 miles is a liberal estimate of the actual distance traveled in this part of the trip. The party, as will be seen, reached the Mandan villages on the 18th of May, thus covering forty-six days' time; and this would show an average daily travel of less than six miles.

Supposing our first estimate be taken as the basis of calculation, and that the party proceeded on the east side of the Missouri, they would have met the Sioux at some point not far from opposite to the upper or northerly end of the Little Bend a few miles southerly from what is now Fairbank, Sully County, So. Dak. If in fact Verendrye was traveling on the west side of the Missouri, he would have met these Sioux somewhere in the near vicinity of the Little Bend, or, say, at the mouth of the Cheyenne River, or a little beyond. We have supposed it not improbable that the Horse Indians of Verendrye's journal were Cheyenne Indians—a tribe of the Algonkins,—but in so doing have relied upon a tradition that they crossed the Missouri at or just below the mouth of the Cannon Ball River—some 125 miles above the mouth of the Cheyenne; and we believe that in Verendrye's time the Aricaras were entrenched on the Missouri as far as the mouth of Grand River—some 75 miles above the mouth of the Cheyenne, and if so, the Sioux were probably barred from crossing the Missouri anywhere southward of the Grand River, to make a lodgment there. Again: The fact that these Sioux were "very friendly" indicates that they must have been on good terms with the Little Cherries, of whose band the guides were members. It is difficult to believe that, if in fact the entire country west of the Missouri, through which Verendrye traveled after he met the Horse Indians, was in the possession of Indians of the Caddoan origin—Aricaras and Pawnees—these Sioux could have been found west of the river and still have been on good terms with the Aricaras; but if found on

the east side, they may have come into that immediate region so recently as not yet to have been engaged in wars with the Aricaras for dominion of the country on and west of the Missouri.

A still further indication that they were traveling on the east side of the Missouri is found in the journal, which follows:

"The next day we continued our march, always north-north-east and north-west until we came to the Mandans, without meeting anyone. There we arrived the 18th of May. I dismissed our guides after having rewarded them well."

Verendrye's mention of a north-north-east direction first, and then of a north-west course, shows with greater certainty that they were on the east side of the Misouri, since, in order to proceed from Fort Pierre to a point on the Missouri near the mouth of the Little Cheyenne—some thirty miles above the Little Bend,—the course would have been a little east of due north, while above that point the general course to the Mandans would be west of north. While, had they been on the west side of the Missouri, the first part of the journey would have been west of due north, thence nearly due north.

We have assumed that the destination—"the Mandans"—here referred to by Verendrye, was the same place mentioned in his journal at the outset of his expedition from the Missouri westward, and that these villages were located at Mandan, North Dakota. But if we are in error, and they in fact reached the Missouri near the mouth of Knife River—some 60 or 65 miles farther up the Misouri—on their westward course and upon their return from where they planted the tablet, then their daily march from the Little Cherry "fort" to the Mandans would average about seven and one-half miles.

Return From Mandan Villages to Fort La Reine.

The next journal entry after Verendrye records his return to the Mandans is:

"It was necessary for us to settle down fifteen or twenty days to rest ourselves and to put our horses in good condition, but on the 26 (May) I learned that there were some Assini-

boines at Fort La Butte, who desired to set out for Fort la Reine. We got ourselves ready promptly to profit by the occasion and to place ourselves through them under cover from dangers from the enemy. We came to Fort la Butte the morning of the 27th. The Assiniboines had just left. We had not informed them that we wished to go with them. Two Mandans presented themselves to go to see my father and to learn the route to Fort la Reine. We had gone but a little of the march when we joined the Assiniboines at their encampment. There were more than one hundred of them. We continued our journey all together.

This "Fort la Butte" was doubtless one of the Mandan strongholds situated near and east of the Missouri River, but separated by some miles from the general group. It certainly could not have been far enough from the Missouri to have been located on any part of the Coteaus du Missouri—a range of hills stretching from westward of the loup of the Mouse River southeastwardly and substantially parallel with and some forty to fifty miles from the Missouri River. It is believed to have been located by some prominent and isolated hill outside of the bluff-line of the Missouri, and not more than five to ten miles from the Mandan village group, since Verendrye reached it in a day or a day and one-half after starting out for Fort la Reine. The journal proceeds:

"The 31st (May) our scouts saw thirty Indians ambushed on our road. We advanced all together. They were very much surprised at seeing so many people and retired in good order, turning about from time to time against those who approached them a little too fast. They well knew with whom they had to deal, knowing the Assiniboines for their cowardice. As soon as they perceived us all mounted on our horses, and that we were Frenchmen, they escaped with great haste, not even looking behind them. We had no one killed but many wounded. We did not know how many people they lost except one who suddenly found himself in our midst. We returned from the village near the mountains the 2nd of June."

We estimate that they had traveled the equivalent of six days from the Mandan villages, or about five days after leaving

Fort la Butte, when they were returning from the "village near the mountains." And, as will be seen, they journeyed for thirteen days after June 20th before reaching Fort la Reine on July 2nd; or a total of about nineteen days of travel, on the return trip from the Mandans to Fort la Reine. This route we estimated in the outset—when dealing with the west-bound journey—as covering 325 to 350 miles. On the basis of 325 miles, this return trip would have been made at an average daily travel of about seventeen miles per day,—a little faster than as estimated on the out-bound trip.

Four days' travel then, from "Fort la Butte" brought Verendrye and the Assiniboines into the neighborhood of this "village near the mountains." What "mountains" were these?

It is believed that none other than one of the buttes in the Coteaus du Missouri range is here referred to by Verendrye. It may have been near the butte of history known as Dogden Butte (Maisen du Chein), in that range, and which was a prominent stopping place or "mission" on the early overland route from the Mandan country to the Assiniboine River. This "mountain" seems to have been somewhat out of the line of the thoroughfare in general over which Verendrye's party was traveling, since they were "returning" from it, apparently to resume their journey. It is believed that substantially the same route was taken by Verendrye in returning to Fort la Reine as was pursued on the out-bound trip to the Missouri River.

As to the Indian village near this mountain, it was evidently one of the Assiniboine camps, since Verendrye refers to it as incidental to his journey with those Indians. And their enemy, the "ambushed" force was doubtless composed of Sioux, the common enemy of the Assiniboines who were invading their country from eastward in that region, as we have seen. It also seems necessary to imply, from Verendrye's somewhat uncertain statement concerning the relations of the party to this mountain "village," that the engagement with the ambushed Indians involved, or resulted in a march to this village of friendly Indians. That after visiting that village, the party were back on the main trail on June 2nd, (1743).

The journal of the 1742-3 expedition ends with the following entry:

"As our horses were fatigued we rested until the 20th, before marching with the village. We took a guide to lead us to Fort la Reine where we arrived the 2nd of July to the great joy of my father, who was very anxious concerning us, it not having been possible to give him news of us since our departure, and to our great satisfaction at seeing ourselves safely through all pain, perils, and dangers."

This reference to again "marching with the village" of the Assiniboines may, when taken in connection with the above allusion to the village "near the mountains," may warrant the conclusison that the whole party, when in collision with the "ambushed" Indians, marched to and encamped near the mountain in question, and thus constituted a camp otherwise designated the "village," which was substantially the same "village" with whom Verendrye resumed the march on June 20th, after they had all returned from near the mountain. Again, it may be that Verendrye had become somewhat confused as to where his party actually were encamped on the 20th, since it seems to have become necessary to have a new guide thence to Fort la Reine. Much must be left to conjecture on these heads, in view of the brevity of the journal.

It cannot be doubted that the elder Verendrye experienced extreme pleasure and a corresponding relief from the stress of long concern for the fate of his sons and their expedition in question, when the Chevalier and Louis-Joseph put in an appearance at Fort la Reine on July 2nd, after over fourteen months' absence during which no tidings whatever had come to him concerning the discoverers' progress. No doubt he fell into deep contemplation as to where on the Missouri's banks the tablet marking the return from the west had been buried. But it is believed that deepest of all was his interest in where was that "Snakes" mountain from which the expedition turned back toward the Missouri, and which marked the westward destination of this, the last great tour of discovery and exploration made by that famous family.

The journal of the Chevalier de la Verendrye, which has

been the basis of the foregoing account of the expedition of 1742-3, was written in 1744, and was the subject of a communication from Governor Beauharnois to the Minister of the Marine, reference to which is made by Parkman, as we shall see, and further mention of which will be made by the writer hereof before closing this paper.

Closing Events in the Lives of the Verendryes.

While the activities of the elder Verendrye and of his three surviving sons, along the line of further promotion of their exploratory labors in the West, did not cease after the return of the Chevalier and Louis-Joseph from the trans-Missouri trip, we shall find that, owing to the accumulating misfortunes of adverse circumstances arising from the rapaciousness and the disfavor of Canadian officials now appearing on the scene, and from the envies and jealousies of fellow-countrymen who still strove to destroy the fame and fortunes of these intrepid explorers and foundation-builders, they were henceforth shorn of even the opportunity of continuing the work so dear to their hearts and so vital to the promotion of the interests and sovereignty of France in Western Canada.

We know of no more adequate means of laying before the reader the salient facts concerning the closing years of the Verendryes, than to again quote from the striking outline given by Parkman upon this phase of the general subject:

"The fur-trading privilege which was to have been their compensation had proved their ruin. They were still pursued without ceasing by the jealousy of rival traders and the ire of disappointed partners. 'Here in Canada more than anywhere else,' the Chevalier wrote, some years after his return, 'envy is the passion **a la mode,** and there is no escaping it.' It was the story of La Salle repeated. Beauharnois, however, still stood by them, encouraged and defended them, and wrote in their favor to the colonial minister. It was doubtless through his efforts that the elder La Verendrye was at last promoted to a captaincy in the colonial troops. Beauharnois was succeeded in the government by the sagacious and able Galissoniere, and he too befriended the explorers. 'It seems to me,' he wrote to the minister, 'that what you have told touching the Sieur de la Verendrye, to the effect that he has

been more busy with his own interests than in making discoveries, is totally false, and, moreover, that any officers employed in such work will always be compelled to give some of their attention to trade, so long as the King allows them no other means of subsistence. These discoveries are very costly, and more fatiguing and dangerous than open war.' Two years later, the elder La Verendrye received the cross of the Order of St. Louis,—an honor much prized in Canada, but which he did not long enjoy; for he died at Montreal in the following December, when on the point of again setting out for the West."

That historian continues: "His intrepid sons survived, and they were not idle. One of them, the Chevalier, had before discovered the river Saskatchewan, and ascended it as far as the forks. His intention was to follow it to the mountains, build a fort there, and thence push westward in another search for the Pacific; but a disastrous event ruined all his hopes. La Galissoniere returned to France, and the Marquis de la Jonquiere succeeded him, with the notorious Francois Bigot as Intendent. Both were greedy of money,—the one to hoard, and the other to dissipate it. Clearly there was money to be got from the fur-trade of Manitoba, for La Verendrye had made every preparation and incurred every expense. It seemed that nothing remained but to reap where he had sown. His commission to find the Pacific, with the privileges connected with it, was refused to his sons, and conferred on a stranger. La Jonquiere wrote to the minister: 'I have charged M. de Saint-Pierre with this business. He knows these countries better than any officier in all the colony.' On the contrary, he had never seen them. It is difficult not to believe that La Jonquiere, Bigot, and Saint-Pierre were partners in a speculation of which all three were to share the profits.

"The elder La Verendrye, not long before his death, had sent a large quantity of goods to his trading-forts. The brothers begged leave to return thither and save their property from destruction. They declared themselves happy to serve under the orders of Saint-Pierre and asked for the use of only a single fort of all those which their father had built at his own

cost. The answer was a flat refusal. In short, they were shamefully robbed. The Chevalier writes: 'M. le Marquis de la Jonquiere, being pushed hard, and as I thought even touched, by my representations, told me at last that M. de Saint-Pierre wanted nothing to do with me or my brothers.' 'I am a ruined man,' he continues. 'I am more than two thousand livres in debt, and am still only a second ensign. My elder brother's grade is no better than mine. My younger brother is only a cadet. This is the fruit of all that my father, my brothers, and I have done. My other brother, whom the Sioux murdered some years ago, was not the most unfortunate among us. We must lose all that has cost us so much, unless M. de Saint-Pierre should take juster views, and prevail on the Marquis de la Jonquiere to share them. To be thus shut out from the West is to be most cruelly robbed of a sort of inheritance which we had all the pains of acquiring, and of which others will get all the profit.' ''

Parkman quotes further from the complaints of the elder brother, Pierre de la Verendrye:

'' 'We spent our youth and our property in building up establishments so advantageous to Canada; and after all, we were doomed to see a stranger gather the fruit we had taken such pains to plant.' And he complains that their goods left in the trading-posts were wasted, their provisions consumed, and the men in their pay used to do the work of others.

''They got no redress. Saint-Pierre, backed by the Governor and the Intendent, remained master of the position. The brothers sold a small piece of land, their last remaining property, to appease their most pressing creditors.''

To further reveal the fruitless attempts of the successors of La Verendrye and his sons in extending the fur-trade and in preserving what had already been accomplished by them in the western trading-posts, and the folly of these rapacious speculators whose incompetency for the tasks at hand they themselves little dreamed of, let Parkman again speak:

''Saint-Pierre set out for Manitoba on the 5th of June, 1750. Though he had lived more or less in the woods for thirty-six years, and though La Jonquiere had told the minister that he knew the countries to which he was bound better

than anybody else, it is clear from his own journal that he was now visiting them for the first time. They did not please him. 'I was told,' he says, 'that the way would grow harder and more dangerous as we advanced, and I found, in fact, that one must risk life and property every moment.' Finding himself and his men likely to starve, he sent some of them, under an ensign named Niverville, to the Saskatchewan. They could not reach it, and nearly perished on the way. 'I myself was no more fortunate,' says Saint-Pierre. 'Food was so scarce that I sent some of my people into the woods among the Indians,—which did not save me from a fast so rigorous that it deranged my health and put it out of my power to do anything towards accomplishing my mission. Even if I had strength enough, the war that broke out among the Indians would have made it impossible to proceed.'

"Niverville, after a winter of misery, tried to fulfill an order which he had received from his commander. When the Indians guided the two brothers La Verendrye to the Rocky Mountains, the course they took tended so far southward that the Chevalier greatly feared it might lead to Spanish settlements; and he gave it as his opinion that the next attempt to find the Pacific should be made farther towards the north. Saint-Pierre had agreed with him, and had directed Niverville to build a fort on the Saskatchewan, three hundred leagues above its mouth. Therefore, at the end of May, 1751, Niverville sent ten men in two canoes on this errand, and they ascended the Saskatchawan to what Saint-Pierre calls the 'Rock Mountain.' Here they built a small stockade fort and called it Fort La Jonquiere. Niverville was to have followed them; but he fell ill, and lay helpless at the mouth of the river in such a condition that he could not even write to his commander.

The above reference to the Chevalier de La Verendrye's views as to the advisability of making a more northerly tour in quest of the Pacific, and to the fact that Saint-Pierre had agreed with him upon this head, proves the convictions of the Chevalier and of his family co-explorers, that the real "Western Sea" could not be found save by steering substantially due westward, and perhaps also raises a probability of his belief

that the ocean was really nearer at hand at some point further north than a coastline that would have been reached by going westward from the Mandan country.

To resume Parkman's account of the Saint-Pierre venture:

'Saint-Pierre set out in person from Fort la Jonquiere, over ice and snow, for it was late in November. Two Frenchmen from Niverville met him on the way, and reported that the Assiniboines had slaughtered an entire band of friendly Indians on whom Saint-Pierre had relied to guide him. On hearing this he gave up the enterprise, and returned to Fort la Reine. Here the Indians told him idle stories about white men and a fort in some remote place towards the west; but, he observes, 'nobody could reach it without encountering an infinity of tribes more savage than it is possible to imagine.'

"He spent most of the winter at Fort la Reine. Here, towards the end of February, 1752, he had with him only five men, having sent out the rest in search of food. Suddenly, as he sat in his chamber, he saw the fort full of armed Assiniboins, extremely noisy and insolent. He tried in vain to quiet them, and they presently broke into the guard-house and seized the arms. A massacre would have followed, had not Saint-Pierre, who was far from wanting courage, resorted to an expedient which has more than once proved effective on such occasions. He knocked out the heads of two barrels of gunpowder, snatched a firebrand, and told the yelping crowd that he would blow up them and himself together. At this they all rushed in fright out of the gate, while Saint-Pierre ran after them, and bolted it fast. There was great anxiety for the hunters, but they all came back in the evening, without having met the enemy. The men, however, were so terrified by the adventure that Saint-Pierre was compelled to abandon the fort, after recommending it to the care of another band of Assiniboins, who had professed great friendship. Four days after he was gone they burned it to the ground.

"He soon came to the conclusion that further discovery was impossible, because the English of Hudson Bay had stirred up the Western tribes to oppose it. Therefore he set out

for the settlements, and, reaching Quebec in the autumn of 1753, placed the journal of his futile enterprise in the hands of Duquesne, the new governor.

"Canada was approaching her last agony. In the death-struggle of the Seven Year's War there was not time for schemes of Western discovery. The brothers La Verendrye sank into poverty and neglect. A little before the war broke out, we find the eldest at the obscure Acadian post of Beausejour, where he wrote to the colonial minister a statement of his services, which appears to have received no attention. After the fall of Canada, the Chevalier de la Verendrye, he whose eyes first beheld the snowy peaks of the Rocky Mountains, perished in the wreck of the ship 'Auguste,' on the coast of Cape Breton, in November, 1761."

Nothing could more completely disprove the comparative incompetency of these successors of the Verendryes, and at the same time show the relative competency and pre-eminence of the latter as explorers and pioneers in the Canadian wilds, than the foregoing simple yet graphic account by Parkman. Circumstances before which Saint-Pierre and Niverville quailed and retreated had for decades been faced and overcome by their said predecessors. One can imagine with what chagrin and humiliation Saint-Pierre, after tasting of the terrors of such experiences, contemplated the superior hardihood and genius of La Verendrye who, in addition to more than all that the former had encountered, was obliged to struggle against the machinations of enemies at the seat of the colonial government, but who, under the staggering burden of it all, had triumphed in every exploratory and moral sense.

In his letter of October 27th, 1744, to the Minister of Marine, Governor Beauharnois, in therein reporting the memoir of the Chevalier covering his expedition of 1742-3, refers to the expedition as "the occasion of the voyage which he has made to the Mandans, in order to follow up the discovery of the sea of the west, following orders and instructions the Sieur de La Verendrye had given him and of which I had the honor to render a complete account to you last year. Although he may not as yet have reached the goal which he himself proposed, it appears to me, My Lord, that he had neglected no-

thing of the diligence which ought to have taken him there, and he dares to flatter himself that you will be willing to judge likewise, if you will have the goodness to attach some consideration to the opposition which he has surmounted, it may be perhaps in bringing about friendship with the nations to whom no one has as yet penetrated; it may be necessary to success even, to serve them, in order to obtain from them the aid and knowledge which are necessary for this enterprise. This officer, My Lord, has appeared in the extreme mortification of this, that they have tried to give to the purity of his sentiments for the success of this enterprise a character opposite to the views which he holds. I do not take the liberty of entering into the details of the reasons which may serve to justify his conduct. But I am not able to refuse him the witnesses which appear to me to be due him, that he has, in this enterprise, worked only for the advantage of the colony through the number of establishments which he has made in the places where no one had before penetrated, which produce to-day a great quantity of beaver and hides, from which the English had profited, without occasioning any expense to His Majesty for these establishments; that the idea, that he has done these things to amass wealth in these places, falls of its own accord through the poverty in which he is, being able to assure you, My Lord, without any kindness nor partiality for him, that twelve years which he has spent in these posts have not netted him more than 4,000 livres, which is all that he has and which perhaps may remain to him after he has paid his debts which he has contracted for this enterprise, and finally, My Lord, these things in the condition in which he has placed them, appear to me always entirely worthy of your kindness toward him."

After thus vouching not only for the utmost good faith of the elder Verendrye in carrying out the purposes for whose promotion he had been commissioned, but for having executed the trust in every substantial sense, Beauharnois, in closing this communication to his superior officer, enters the following plea for Sieur de La Verendrye's military promotion:

"There is also the hope, which I have, that you will be

willing to accord what I beg of you, My Lord, to give him reasonable recognition and to procure his advancement on the first occasion, along with his seniority over those who have been preferred in the vacant companies this year. I known no reason through which he had merited this mortification, which he has of not being promoted, and I dare even to attribute to forgetfulness, My Lord, what you have done to the proposition which I made to you concerning Sieur de La Verendrye, as the oldest of the lieutenants and the subject which appears to me to be the mosty worthy of the graces of the King. In fact, My Lord, six years of services in France, thirty-two in this colony, without reproach, at least I am not able to give him any, and nine wounds on the body, were the motives which have not been able to cause me to fluctuate from proposing him to you to fill one of the vacant companies, and if I have had reason to flatter myself, my Lord, that you are persuaded that I place on my lists only officers capable of service, and who merit your graces, it is particularly in regard to the notice that you will be willing to take in favor of Sieur La Verendrye."

At the outset of Beauharnois' said letter, he refers to the journal in question as that "which the sons of La Verendreye" had addressed to him. This makes it clear that he understood that at least two of the sons had accompanied that expedition, while yet his further reference to the voyage "he" has made pursuant to instructions given by the father to "him," indicates that he understood that the Chevalier, in his address of the journal, was speaking for himself and a brother accompanying him. The record containing this journal refers thereto as being "the Memoir of one of the sons of La Verendrye, returned from the vicinity of the Rocky Mountains."

This letter also illustrates the common view of the people and colonial officials of Verendrye's time, that his expeditions had themselves become known as exploits into the "Sea of the West," in the popular sense of a region universally regarded as bordering upon a western ocean. There are many similar references to the indefinite region thus connected with those memorable discoveries, found in the re-

cords and in popular history, which confirm the idea of those realms as identified with that "Western Sea" that had for so long been the quest of hardiest pioneer and the dreamer of empire under French dominion.

Under date of the 31st October, 1744—four days after Beauharnois had transmitted to the Minister of Marine the Chevalier Verendrye's journal of the trans-Missouri trip of discovery—the elder Verendrye pens a communication to the same officer, denominated in the records as "the statement of his efforts of thirteen years for the discovery of the sea of the west." It is signed "Varennes de La Verendrye."

In this document the Sieur de La Verendrye lays before the minister the burden of disappointment that is upon his heart,—the result of the detractions of his enemies and rivals, the indifferences of government—even the rebuff of the appointing power, whose failure to give him promotion so richly merited by his great services for colony and mother country seemed to him the climax of ingratitude. He proceeds:

"The unfavorable discourse, as well as that which jealousy has been able to introduce through writing to Your Highness, concerning the enterprise which I have followed since 1731 for the success of the discovery of the sea of the west and of which I have been informed, renders the zeal, with which I have always been animated for the service and particularly for this discovery, especially more sensitive to the ridicule which has been given me, attacking not the least the purity of the motives which alone make up the object of my enterprise, towards which all my ambitions are devotedly directed. Besides, My Lord, I can attribute to the slanders only, which have been told and written to you on my account, the mortification which I received to-day, of not having had part in the promotions of this year, although I am the senior officer, and services should be able to arouse, on this occasion, the justice and the graciousness of Your Highness. I feel, My Lord, all the concern I have had in justifying myself in your eyes and I am able to give you no greater proof than the liberty, which I take to beg you to accept the short memoir which I have the honor to attach herewith, which outlines the conduct which I have observed since 1731 in order

to be able to succeed in this discovery, the accidents from which I was not able to guarantee myself, and the opposition which it has not been possible for me to surmount in hastening towards the greatest satisfaction. If I dare to flatter myself, My Lord, that you will be willing to be persuaded of the sincerity and truth which is the foundation of this memoir, as regards the wealth, which some have written to Your Highness that I have procured in the different posts where I was established, that is easily destroyed by the situation in which I find myself, which furnishes little means to satisfy my loans, which I was obliged to make for this enterprise. This moreover, My Lord, is an object which at all times has been the least of my desires, and although I may be poorer than I was before this discovery, I will consider myself entirely repaid if the cares and the attentions which I have brought here should be able to merit for me the graciousness of Your Highness, and dare to hope, if it is necessary to add to them, nine wounds which I have on my body, thirty-nine years of service both in France and in this colony, and pains and fatigues, which I have borne for thirteen years, for the success of the establishments which I have made in those places, where none had before penetrated, which will always make up a considerable increase in the commerce of the colony, and even if I have not succeeded entirely in finding the sea of the west and for which I have never occasioned any expense to His Majesty."

The "short memoir" referred to by Verendrye as having been attached to this communication, is not at hand; but it —or perhaps a copy of it—was not improbably before Beauharnois when he wrote down the plea already quoted, in connection with his dispatch to the Minister of the Marine of the Chevalier's journal. Doubtless its substance is embodied in the two communications.

The joint effect of these representations, thus laid before the minister, was, as we have seen from Parkman's account, the conferring upon Sieur de La Verendrye of the cross of the Order of Saint Louis, but at a date so near his death while about to return west for still another descent into

the unknown wilds of the Saskatchewan, as to have been almost coincidental therewith.

In connection with the closing scenes of Pierre Gaultier de la Verendrye's career, recurrence will be had to his "memoir" to the Minister of the Marine, in which he recounts, in somewhat summary form, the principal events of his life from and including his entering the troops "as soldier cadet" in 1727, up to and including his services in Lower Canada in 1747, immediately preceding his being "detailed to go and attend to the posts in the West."

Passing over his references to his experiences from 1731 to the period when, in 1743, he went north from Fort la Reine after returning from his trip of 1741 to the Mandans, and built Fort Dauphin—all of which has been heretofore recounted,—we find him recording:

"When all was peaceful" (at Fort Dauphin, to which point he had invited the Indians, so as to "detract them from going to the English") "he returned to Fort la Reine, where he passed the year and returned to Montreal in 1745.

"In 1745, from Quebec he was detailed by M. de Beauharnois to go to war, under orders from M. de Saint-Pierre at Sarastaw. On his return he was ordered to go to pass the winter on the English frontier under orders from the same commander.

"In 1746, the 5th of May, he was detailed to go to Acadia, serving under M. de Saint-Pierre, where, immediately after the arrival of M. de Ramezay, serving under M. de Montesson, he was in a battle which was fought at Port la Joye on the Island of Saint-John with the savages. After being returned to Acadia, he received orders from M. de Beauharnois to return overland with the Hurons in Canada.

"In 1747, he was detailed, serving under le Chevalier de La Corne and de Saint-Pierre, to intercept the way of the Ainez who were coming to take prisoners near Montreal, and he found himself at the encounter, which took place there, and immediately after was detailed to go and attend to the posts in the West."

Thus we find that Pierre Gaultier Verendrye, after returning from the west in 1745, served in two campaigns

between the French and the Indians, one in Lower Canada, the other on St. John's Island, before again proceeding westward; serving in each case under redoubtable commanders.

We have already presented, through Parkman's account, some mention of Saint-Pierre. Jacques Legardeur, de St. Pierre, was born in Canada in 1698. He distinguished himself in the wars with the Iroquois, and in the early French and Indian wars. He explored the Saskatchewan, and later was in command at Fort le Beuef, on the Ohio, and was distinguished in having received General Washington when he carried Dinwiddie's orders to the French troops to withdraw from British soil. He died near Lake George, New York, in 1755.

Louis de La Corne, Sieur de Chapt et Terrebone, born in 1696, died in 1762. He married Elisabeth de Ramezay, a relative—perhaps a sister—of the military officer above mentioned.

Pierre Verendrye's memoir continues: "He received the aigulette before setting out (for the west) as an evidence of the satisfaction which M. le Beauharnois had for his services. While at Missilimakinak, he was stopped by M. de Noyelles, who was commander there then, on account of the trouble and separation between the nations. But at the end of some time, he took upon himself to go with immense misery to the posts, where he found almost no savages, but he did his best and succeeded in causing the savages to return from the English, but having given them the word of their Father, M. de Beauharnois, he gave them a great present at his own expense. They returned peacable and well disposed. He left with them his next younger brother and returned to Missilimakinak, where he received, with the orders of M. de la Galissoniere, an expected second ensignship. He set out to return to Fort la Reine, which he found nearly fallen into ruins, which he re-established and placed in good condition, as well as Fort Maurepas, which had been burnt by the savages, which was not done without a good deal of hardship, and through which he found himself very much handicapped in commerce, his merchandise having been nearly all used up in these repairs.

"From there he returned to Missilimakinak, where he received the news of the death of his father, which caused him, as it also did his brothers, great grief at seeing themselves replaced and at the loss of their father just at the time when they were disposed to follow up their discovery."

While this memoir makes no mention of dates covering the journey from Montreal to the far western posts, Pierre's sojourn there among the posts, and his return to Mackinaw, it is believed that he went west in the fall of 1747, or early in the spring of 1748; since it is understood that he and Francois, the Chevalier, established Forts Bourbon and Poskoyac, on the Saskatchewan, one or both, in 1748, or if not, then one of those posts was established in 1748, the other in 1749. Why some mention of the building of these posts is not found in this memoir is not plain to the writer hereof; since it is clear therefrom that the document covers the entire period of this last experience in the west down to a date subsequent to the death of his father, who died in Montreal on the 6th of December, 1749, information of whose decease could not well have reached Mackinaw before late in the winter of 1749-50.

This much at least, appears from this memoir; That Pierre—and probably either Francois or Louis-Joseph—visited Forts Saint Pierre and Saint Charles west of Lake Superior; made most energetic and successful efforts to bring the Indian trade—which had doubtless been drifting away from the French to the English influence in the intervening years—back into the hands of the French; returned to the Straits and, after receiving his second ensignship, again proceeded west, re-established Forts la Reine and Maurepas, and again returned to Mackinaw; Francois having been left in charge of the posts on Rainy Lake and Lake of the Woods. We have seen, from Parkman's account, that Fort le Reine was burnt by the Assiniboines after Saint-Pierre returned to Montreal; and the inference is, either that its destruction was not complete, or if otherwise, that it had been partially re-established before Pierre fully restored it as narrated in this memoir. And the chapter of the great destruction accomplished by the Indians in the region of and west of the

Red River is completed by Pierre's reference to the burning of Fort Maurepas. How this memoir of the rehabilitation of these posts and of the fur-trading incidental thereto contrasts with the lamentable record of Saint-Pierre and Niverville! And at what sacrifice of energy and funds was it accomplished! And it was all done as a preliminary to what was planned by the entire Verendrye family as their final and utmost effort, made under most inauspicious circumstances of financial straits and of attempted frustrations of conspiring enemies, to plunge still farther into the ultimate regions yet unexplored, there to set up new trading establishments as crowning landmarks of their life-work as discoverers and explorers. In the midst of this struggle, and at the moment when inspiration and resolve were about to merge in action, the leading spirit of this devoted group is disenthralled from its earthly envelope and passes to the Great Beyond. And we behold as it were the vultures of rapacity soaring over the scene, attracted thence by the instruments of prosperity in Indian trade created by the genius of the departed! Listen to the wail of the eldest surviving son, as he closes this memoir with his indictment of fate and of the ingratitude of fellow-men:

After recounting the loss of their parent, Pierre goes on:

"Not only had they suffered considerable loss over the establishments in the West, but again some one had cut off from them the satisfaction of a good which they had regarded as the fruit of their labors, having passed their youth, spent their wealth, sold even themselves, which they had done in Canada, in order to supply what was needed in order to perfect an establihsment so favorable to Canada.

"After paying all these expenses, they had the pain of seeing a stranger reap the fruit which they had had the trouble to plant, their credit lost, their merchandise which was left in the posts given away without any hope of return of any profit, their food eaten by disinterested parties, and yet they made use of their own employees whom it was necessary for them to pay. All this will bring up the true idea of the loss of a father, the loss of their wealth, without advancement, without fortune, a great many debts and with-

out hope of seeing the day when the debts would be satisfied. The honor of your protection, My Lord, for an officer such as I, would be sufficient to inform His Majesty of the truth which is offered you, to procure the advancement of one who has the greatest need of it, and a compensation for all the losses would be capable of exciting more and more the zeal which has always guided him, having no greater desire than to fulfill his duties and the attachment which he has for the service of His Majesty. He will not cease to offer his heart to Heaven for your safety."

The memoir is signed: "Laverendry, the eldest."

Still later, and under date of September 30th, 1750, the Chevalier de La Verendrye addresses a letter to the Minister of the Marine, which is in the same strain as the concluding portions of the memoir of Pierre, whose contents we have just dealt with. The caption in the record is: "Unfortunate situation of the three sons of M. de La Verendrye after his death. Misbehaviour of M. de Saint Pierre in their regard."

The opening sentence of this letter declares there is no other resource than "to throw myself at the feet of Your Highness and to importune you through a recital of my misfortunes." He continues:

"I am called La Verendrye. My late father is known here and in France as the Discoverer of the sea of the West, to which he sacrificed more than fifteen of the last years of his life. He marched, and caused us to march, my brothers and I, with the one idea of reaching the goal, which he might have done if he had been aided more and had not been crossed at every turn through envy. Envy is here more than elsewhere a fashionable passion, against which it is not possible to guarantee oneself. While my father and I were overburdening ourselves with fatigue and expenses, our steps were represented only as being turned toward the discovery of beaver; our necessary expenses were only dissipations, and our narratives were only lies. The envy of this country is not a demi-envy. One of its principles of advancement is to talk evil, in the hope that, even if half of the lies found favor, there would be sufficient to injure, and effectively. My father, while doing his duty, has had the misfortune to

return and cause us to return more than once in arrears, without aid and protection. He even sometimes received the reproaches of the Court, more occupied with marching than with telling about his trip, when he might have made a more just account. He had no idea of promotions and had no zeal for his own enterprises, persuaded that sooner or later his work would not be without success nor without reward."

The Chevalier then refers to the waning prospects of the trading-posts which his father had established, when they had come under other management, and to the encouragement given his father by Galissoniere later on:

"He saw pass into the hand of another the posts already established and his own work. While he was thus stopped in his course, the great quantity of beaver attracted the attention of the other one, as they had himself; but the posts, far from multiplying, disappeared, and there was no progress made in the discovery. It is this which grieved him the most. M. de La Galissoniere arrived in the country about this time, and in spite of all that was told him of good or bad, he judged that a man who had advanced such discoveries at his own cost and his own expense, and although he had heard nothing from the King, and who was in heavy debt for the good establishments, merited another trial. More and more beaver in the colony, and to the profit of the Company of India, four or five posts well established in the far country, besides forts just as good which they were pushing into the country farther on, the number of savages received as subjects of the King, and of which some, in the company which I commanded, set the example to our peaceable savages to strike against the other savages who were allied to the English, these appeared to be worthy services. Independent of the project commenced of the discovery, and of which the success could not have been more prompt and more efficacious than by remaining in the same hands. It is thus that the M. le Marquis de La Galissoniere has had the goodness to explain his actions, and without doubt it has been explained thus to the Court, since my father, the following year, which was last year, found himself honored with the Cross of St.

Louis and invited to continue the work commenced with his children."

The Chevalier then speaks of his father's last noble effort to succeed in one more trip to the west:

"He was anxious to set out with his whole heart. He was sparing nothing to succeed. He had already bought and prepared all the merchandise for the trading. He had inspired me and my brothers with his ardour, when his death took him from us the 6th of last December."

He follows by showing how, as aspirant for successorship to his father, he was frowned down by La Jonquiere, who favored Saint-Pierre; and of the actions of the latter toward him, which seem to have savored of a certain duplicity and want of good faith:

"Although my grief was then very great, I was not able to imagine nor foresee all that I had lost in losing my father. Succeeding to his engagements and to his charges, I had dared to hope for the succession of the same advantages. I had the honor to write immediately to M. le Marquis de la Jonquiere, informing him that I had recovered from an indisposition which had come to me suddenly and which might serve as a pretext to some one to supplant me. He replied to me that he had made choice of M. de Saint Pierre to go to the Sea of the West. I set out immediately from Montreal, where I was, to go to Quebec. I represented the situation in which my father had left me, that there was more than one post in the Sea of the West; that my brother and I would be pleased to be under orders from M. de Saint Pierre; that we would be contented, if he were willing, with only a single post, and with the most distant post, that for ourselves we would ask only to go in advance; that in pushing the discoveries we would be able to get back part of the purchases of my late father and that which yet remained in the posts; that at least we would have the consolation of making the greatest efforts in order to change the views of the Court. M. de la Jonquiere, impressed and even touched, it appeared to me, by my representations, told me finally that M. de Saint Pierre wished neither me nor my brothers. I asked him what would become of my goods.

M. de Saint Pierre had spoken. There was nothing to get. I returned to Montreal with this consoling solution."

But, even under these extremely discouraging circumstances, the Chevalier was far from daunted. The spirit that had down to his end possessed the father, shown forth resplendent through the clouds of embarrassment and of chagrin, from the son:

"I sold a little land, the only property handed down from my late father, of which the last had served to satisfy the most pressing of the creditors. Meanwhile the season was advancing. I was anxious to go as a civilian to the rendezvous appointed with my employees, in order to save their lives and to see about their return subject, without this protection, to robbery and abandonment. I have obtained this permission without much trouble, in spite of M. de Saint Pierre, and only with the conditions and restrictions made for the last of the voyages. Scarcely had M. de Saint Pierre seen me set out than he complained that my departure had caused him a loss of more than ten thousand francs, and he accused me, without any ceremony, of having loaded my canoe in spite of the permission he had accorded me. The accusation was examined. They sent out in pursuit of my canoe, and if they had overtaken it from that time, M. de Saint Pierre would have been the sooner satisfied. He overtook me at Missilimakinac, and if I had believed him, he was wrong to have acted thus. He had been very much offended at not having with him either me or my brothers. He witnesses this with many regrets to me and paid me many compliments. However that may be, such was his conduct. It is difficult to find there good faith and humanity. M. de Saint Pierre was allowed to take all he has taken to assure his own interests of the advantages which will come, and to take a relative with him, without excluding us entirely. M. de Saint Pierre is an officer of merit, and I have nothing to complain of his being found opposed to me; but, with all the good ideas which we had been able to give to him on different occasions, he can hardly prove that in this matter he has had in view the good of the enterprise, that in this matter he has conformed to the intentions of the Court and has re-

spected the kindness with which M. de La Galissoniere honored us. It may be though that in order to do us such a wrong he had prejudiced us in the eyes of M. de marquis de La Jonquiere, though himself always kindly disposed towards us."

Certain of the contents of this letter were referred to in our quotations from Parkman's account; but we have deemed it of importance, in bringing to an end our review of the lifework of the Verendryes, to embody the whole of this, the last of the long array of journals, memoirs, and communications of that family to the Court of the French Colonial Government, in this paper. And now we come to its end, which seems not less than impressively pathetic:

"I am ruined for all that. My returns of this year, received in half and at the end of a thousand inconveniences, has brought about my ruin.

"Accounts fixed, those of my father as well as mine, I find myself more than twenty thousand livres in debt, I am without foundation or patrimony. I am simply a second ensign. My elder brother has only the same grade as myelf, and my younger brother is only a cadet with aiguilettes. This is the fruit of all that my father and my brothers and I have done. The one of my brothers who was assassinated by the Sioux some year ago was not the most unfortunate. His blood has not won for us any honor; the labours of my father and ours have become useless. It is necessary to abandon that which has cost us so much, unless M. de Saint Pierre does not take back his better sentiments, and does not communicate them to M. le marquis de Jonquiere. Certainly we have not been nor never would be useless to M. de Saint Pierre.

"I have hidden nothing from him that I believe would be of service to him, but however clever he may be, and I give him the best wishes, I dare to say that he is liable to take many false steps and to waste many a day by excluding us from his party. It is a difference from being always lost, and it seems to us that we will be actually certain of the right road to reach the goal, if it can be done. Our greatest

grief is to find ourselves snatched from a work which we provided ourselves for in order to push it with all our efforts.

"Deign, then, My Lord, to consider the cause of three orphans. Is the misfortune, great as it is, without remedy? In your hands, Your Highness, are the resources for indemnification and compensation, I dare to hope. To find ourselves excluded from the West would be to find ourelves despoiled, with extreme cruelty, of a hope of heritage of that for which we have always worked and of which others have always had the fruits."

Pierre and Francois La Verendrye, according to a brief reference found in St. Boniface, founded, in 1748, Forts Bourbon and Poskoyac on the Saskatchewan. From what one of the western posts they set forth on this expedition is not clear, but it is not improbable that Fort St. Charles on Lake of the Woods was the base from which this trip was made; since, from the meager accounts of Fort la Reine at this period, it seems doubtful whether it had as yet been rehabilitated since its burning at the departure thence of Saint-Pierre, and was therefore in so ruined a condition as not to again become an active post.. And, judging from the imperfect record in Pierre's memoir of about 1750, it seems unsafe to conclude that he went to Fort la Reine in 1748 and before taking this northern trip with Francois. While as to Fort Maurepas, he relates in this memoir that it had been burned by the Indians and that he re-established it also. It may be that the two brothers went to Fort Maurepas enroute to the Saskatchewan, and, finding that post destroyed, rebuilt it, then went on north to establish Forts Bourbon and Poskoyac.

Now, there seem to have been two Forts Bourbon: The first, founded, according to St. Boniface, in 1748, was at the mouth of the La Biche river on the west shore of Lake Winnipeg; the second, founded between 1748 and 1755, was located on the Saskatchewan at the point where it enlarges to form Lake Bourbon. But, judging from this data, it is not at all certain that the two designations of localities above noted are not, in fact, identical. We find in an ancient map of Western Canada, published in Vol. 1 of the Geological and

Natural History Survey of Minnesota (1872-1882), a Fort Bourbon, located at the mouth of a little stream designated Riv. aux Biches, which empties into what is designated as Lac Bourbon, into which latter empties the River de Poskoyac —the modern Saskatchewan. This Lake Bourbon is, we believe, the Cedar Lake of recent maps. Both Lake Cedar as now known, and this Lake Bourbon of ancient days, form the northern extremity of Lake Winnipeg. Mr. G. Mercer Adam, in "Canadian Northwest," states that Fort Bourbon of the French regime was on Cedar Lake. From all which it may not be difficult to reduce the conclusion that, after all, there was but one Fort Bourbon, and that on the south side of Cedar Lake, or Lake Bourbon, in other words, on the Saskatchewan River estuary,—or substantially at its mouth.

Fort Poskoyac was established at a point on the Saskatchewan some thirty or forty miles above the westerly end of Cedar Lake at what is now known as the Pas,—at the southern terminal of the railway from Hudson Bay, which is being constructed by the Canadian Government.

While dwelling upon the subject of posts established about that time on the Saskatchewan, it may be added that, during the short period of the operations of Saint-Pierre, Niverville and de La Corne, the post known as Fort la Corne was established on that stream, some twenty-five miles below the forks, and in the neighborhood of one hundred miles above the Pas.

Pierre Gaultier de La Verendrye, after returning from the western posts and Michilimackinac in 1750, and being a lieutenant, continued in the military service of the colonies; and while aboard of the ill-fated l'Auguste, which was wrecked off the coast of Cape Breton, in November, 1761, he was drowned.

The accounts of this shipwreck, and of the character of the voyage, are very meager. The "Auguste" was a trading vessel, on board of which some travelers had taken passage. We are not informed as to the immediate destination of the ship. Mr. Sulte refers to the narrative of Saint Luc de la Corne as containing all that is known upon this head.

We are further indebted to Mr. Sulte for data concerning

Pierre's last days, taken from Daniel's "Grandes Familles:" Under date of 1760:

"Lieut. Varennes de la Verendrie in Canada.

Lieut. Varennes de la Verendrie will go to France.

Ensign Varennes de la Verendrie in Canada.

And, from Daniel's record, as having been drowned at the wreck of the "Auguste:"

"Lieut. de la Verendrie.

"Madam de la Verenderie.

"Mr. de Varennes."

While, in a narrative account published by La Corne St. Luc, very soon after the wreck of that vessel, says Sulte, this mention is made—a reference, he believes, to the same Verendrye:

"Laverendrie whose servant's name was Etienne.

Lieutenant la Verendrie."

An official note, entered in French colonial records of that year, says of Pierre: "Fortune mediocre; officer connu de toutes les nations sauvages."

Francois, the Chevalier Verendrye, came to his end in the memorable siege of Quebec, in September, 1759, while manfully serving his country against the English, in that losing struggle under the gallant Montcalm who, of the French, laid down his life on the day following that upon which the no less valorous Wolfe, of the English, forfeited his own while his men were holding the Plains of Abraham as the preliminary to the fall of the citadel. He died an ensign.

Louis-Joseph died about the year 1775, while still a military officer. He had no children; but was twice married,—once in 1755, and again in 1758.

Of the father and chief explorer and discoverer, Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Verendrye, the following note is made by Benjamin Sulte, regarding the military aspirations of Verendrye upon the occasion of the arrival in New France of Beauharnois as successor to Vaudreuil in the governor-generalship, in 1726:

"Immediately, la Verendrye applied for permission to go to France in the hope of being raised to the rank of lieutenant, but Beauharnois told him this favor (the rank) was

not to be expected. Instead of going to France, therefore, la Verendrye accepted the offer of Beauharnois to go to Nipigon with a view of an opening for the fur trade in the north, since Michilimakinac was no more the productive market it had been for the last ten or twelve years."

In connection with the death of the older Verendrye, an extract from a letter from the marquis de la Jonquiere, dated at Quebec, February 27th, 1750, is as follows:

"I have the honor to report to you the death of Sieur de Croiselle, captain of the garrison of Three Rivers * * * and that of M. de La Verendrye. also captain at Montreal, which happened the 6th of December.

"As this latter officer was commissioned to continue in person the discovery of the sea of the west, and as it appear to me that it is the intention of the King to pursue this discovery, I have charged M. de Saint Pierre with this task, and I am expecting that he will set out in the early spring. It is this officer alone who has the greatest knowledge of all this country, etc."

We have seen how lack of both proper knowledge of the country and of necessary initiative proved the incapacity of Saint Pierre as Verendrye's successor in the western explorations.

Colbert, the great commoner of France, whose broad and enlightened policy as Comptroller-General revived and conserved the finances and quickened the trade and commerce of the mother country, was reflected in its effect upon the colonial sytem, notably in New France; whose martial spirit was aroused and promoted by the arrival of the disbanded Cardigan Regiment, one of whose members, as we have seen, was Rene Verendrye, head of the Canadian ancestry of this illustrious family. One of the chief elements of the new colonial system of government by the secular, as successor to the ecclesiastical arm was the establishment of seigniories, the principal holders of which were the officers of these and other troops now introduced into the colony; and it was this practice, initiated by Colbert in 1661, that gave such impetus to the growth of New France and to the spirit of her pioneers.

The temporary set-back to this movement, which resulted

from the policy of discouragement of immigration by the French West Indies Company—a commercial monopoly whose brief reign of trade-tyranny through the colonial Intendents, was ended by Colbert—now Minister of Marine—in 1674, was reversed. The unbounded activity that now set in aroused the jealousy of England; and the period of wars, involving Indian allies on both sides, emphasized the issue of competition between France and England for colonial supremacy in America. This issue was fought with varying fortunes of the combatants until, after repeated reverses for the British, it resulted in the fall of one after another of the French strongholds along the frontier from Lake Champlain and the lower St. Lawrence to the remotest of the western trading posts.

Thus ended, in 1760, the French regime in Canada. In the final stages of this continental struggle the home government signally defaulted in recruiting the Canadian forces. To the concentrated and determined campaigns into which the English were finally inspired by the chagrin of preceding defeats, the decrees of fate added misfortune in the scales of French-Canadian destiny. "Four years' scarcity, a disheartened peasantry, five or six battalions, wasted by incredible services and not recruited from France, offered no opposition," says Bancroft.

These rivalries at arms were involved in, or involved, the Revolution of 1688 in England; King William's War; the War of the Spanish Succession; the later campaigns on the upper Ohio and Lakes Ontario, George and Champlain; culminating in the Seven Years War—our French and Indian War,—and immortalized, as their colonial theatre, many a battle-ground in the whole country from Newfoundland to Detroit. They witnessed successive Governor-Generalships of De Mesy, Frontenac, Vaudreuil, Beauharnois, La Galissoniere and La Jonquiere. Above the surface demonstrations of this long succession of events, so fateful to the supremacy of France in America, we behold, as towering peaks in the general landscape, the statesmanship and genius of Colbert in the foreground, over against those of Pitt at the close of the dramatic scene.

And among all the adventurers in discovery and exploration of the French regime of that age, but one name rises superior in real merit to that of Verendrye. La Salle, whose far-reaching ability and intrepidity were unrivalled, found the fires of his genius burning upon the versatile altar of navigation of the Great Lakes; divining in what sea the Mississippi was lost; baffling the Spanish advance from Mexico, and safeguarding French-American possessions against British invasion westward of the Alleghanies. His field was vastest of all, his fame transcendent. He, too, knew what it meant to be doubly handicapped by natural obstacles and misfortune supplemented by pressure of insistent creditors and the machinations and detractions of bitter enemies, some of whom stopped not short of attempts upon his life. He had his friend in Frontenac, as had Verendrye his in Beauharnois.

It would be unfitting and unjust to the memory of the great La Salle to challenge comparison between his exploits and his fame, and those of Verendrye and his sons. Justice to the latter craves no such contrasting of abilities and accomplishment. The lifework of Verendrye stands, in a way unique and unimpeachable, upon a pedestal of its own, which only that passing of time that dims all things will overthrow.

By which we mean to say: That in two respects the work of the Verendryes is distinguished among all those who aided France in her Canadian development and in her contests with her rivals in trade and in sovereignty. They safeguarded the domains of their discoveries and explorations by erecting stalwart establishments which became centers of Indian submission and trade, and harbingers of that civilization which those sentinels foretold. They did this wholly at their own expense—the state contributed nothing in funds, to that end. They "paid their way" by this means, and rough-hewed the road to success against dire odds of the elements, indifference of government, faintheartedness of creditors and disgraceful attacks of the envious. And, second, they laid the foundations for successful rivalry with England in the most vital point upon which colonial structures in North America were then building—the fur-trade. The theatre of thir activities

in this direction was that crucial ground upon which must inevitably be fought out the ultimate success or failure of French supremacy as against that of Great Britain—the Great Lakes and northward.

Had the foundation-work of the Verendryes in these respects been duly and permanently backed and safeguarded by the mother country, the extent to which the colonial welfare and permanent dominion of France in Canada would have been advanced thereby none can define. But it is not too much to hazard in speculation to declare that her fate as against Anglo-Saxon dominance in northern North America might in that event have been different. It is within bounds to observe, in the light of history, that two elements may account for that destiny—the profligacy and the resulting indifference of Louis XIV concerning French dominion in New France, and the counter-policy and dogged valor of the British in realizing the dream of permanent dominion in American colonization. Again fate worked one of her miracles as a sort of denouement of this victory for the sons of Albion, in that the chief instrument by which they retired forever from those domains the power of France—the New England and the Hudson River colonies—were lost to their King through the achievement of American Independence.

In what measure the labors of the Verendryes in forging the basic links in the chain that bound the Indians west of the Lakes to the ways of the civilized, and in erecting amid those wilds the foundations of civil government, facilitated the later efforts of English and Scotch explorers in their advances over the mountains and on to the Pacific, is not yet, it is believed, fully realized. The whole region east of the Rocky Mountains and west of the Lakes, within the bounds of French influence, was exploited by and as the direct result of their sacrificial struggles, before the last of the five Verendryes passed away. That thereby the journeys of such redoubtables as McKenzie and Frazer were rendered feasible at an earlier date than would otherwise have been possible is certain. Who knows but that the kindling genius of the elder Verendrye, after Malplaquet and while dominating his activities at Three Rivers and Fort Nipigon, led to achieve-

ments which, in turn became controlling elements in the final issue of continued British supremacy west of the Great Lakes and north of the International Boundary, as against the Americans?

The Dominion Government we believe will not fail to erect to the memory of the Verendryes a monument upon western Canadian soil. There is scarcely a phase of primeval civilization incidental to American waterways, plains and mountains that may not fittingly enter into the symbolism of their great life-work which such a commemorative pile would interpret. It would constitute a tribute of all English-speaking peoples of North America, since what it would typify in human effort conduced to the welfare of all these. The landmarks, palpable and impalpable, left by them as an afterglow of their joint careers, in six—perhaps eight states of the United States, from Mackinaw to the Mountains of the West and in the then wilderness of the Empire State—place our Federal Republic under undying bonds of gratitude for their exploits. The ceremonies that would enter into the unveiling of such a monument would not be complete without participation therein of representatives of our Government.

The "Sea of the West" in the Lore of Time.

The intangible "Sea of the West" emerged in time from its mantle of wild and intoxicating romance until, under the transforming touch of Bering, Cook, the Astorians and their successors its outlines became the astounding reality of the Occident. The Pacific Ocean of the twentieth century stands as the coming crucible wherein the fate of nations will be decided. For the Pacific is destined to be the world's central sea, around whose borders will be assembled the powers that will stand for humanity's hopes and endeavors. Into that crucible will enter as resolving elements all the faiths and civilizations of the habited globe. In that process we of the Christian civilization will give and take in exchange of ideas and ideals with the Orientals. The United States and the Dominion will be brothers bound up in a common purpose in the solution of that great problem of future generations.

And when, in ages remote down the vista of time, the final record shall be made up commemorative of the rise, growth,

decline and dissolution of the peoples bordering upon and who have been dwellers in the midst of the vast Pacific Ocean, some scribe among the prophets of history of that day may, by some strange decree of fate, find among the most ancient of existing tomes some annals which vaguely hint of a period of the Christian Era when discovery upon a continent known as the American was being exploited in its interior. In that precious repository—it may be book, it may be parchment, it may be tablet—mildewed by time and all but untranslatable as a relic of the dead American tongue, that had long ages before been known as the English—this prophet may find a reference to "The Western Sea." It will constitute a rare find for him if it shall give him a clue to that then remoter tradition—no longer lodged in tangible history—of a wonderful abode amid the wilds of the Aborigines of a country that had been known as America; that he who discovered that sea found it in a fairy-land where was no water save here and there as on the land! That one Vrend was its discoverer. That those waters, though inland, were salt, and that their motion was as the great high seas that ebb and flow! That this Vrend's government recorded his great discovery as the "Sea of the West," even though it stood in the midst of a continent. That his sons planted a tablet of this discovery at the utmost end of his journeys into that sea on the banks of the longest river in the world, at the Fortress of Pierre. And that afterward it was found—incredible though it seemed—that this "Sea of the West" was but the vision of men of white cast who had been told by men whose faces were red, that they knew where was the real Western Sea, that it was beyond the great mountain chains of that country called America; that they finally led the white men to its borders by going over those mountains to the west and following the greatest river that flowed that way till they found the Pacific Ocean!

And such a revelation, if it shall so come, will but prove again that truth is stranger than fiction. That the dreams of men—even of wild men—are the sure foundations of history! That all the myths, and all the versions of the myths of all the ages that were and that are to be are, and in the

fullness of time will be commonly said to be but the harvest of golden facts crystallized into mythology by Time, the arch musician, playing his melodious harp of Reality, whose strings, Men's memory varied and seasoned by Tradition and Imagination, under his supple touch are made to speak the voices of the Past!

Fort Pierre's Prominence in Northwestern Trade and History.

In closing this account of the Verendrye expeditions and discoveries, it may be said that it is altogether fitting that the chief memorial of their lifework, erected at the time, should have been deposited where now and for so long have been centered the activities resulting in such wealth of commercial and historical incident as is suggested by the mention of Fort Pierre.

For here, at the mouth of the Little Wapka Sicha, otherwise known as the Teton River and the Bad River (having its sources in the "Bad Lands" of southern South Dakota), have been enacted such multiplicity of events as to have made this townlet the rival of any of the classic places of the entire West. Her place on the Upper Missouri, regarded as a center of the Far Northwest, is absolutely unique. Yet the region in which she stands is in the middle of the continent, and we believe that what is and is to be, west of her meridian on that continent will be of even vaster consequence to posterity than those pertaining to the expanse of territory thereon to eastward. Here, if Indian tradition is to be credited, the ancient trail from Old Mexico to Lake Superior crossed the great Missouri. Here, as is proven by the Aricara stronghold of the Little Cherry band of Verendrye's time, was centered the best of Indian enlightenment and valor of the pre-historic days where afterward the great Sioux Nation roamed at large. Here Lewis & Clarke, in 1804, record the first discovery of boulder stone in quantity (on the opposiste side of the river just below Pierre),—a landmark of their up-river journey,—while they encountered, on attempting to land on the Fort Pierre side, their first resistance by the Sioux at their chief headquarters. Here Hunt, of the Astoria Expedition, in 1811, had his memorable clash with the redoubtable Manuel Lisa, where the issue of supremacy in Indian

Trade with the Aricaras above, maintained by Lisa, might be jeopardized by the prospective outfitting of that expedition with horses at the Aricara Villages; with whom came Brackenridge, who wrote of Louisiana Territory; and Bradbury, the noted English naturalist. Here was built the pioneer trading post of the locality—that of Fort La Fromboise, in 1817—when Napoleon was languishing at St. Helena. Here in 1822 sprang up Fort Tecumseh, of the Columbia Fur Company; to be followed by that most famous of all the picturesque and useful trade-centers of the West—Old Fort Pierre Trading-post, of the American Fur Company, completed in 1832 and remaining for near thirty years. Here came in 1832 the famous classic among the early Indian historians and painters, George Catlin, whose books are monuments and whose handiwork of art still graces the halls of the Smithsonian Institution; and here arrived in 1831 the first steamboat to ply the river so far north, in the "Yellowstone." In 1833 did Maximilian, Prince of Weid—another visitor among the Indians—sojourn for a time at the trading-post. Fremont came here with Nicollet in 1839.—Making this preliminary reconnoisance of Dakota by the "Pathfinder of the West," prior to his first notable trans-mountain expedition; and from hence went in 1841, Clement ("Claymore"), as a free trapper to the Mountains, where he joined Vasquez and Jim Bridger and came in contact with Fremont (in 1842) on the Sweetwater branch of the Platte. The great ornithologist Audubon, honored the old trading post by a visit in 1842.

The Indian outbreak of 1855 brought hence the Harney military expedition, culminating in the execution of the Treaty of 1856 with the Sioux—a document signed within the stockade of that trading post. In 1859 the Reynolds Expedition to the sources of the Missouri outfitted here and marched westward over substantially the same territory as that traversed by the sons of Verendrye, to the Black Hills, thence to the Wind River and beyond. Substantially at "Old Fort Pierre" did Gen. Sully reconnoiter in 1863, in his Indian campaigns, when was erected out of the remnants of the new Fort Pierre post (built in 1861) the first Fort Sully on the opposite (Pierre) side of the river. When the Montana gold excitement

of the sixties occurred, Fort Pierre became an important stopping, and outfitting, place, enroute from Sioux City to the mountains. And when, in 1875, the gold discoveries in the Black Hills brought hundreds of ardent spirits into the region, the famous "Deadwood Trail" was established between Fort Pierre and points in the Black Hills, over which, until 1885, all commodities consumed in that famous repository of "gold diggings" were hauled by the "bull-teams" conducted by the quaint and picturesque brigade of "bullwhackers and muleskinners" of the period. Here, in 1880, through a compact between the Federal Government and the Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company (whose western terminus from 1880 to 1904 was at Pierre), was deliminated the famous "Mile Square" tract—carved out of the great reservation of the Sioux Nation of Indians—upon which, although in the Indian country, the commercial activities and social ties connected therewith, necessary for carrying on the overland transportation business, were permitted to be maintained and carried on in connection with the Deadwood Trail. And here occurred the notorious "Bull-union" strike of freighters overland in 1881, involving a carrier rate war which, before it ended, brought the soldiers from the new Fort Sully (twenty-five miles above) to the outskirts of Pierre, as a possible instrument of settlement of the strike. And today a great railroad bridge across the Big Muddy finds its western abutments planted within the limits of Fort Pierre and within less than a mile of the very spot where the first of all Caucasian land-marks of the region was planted in 1743—the plate of Verendrye. A thousand other events of consequence might be identified with this devoted spot where pioneer commerce and general history unite in bonds so close and so fateful.

That Fort Pierre and Pierre, the Twin Cities of South Dakota, will continue to maintain the prestige which time and circumstances have so far conferred upon them, is confidently predicted. And among all the events that have conspired to render this locality renowned in the Northwest, that of the deposit of the Verendrye Tablet where now is the playground of "Harney," one hundred and seventy-one years ago, towers magnificently above the surrounding eminences of

the historic landscape, telling in most classic language of the march of empire under the French Regime in America, from the shores of the Atlantic even to the Mountains of the West.

The full significance to the United States at large, of the expeditions commemorated by this tablet, and by its formal deposit on the upper Missouri River, is not told until its effect by way of reinforcement of the claims of sovereignty of France over Louisiana Territory is considered in connection with the acquisition of the Louisiana Purchase by our Government in 1803—sixty years after this monument was here buried. That those expeditions, and this evidence of the claims of French sovereignty over the vast region between the Upper Missouri and the Rocky Mountains, by virtue thereof, would tend, in any court or arbitral-tribunal, to confirm such sovereignty as resting in general upon expeditions from southward is a proposition which falls far short of exhausting those factors as evidence in the premises. The two expeditions into and beyond the Missouri River country—by which we mean to embrace all areas south of the Canadian line, together with the Upper Missouri River watersheds, east and west,—in connection with the earlier expeditions into the Minnesota region, would, in and of themselves, when considered in connection with the establishments and the exploratory monuments accompanying them, establish such sovereignty over the whole domain between the Mississippi headwaters and the Rocky Mountains. And had a question arisen in the negotiations between our government and that of France, pertaining specifically to sovereignty over the northern limits of the Louisiana Purchase as now defined by the International Boundary line, the case as between France and the United States, made by the life-work of the Verendryes as it pertained to these areas, would have warranted Talleyrand and Marbois as Napolean's ministers, in asserting such sovereignty by virtue of these deeds alone. In drawing this conclusion we waive the question of successorship by England to the rights of France under the treaty of 1763, as also that of the rights of our Government, as between the United States and England, accruing under the treaty of 1783 at the end of the American

Revolution; under which treaty the northwesternmost point in the boundaries of the United States was fixed at the northwesternmost point of Lake of the Woods. And while these questions can at present be but merely academic, the real significance of these expeditions and discoveries, crowned by the fact of this tablet of Fort Pierre, is not diminished because no technical use can now be made of them as instruments of proof of National Sovereignty.

South Dakota is enriched by the finding of this Verendrye Tablet within her borders. It is believed that no other exploratory monument erected under the auspices of and to establish territorial claims of France upon the American Continent, save that which La Salle posted at the mouth of the Mississippi compares with this in importance, when the circumstances leading up to its burial are duly considered. What it means in the view of the people of the United States and to those of the Dominion of Canada cannot now be told. But that its resurrection after its long sleep in the soil of the Northwest will be hailed by all historical societies and kindred associations, as well as by all citizens and subjects who are impressed by historical landmarks, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, is certain. But more: It will be cherished by the French government, as an additional evidence of vindication of her high claims of pioneer exploration upon the American continent in the name of civilization, and of the valor of her sons in that warfare which, while it makes for the glory of the sovereign, proves the vigor of body and the soul of iron whose united functions are essential to the subjugation of the manifold obstacles that confront all discoverers whose task is heavy. That that of the Verendrye's was colossal, and that it was discharged with ability and intrepidity to challenge which is to summon comparison with the greatest in the given field of endeavor, is abundantly proven by the record, an appeal to which has been attempted herein.

Chas. E. DeLand.

Journal of La Verendrye, 1738-39.

From Canadian Archives, 1889.

Journal in the form of a letter, from the 20th of July, 1738, date of my departure from Michilimakinak, to May, 1739, sent to the Marquis de Beauharnois, Commander of the Military Order of St. Louis, Governor and Lieutenant General of the whole of New France, lands and country of Louisiana, by his very humble servant Laverendrye, lieutenant of a company of the detachment of the marine in Canada, commissioned by his orders for the discovery of the Western sea.

I had the honour, Sir, last year to notify you of my departure from Michilimakinak in six canoes, twenty-two men, so fitted out as to be capable of making great speed. I reached the flat lands on the morning of the first of August, the twelfth day after leaving. I stopped there about three hours to speak to the Indians as your representative. I found there only the chief of the Gamanestigouya, a few old and a few young people. I had already known that they had all left to go among the Sioux. I caused to be assembled what men there were, made them a present of tobacco and wheat, which they value more than merchandise, which is given to them cheap. I began my speech by finding fault with them for going to war against the word they had given me last year when passing among them, to undertake nothing till my return; that I brought them your word that you were not for the present inclined to have war; that every one should keep quiet on his lands; that you had your reasons for this; you would have them warned if you required their services. I then communicated news about which they are very curious.

The chief answered me at once: "My father, be not vexed with us; parties have been raised against our will. It is the Canard (Duck, Indian name of M. La Plante) who wished it, to tell the truth, speaking with fine presents from our father, which thou seest here with us. We did not wish to listen, expecting thy return; we are not children to have two words; thou hast been long with us; thou shouldest know us; we have always been attached to our father; we shall always be so. I encouraged them in these good dispositions, to listen after this only to chiefs entrusted with your orders, to hunt well

in order to supply the wants of their families, that the French would bring your bounty to them upon their own land. I bade them adieu, wishing to take advantage of the good weather for the rest of the day. I arrived on the 5th at Gamanestigouya. I had your orders published and left a copy with the French who keep the fort, concerning that post and that of Tekamamihouenne, to be handed to M. de Lamarque, who was to arrive there at an early day. I left on the morning of the 6th, and went to the Lake Tekamamihouenne. On the 22nd of the present month I found a war chief, Monsony, with a small band, who was expecting me near the little straight on the said lake. They begged me to camp early to give them the news. I did so and made them a present in your name, then read to them the replies which you had had the goodness to make to their speeches to keep quiet for the present, to take good care of their lands, so that the French, who came from so long a distance to supply their wants, should always find the road open. The chief answered me: I thank thee, my father, for having had pity on us. I will carry the news to all our people who are gone for the wild rice; I shall make them joyful at thy return, and in relating to them the will of our father, with the words thou hast brought and the account which the old man has given me, as well of our father as of all he has seen below. Thou wilt find many people at thy fort of Lake of the Woods; all the chiefs expect thee. In finishing my speech to them, I recommended them to continue very faithful to the French, not to forget your words, to hunt well, so as to satisfy the traders. He answered with loud acclamations of gratitude, assuring me that he never would forget all that I had told him. I did my best to encourage him and went to Fort Charles, Lake of the Woods. On the 31st I did not find Lacolle, chief of the Monsony; I sent him to notify him. Wishing to speak to all the chiefs together, I deferred speaking to them till the 3rd of September, when I collected all the head men in my room, and made a present in your name to the three chiefs, Lacolle, Lamicoine and le Chenail, of whom I have several times spoken in my previous journals. I began by the answers to their speeches, which you had had the goodness to make, emphasizing strongly each paragraph, in order to make

them understand the (kindness) you felt for them; that all (you) had allowed them was well assured to them, so long as they on their side should be obedient to your word. I knew that the old man whom I had brought with me, entrusted with their words, although with empty hands, had made a faithful report to them of the kindness (you) had shown him; he constantly sang your praises; that they had a good father, who should be pleased by doing his will. La Colle answered for all the others, that he did not cease to weep for my son and all the Frenchmen; that the lake was still red with their (blood), which called for vengeance, which he had not been able to take as he wished. It was not for them, people without intellect, to ask your reasons for keeping them quiet for the present; that they were obedient children; agreed to your will; would keep their lands as you ordered them, still hoping that you would obtain vengeance at some future time for the miserable stroke the Sioux had made on their lands. However, you were the master to punish or to pardon; that he thanked you in the name of all and prayed you to acknowledge them as your true children; that they would always be faithful to us; you ordered them to keep their lands; that was to their interest. Lamicoine gave profuse thanks for the great care I had had of his brother. It was from the old man whom I had brought with me that he had learned he would never see him more, begging me to assure you of his gratitude; that whilst he lived he would not forget the good you had done to his brother; that it would be for him and his to be always attached to the French that my return had brought joy to all; that their joy would not be long continued, as according to what his brother had told him, I was going to winter a long way off; that he prayed me not to abandon them; if I wished to go far away from them to leave one of my children; that he wished it was in his power to follow me; that he would do so heartily; that his brother and his nephew who expected to follow me, would take his place. I encouraged them to keep their word and to hunt well to supply the wants of their families; that I was going farther on; that was your will; I wished to increase the number of your children; that I left my eldest son with them in my place, who was adopted by the nations and would inform them of your words. The council ended with many

thanks.. I then thought of preparing to leave; had my son received as commandant in my absence and had an order published. Taking the two others with me, I deferred leaving until the 11th of September, waiting for Mr. Lamarque, to whom I had promised not to hasten, so as to give him the opportunity of joining me, he having promised me at Michilimakinak to make haste, so that he might come with me in the autumn for the discovery of the Mandans, who were formerly called Ouachipouanne, according to the Monsony Courtchouatte, Crees, Mandans; these are the names of the nation. Seeing on the 10th of the month that he had not arrived, and everything being in good order, as well at the fort as for my departure, I left on the 11th, as I have already stated, hoping that he would join me soon to come with me. I arrived at Fort Marpas (Maurepas) on the 22nd, where I had the arms examined, published your order concerning the said post, gave a copy of it to Mr. Lariviere, clerk to these gentlemen, and selected five of his men to come with me. As I had agreed I left nine men with Mr. de Lariviere. I went to the fork of the Asiliboiles (Assiniboine) on the 24th, where I found ten Cree huts and two war chiefs, who expected me, with a quantity of meat, having been notified that I was coming. They begged me to agree to remain, to have the pleasure of seeing us and of giving us something to eat. I agreed, being happy to speak to them. I sent for the two chiefs to my tent. I knew that they went every year to the English; it had been reported to me that there was one who had received a belt from the English to play a bad trick on the French. I told the one who had been accused of everything that had been said of him. I had the honour of writing to you last year from Michilimakinak of of the rumors current on the subject. He answered: My father, I know there are many envious men to speak against me; I have not been to the English for more than six years. I sent, indeed, during the last years that the French abandoned us, and it was necessary to have our wants supplied. Ask those who have been on my account, who are here, if they have heard of any such accusation. I can assure thee the Englishman is quiet and does not speak of the French. They are liars who have set these rumors afloat. Thou wilt know the

truth in time. So long as the French shall hold our lands here, we promised thee not to go elsewhere.. I made them a small present to encourage them to keep their word; I told them everything I had said to the others, as well your orders as the news. Our old man then gave a great account of his journey, which afforded them much pleasure. The chief whom I had accused said to me: My father we thank thee that thou hast spoken well below to our father for us; we now know that he has had pity on us by sending to us Frenchmen on our lands to supply our wants; we will keep quiet as he desires; the Sioux should do the same; our hearts are still sick for thy son who came the first to build a fort on our lands; we loved him much; I have once already been in war to avenge him; I have destroyed only ten huts, which is not enough to satisfy us; but now our father has ordered us to keep quiet; we shall do so. He then asked me where I intended to go; that the River Assiniboine was very low; that we ran the risk of making our canoes useless; that we were going among people who did not know how to kill the beaver, and covered themselves only with ox skin, which we did not need. They were a people without intelligence, who had never seen the French and could not know them. I answered that I wished to go in the autumn among that nation of whites who had been so much spoken of; that I would ascend the river as far as I could to put myself in a position to make my journey according to our orders; that I wished to increase the number of our children to learn to hunt on the Assiniboine and to give them intellect, and that next year I would go elsewhere. Thou dost run a great risk my father, that the canoes will leave empty. There are many Assiniboines, it is true, but they do not know how to hunt beavers; I wish that thou shouldst give them intelligence. I left on the 26th. My old man asked me to remain a few days with the Crees, who urgently asked him to remain with them and that he would rejoin me shortly. As he had his vehicle I consented willingly, and recommended him to encourage these people to hunt well, to carry provisions to the French forts and to keep their word not to go to the English. He told me that he would speak to them as well as he could, and that he hoped I would be satisfied. I found the waters very low, there

having been no rain last summer. The river flows from the west, winding about greatly, wide, with a strong current and many sand bars; it is lined with fine woods on the banks and the prairies extend beyond sight, through whose extent are many cattle and deer. I choose to go by land, following the prairie; with the useless people in the canoes. The road is much shorter by the prairies; several points of the river are cut at once, and a straight road can be kept; game is along the river in great abundance. I had not marched long without meeting several Assiniboines who, having been warned that I was ascending their river, came to meet me. I still kept on my road, deferring to speak to them on their own lands. The company was increasing daily. I marched six days, making good use of the time. On the evening of the 2nd of October the Indians notified me that I could not ascend the river further, the water being too low; that my canoes could only pass the woods, provided all the people were at the portage which goes to the Lake of the Prairies, for this is the road of the Assiniboines in going to the English. Being here thou wilt stop everyone; thou wouldst go to the Mandans; thou art close to the road. I consulted what we should do, believing that we were about sixty leagues from the fork by water and about thirty-five to forty by land, by taking the prairies. All present, seeing that we could not pass further and that we ran a great risk of damaging our canoes so that we could not leave, being in a place without resources for repairing them, having neither gum nor resin, felt that it was more suitable to remain in a place where there was plenty and which was on the road to go to the English, that we had reason to hope well of the people and all persons who certainly do not go to Fort Maurepas. I resolved on the morning of the 3rd to select an advantageous place to build a fort, which I made them begin immediately. I still hoped that M. de la Marque would come to join me. If I had gone higher up he would not have been able to find me. I spoke to the Assiniboines whilst they were building an oven. I assembled them near my tent, made them a present in your name, of powder, ball, tobacco, axes, knives, paring knives, awls, the whole much valued among those who are in great need of everything. They received me with great ceremony; many

with tears in testimony of their joy in exchange for their griefs. I received them among the number of your children, giving them afterwards full instructions respecting your orders, repeating them several times in order that they might comprehend. That appeared to give them great pleasure. They thanked me greatly, promised to do wonders. I recommended them to inform the Assiniboines of the Red River that there were Frenchmen among them; that the French would not abandon them; so long as they had intelligence they ought to know the kindness you had for them by sending them what they needed from such a distance; that their relative, the old man, whom I had brought with me, could tell them what had taken place with us daily. He, in truth, spared nothing to inform them and to teach them what it is to have to do with the French; all ended in great weeping and thanks. Some days after, I secured a guide whom, with others, I paid to accompany me on my search and to carry the baggage. On the evening of the 9th Mr. de la Marque with the Sieur Nolant, his brother, and eight men in two canoes arrived, which gave me much pleasure. I testified my gratitude to Mr. de la Marque for the trouble he had taken to bring us reinforcements; I questioned him if he had left many people at Fort St. Charles, Lake of the Woods, and whom he had left at (Fort) Maurepas. He answered me that he had left eight men at the first with two traders, having brought all the canoes he had, not because he hoped to be able to load them, not having been able to bring the heavy goods, but that he had promised he would join me, and did not wish to break his word, that I required people for my expedition, that he had brought them, without injury to himself, not requiring his people during the winter. I thanked him telling him that if he joined in our expedition he would be saved, himself and all his people, the expense until they returned. He told we he wished to share the expense. I answered that that could not be, it was enough for me that he supplied the men and himself without the necessity of sharing the expense which I had already provided for. I gave him room at his request, in my fort to build a house to lodge all his people. On the return from our journey on the 15th of the month, the fort and houses being

completed, I thought of making everything ready for our departure. Mr. de la Marque told me he had brought Mr de Lariviere to the Fork with two canoes to build a fort there for the accommodation of the people of Red River. I approved of it, if the Indians were notified. On the 16th I had the drum beat to arms, to pass every one in review and to select such as were necessary for my expedition. After the inspection of the arms, I published your orders regarding the post; I selected twenty men, ten of Mr. La Marque's and ten of mine. I warned them to keep themselves in readiness for the 18th, gave them a pound of powder and twenty balls each, shoes, an axe, a kettle to be used on the journey; gave to each man, French and Indian, a bag of powder, sixty balls, two fathoms of tobacco; some small wares, more for present necessities than for anything else, as awls, gun-flints, gun screws and steels. I had put into a leather bag what I wanted for present use, that a wife of our guide carried for me, and all that was of use for myself, my servant and my slave carried. That settled, I had Sanschagrin received as commander in my absence, as a man of wise and prudent mind, who fills the office of sergeant. Taking my two children with me, I left him two soldiers and ten hired men as guard for the fort, and then gave him orders and instructions in writing of all he was to do during my absence. On the 18th, all being in good order in the fort, I made all our people set out, with orders to encamp not far off, and afterwards to leave with Mr. de la Marque about noon, encouraging the Indians whom I left at the fort to hunt cattle, the beaver not being yet good, to furnish provisions to the French whom I left. Our small band consisted of 52 persons, twenty hired men, all good men, Mr. de la Marque, his brother, my two children, my servant and a slave, the rest Indians. The third day after leaving a village of forty Assiniboine huts joined us, with the intention of speaking to me. The chief asked me to grant him the favour of remaining for the day, to have the pleasure of seeing us and of showing their hospitality. I agreed, on the solicitation of our guide. I made him a small present of powder, and made the same statement to him as I had done to all the others. He testified much gratitude, promising won-

ders; that he would carry provisions to the French, and would hunt to the utmost, so as to supply their wants. On the 21st we continued our route, as far as the first mountain, twenty-six leagues distant from our fort, still to the south by south-west, from the first mountain to the second west and by north-west, 24 leagues. From the point of the second mountain to go direct to the Mandans we must keep to the south-west. But we were obliged to do much more, as on a road which is two leagues in a straight line, we made three or four from our fort. It may have been a hundred and twenty leagues to the west south-west that our guide lengthened the road by from fifty to sixty leagues and a number of stops to which we were obliged to agree, making us spend the finest weather in autumn staying still, so that we took forty-six days to go a distance we should have done easily in sixteen or twenty days at the most. We had, perforce, to have patience; all that I could say to our guide to make him hasten was to no purpose. He made us take for the height of happiness twenty-two leagues of a road which was taking us off our route, to get to a village of a hundred and two huts which he had gone to look for, and had brought us eight men, whom the chiefs of the village had sent to beg me to join them, that they were all inclined to accompany me to the Mandans, telling me that the Sioux often visited in that direction and that I had need of an escort. We had to make up our minds to go there. We arrived there on the 18th of November, in the afternoon. A number of messengers had gone before us and we were received with great joy. They led us, Mr. de la Marque, his brother and my children, into the hut of a young chief, where every one was ready to receive us. They made a great feast for us and for all our people who did not want for a good appetite. On the 19th I assembled the chiefs and head men of the village in the hut where I was, I gave them a present in your name of powder, balls, knives, and tobacco telling them that I received them into the number of your children; that if they had sense you promised not to abandon them; that the French were now established on their land and would provide for all their wants; that they must hunt the beaver and keep to their lands; that you did not wish for war at present, desiring to

make all the lands smooth, so that all our children might live in peace, of whom I would increase the number every day. I made the same recital to them that I had made to all the others. There was great thankfulness, with many tears and ceremonies, by passing their hands over my head, taking me in your room and place as their father, and our Frenchmen as brothers by again passing the hands over our heads, all weeping. This ceremony ended, the orator said: We thank thee, my father, for so willingly taking the trouble to come to us; we are all going in thy company to the Mandans to bring thee to thy fort; we have sent four men to warn them who are about to arrive who report that the Mandans are greatly rejoicing at thy coming amongst them and are to come to meet thee. We have sent other four young men to bring them to the place we have selected for them; we will go quietly to the hunting to have fat on arriving there, to eat with the grain of which they always eat much, having seldom either meat or fat. I thanked them for their good will, and encouraged them to send us on quickly; that they could see as well as I, the very advanced season. knowing that the Mandans had no supplies of fat, I purchased it in the village to give to all our people whatever they would carry, and made the Indians carry for us, for which I paid them, I warned our Frenchmen that I intended to spend part of the winter among the Mandans; that if they did not take a good load of fat, they must eat their wheat and beans with water. On the 20th, the whole village set out on the march to go the seventeen leagues where the meeting place for the Mandans had been chosen; every day they entertained us with the tale that the whites we were going to see were Frenchmen like ourselves, who said they were our descendants. All they told us gave us good hope of making a discovery which would deserve attention. Mr. de la Marque and I made plans along the road from what they were telling us, believing that to be true, from which we had to deduct much. I observed to Mr. de la Marque the good order in which the Assiniboines march to prevent surprise, marching always on the prairies, away from the hillsides and valleys since the first mountain, which did not make them fatigued by mounting and descending often in their march during the day.

There are magnificant plains of three or four leagues. The march of the Assiniboines, especially when they are numerous, is in three columns, having skirmishers in front, with a good rear guard, the old and lame march in the middle, forming the central column. I kept all the French together as much as possible. If the skirmishers discovered herds of cattle on the road as often happens, they raise a cry which is soon returned by the rear guard, and all the most active men in the columns join the vanguard to hem in the cattle, of which they secure a number, and each takes what flesh he wants. Since that stops the march, the vanguard marks out the encampment which is not to be passed; the women and dogs carry all the baggage, the men are burdened only with their arms; they make the dogs even carry wood to make the fires, being often obliged to encamp in the open prairie, from which the clumps of wood may be at a great distance. On the morning of the 28th, we arrived at the place selected for the meeting with the Mandans, who arrived towards evening—a chief, with thirty men and the four Assiniboines. The chief, after having from the top of a height considered for some time the extent of our village, which appeared of a good size, I had him brought to the hut where I was, where a place had been prepared to receive him on one side of it. He came and placed himself near me; one of his people then, on his part, presented me with a gift of Indian corn in the ear, and of their tobacco in rolls, which is not good, as they do not know how to cure it like us. It is very like ours, with this difference, that it is cultivated and is cut green, everything being turned to account, the stalks and the leaves together. I gave him some of mine, which he thought very good. I acknowledged that I was surprised, expecting to see different people from the other Indians, especially after the account given me. There is no difference from the Assiniboines; they are naked, covered only with a buffalo robe, worn carelessly without breech clout. I knew from that time that we had to make an allowance for all we had been told. The chief spoke to me in Assiniboine, testifying the joy which I had given to all their nation by my arrival among them; that he begged me to accept them among the number of your children; that he wished afterwards to have

to do only with us; that I might dispose of all he had; that he begged me to remain at his fort, that it was the nearest and smaller than the others, but well supplied with provisions that there were six forts belonging to the same nation; that it was the only one not far from the river. He told me he had received two belts from me; that they would be shown to me on my arrival as they had always hoped to see me. I thanked him for all his civilities and offers, telling him that I had come from a long distance to form a friendship with them, and that I would speak to them so soon as I should have arrived at their fort. He immediately played us a trick; having examined our village on his arrival, as I have stated, judging that there would be many people, and if they all came to his fort there must be a great consumption of grain, their custom being to feed liberally all who came among them, selling only what was to be taken away, he gave many thanks to the Assiniboines for having brought the French among them; that it could not have happened more opportunely; that the Sioux would not be long of arriving among them, having been warned, begging me, like the Assiniboines, to assist them, hoping much from our valour and courage. I was entrapped like the Assiniboines, with the difference, that the Assiniboines stood confounded, whilst I rejoiced, believing that I had found an opportunity to be avenged on that accursed nation. I promised him every assistance from myself and our Frenchmen should they come whilst we were with them, for which he thanked me. He was sent for to come to the feast and questioned respecting the Sioux. The Assiniboines, numerous, strong and robust men, are not brave; they greatly fear the Sioux, whom they think to be braver. The Mandans know their weakness and profit by it, as opportunity arises. The council was held to discuss what should be done. The most decided opinion was that it was not necessary to go further than to warn me of the risk I was about to run if I wished to pursue our course. An old man rose firmly: Do not think that our father is a coward; I know him better than the others do; I have been with him ever since he left his fort; do not believe that the Sioux can frighten him or any of his people. What will he think of us? He has lengthened his road to join us, agreeing to our wish for his

company among the Mandans and to bring him back to his fort. He would have gone to-day if he had not listened to us, and you would think of abandoning him by letting him go alone, which cannot be. If we fear the Sioux let us leave our village here till our return; let every man able to march follow our father. All agreed in the old man's opinion; it was decided that only a few should remain to protect the women; all the rest would accompany me. I was notified of the result of the council; word was sent throughout the village to warn every one to be ready to march the day after to-morrow, the 30th of the month, thus making a little longer delay among the Mandans, who knew how to profit by it by the sale of their grain, tobacco, peltry, and painted plumes, which they know the Asssiniboines greatly value, who had brought and now gave in exchange muskets, axes, kettles, powder, balls, knives and awls. They are much craftier in trade than the Assiniboines, and others, who are constantly their dupes. We left on the morning of the 30th, about 600 men, several women without children, the best walkers. On the evening of the third day of our march, about seven leagues from the first fort of the Mandans, I was informed that an Assiniboine had taken the bag from my slave on the road, under pretext of relieving him, and had returned to the village. My box, in which were my papers, and many things of use to me, were in the bag. I immediately engaged two young men to run after him, whom I paid, making them promise to bring the bag to the Mandans, where I would wait for them. They set out during the night, overtook the rascal, who had already decamped from the village, made him return everything and came back to their village to keep the whole, hoping to restore it to me on my return, not daring to come after me, being afraid of the Sioux. I saw myself deprived of many things which were of daily use. The orator gave notice that we must leave before four in the morning in order to arrive early at the fort. I found at a league and a half, about noon, near a small river, a number of people who had come to meet us had lighted fires, expecting us, and had brought coarse grain cooked and flour made into a paste, with pumpkins, to give all enough to eat. Two chiefs had made a place ready for me near the

fire and presented me first with something to eat and to smoke. Mr. de la Marque arrived shortly after me. I asked him to sit near me and to eat whilst resting. We remained fully two hours resting. We were warned that it was time to go. I made one of my children take the flag painted with the arms of France, and march at the front; and ordered the French to follow in ranks. The Sieur Nolant relieved my son in carrying the flag, each taking it in turn. The Mandans would not let me march, but offered to carry me, to which I had to consent, being requested by the Assiniboines, who told me I would displease them greatly if I refused.

At four acres from the fort, on a small height, the old men of the fort, accompanied by a great number of the youth, were waiting to present me with the calumet and to show me the two belts I had sent them four or five years ago. They gave a seat to me and to Mr. de la Marque. I received their compliments, which related only to the joy they felt at my arrival. I ordered my son, the Chevalier, to make all our Frenchmen draw up in line, the flag four paces in front; all the Assiniboines who had muskets placed themselves in line like our Frenchmen. After compliments had been paid, I saluted the fort with three volleys. Many people came to meet us, but nothing in comparison with what appeared on the ramparts and along the trenches. I marched in good order to the fort, into which I entered on the 3rd of December at four in the afternoon, escorted by all the French and Assiniboines. We were led into the hut of the head chief. It was certainly large, but not enough to hold all who wished to enter. The crowd was so great that they crushed one another, Assiniboines and Mandans. There was only the place where we were, Mr. de la Marque, his brother and my children, free of them. I asked that the crowd should retire, to leave our Frenchmen clear, and to put their baggage in a place of safety, telling them they had all time to see us. Everyone was put out, but I had been too late. The bag of goods had been stolen, in which were all my presents, through the fault of one of the hired men in whose care I had placed it before reaching the fort. He had unloaded on entering the hut without looking out for the bag, which he had

put beside him in the great crowd. I felt rather confounded; my box lost, my bag of presents, which was very necessary for the place, and there were upwards of 300 livres inside. The Assiniboines seemed greatly annoyed and at once made a strict but useless search. Their fort is full of caves, well suited for concealment. The chief of the Mandans appeared to be greatly moved at my loss, and said for my consolation that there were many rascals among them. He would do his utmost to discover something about it. Had I accepted the offer of the Assiniboines, I might have had it found in a little time by force, but I preferred to lose it and to make peace about everything, as I wanted to spend a part of the winter with them to get a knowledge of the more distant country. On the 14th I had the principal Mandans and Assiniboines assembled in the hut where I was. I gave them my present of powder and balls, telling them that I could give them nothing else; that they all knew that what I had brought to give in presents had been carried off. I declared to them that I was inclined to remain some time to gain knowledge of the country according to our orders, which I could not do in a day. The Mandans testified their joy, assuring me that I need not be afraid of fasting, that they had provisions in reserve, far more than were necessary for us, and that their whole fort was well supplied, that I might dispose of it being master among them. The elder of the Assiniboines, the orator of the village, said to me: My father, we have brought thee here: I do not doubt that thou mayest be well here; we flatter ourselves with bringing thee back to thy fort; thou art the master to do what thou shalt consider suitable; we will come to seek thee, as soon as thou shalt wish it. Speaking then to the Mandans: We are leaving our father; take great care of him and of all the French; learn to know them; they know how to do everything; he is a spirit; we love and fear him; do like us. We leave much grieved at the theft which has been committed on our father by entering among us; what can he think of us; we cannot deny that it is an unworthy thing. The Frenchmen came to see us and you robbed him; we were pleased that our father should be good or it would not have passed in that way.

I do not fear to tell you so; we could have found the bag had he wished it; there is still time if he will. I made him finish, as I saw the old man was getting heated. One of the Mandan chiefs answered: Neither I, nor my people have any share in what you accuse us of; I do not answer for others; I am vexed enough; I have had every search made by my young men; I have nothing to reproach myself with. Who knows if it is not an Assiniboine? There were some of both in the crowd; thou can'st answer for nothing. Be not uneasy as to what regards our father and all his people; he is here master as if he were at home. We beg him to number us among his children. This I did at once, by putting my hands on the top of the head of each chief, which is the usual ceremony, answered by loud shouts of joy and thanks. I then said to the Assiniboines: I am sending four Frenchmen to my fort to give my news there; I recommend you to get them to that place as soon as you can. I have left powder in the village and all that is necessary to have them brought. The council ended with loud thanks from both parties. As the Assiniboines did not yet speak of leaving, although they had purchased all they were able to do, such as painted ox-robes, deer skin, dressed buckskin and ornamented furs and feathers, painted feathers, and peltry, wrought garters, circlets for the head, girdles. These people dress feathers better than any other nations, and work in furs and feathers very tastefully, which the Assiniboines are not capable of doing. They are cunning traders, cheating the Assiniboines of all they may possess, such as muskets, powder, balls, kettles, axes, knives, or awls. Seeing the great consumption of food daily by the Assiniboines, and afraid that it would not last long, they set afloat a rumour that the Sioux were near and that several of their hunters had noticed them. The Assiniboines fell into the trap and made up their minds quickly to decamp, not wishing to be obliged to fight. A Mandan chief let me understand by a sign that the rumour about the Sioux was to get rid of the Assiniboines. At six in the morning they all left in great haste, believing the Sioux were near and fearing that the road might be blocked up. The chief with whom I had lodged brought five men to remain with me, saying: My father, I still hope that you will

join us for a little; I march peaceably. Here are five of my young men whom I give thee to remain with thee and to guide thee when thou shalt wish to leave. I made him a small present to thank him, telling him that he knew that I had sense and that I intended shortly to reward him for his attention. He left with great protestations of friendship. I was notified shortly after that an interpreter whom I had paid liberally to secure him had decamped in spite of all the offers which my son, the Chevalier, had made him, as he was going after an Assiniboine woman with whom he had fallen in love, but who would not remain with him. He was a young man of the Cree nation speaking good Assiniboine. As there were several Mandans who spoke it well enough, I made myself very well understood, as my son spoke Cree and the Cree interpreted into Assiniboine. But here was the height of misfortune, as we could only make ourselves understood by signs and demonstrations. If I had suspected my interpreter, who every day assured me he would always remain with me and never abandon me, I would have taken advantage of the time I had him with me to make the demands on the Mandans I wished to make. But flattering myself that I had a man on whom I could rely, I put off till after the departure of the Assiniboines. All day I was greatly embarrassed; all that I wanted to know and the few questions which I had put were asked in the evening after everyone had retired; such as, if there were many people along the river going down, and what nations; if the places at a distance were known. I was answered that there were five forts on the two banks of the river, belonging to their nation, much larger than that in which we were; that at a day's journey from the last of their forts were the Pananas, who had several forts; then the Pananis; that these two nations who held much of the country and were now at war for four years, had always from all time been closely united and in alliance together; that he would tell me afterwards the causes which had set them at variance. The Pananas and Pananis made their forts like them. In summer they grew wheat and tobacco on the lower part of the river which was very wide, land not being visible from one shore to the other; the water bad for drinking. All these lands are in-

habited by whites like us, who work in iron. The word iron among all the nations here means all sorts of metals, which they call iron; that they only marched on horseback, both for hunting and war; that these men could not be killed by arrow or musket, being covered with iron, but that by killing the horse the man could be caught easily, as he could not run; that he had a shield of iron very clear, fought with lances and sabres, with which he was very skilful; the women were never seen in fields; their forts and houses were stone. I asked if there were fine woods, and if the prairie continued in heights and hollows. He answered that the wood was along the river in places and also on the prairies in islands; that the further down the more the hills increased; that many of them were only rocks of fine stone, especially along the river. I asked if it took long to go to where the whites, the horsemen, were. I was answered that the Pananas and Pananis had horses like the whites; it would take a whole summer to make the journey, and that since they were at war with the Pananas the men would not undertake to go far, the roads being closed to them. That cattle were abundant on the prairies, far larger and fatter than those we had seen on their prairies; their coat white and of several colours. He showed us horns split in half, of a greenish colour which hold nearly three pints. In all the huts they have them in use as ladles, proving that they have killed many when the road was open. That was all I could learn even by chance, as I had relied on my interpreter, that I would have time to be thoroughly informed at leisure. Six days after the Assiniboines left I sent my son, the Chevalier, with Sieur Nolant, six Frenchmen and several Mandans to the nearest fort, which is on the bank of the river. If well received they were to sleep there, to get the best information of the course of the river, who dwell there; if they are acquainted with the lower part, in accordance with what was told us; to learn all that could be ascertained by signs and demonstrations. After their departure, Mr. de le Marque and I walked about to observe the size of their fort and their fortifications. I decided to have the huts counted. It was found that there were a hundred and thirty of them. All the streets, squares and huts resembled each other. Several of our Frenchmen

wandered about; they found the streets and squares very clean, the ramparts very level and broad; the palisade supported on cross-pieces morticed into posts of fifteen feet to twice fifteen feet. There are green skins which are put for sheathing when required, fastened only above in the places needed, as in the bastion there are four at each curtain well flanked. The fort is built on a height in the open prairie with a ditch upwards of fifteen feet deep by fifteen to eighteen feet wide. Their fort can only be gained by steps or posts which can be removed when threatened by an enemy. If all their forts are alike, they may be called impregnable to Indians. Their fortifications are not Indian. This nation is mixed white and black. The women are fairly good-looking, especially the white, many with blond and fair hair. Both men and women of this nation are very laborious; their huts are large and spacious, separated into several apartments by thick planks; nothing is left lying about; all their baggage is in large bags hung on posts; their beds made like tombs surrounded by skins; all go to bed naked, men and women. These men are always naked, covered only with a buffalo robe; a great part of the women naked like the men, with this difference, that they wear a loose apron, about a hand breadth wide and a foot long, sewed to a girdle in front only; all the women have this kind of protection, although they have a petticoat which gives no constraint, they do not close the thighs; as is the case with other Indian women when they sit down. Several carry a kind of gown of very soft deer skin; there are many deer, they are very small. Their fort is full of caves, in which are stored such articles as grain, food, fat, dressed robes, bear skins. They are well supplied with these; it is the money of the country; the more they have of it the richer they believe themselves to be. They are fond of tatooing, but never more than half of the body is tatooed, both men and women. They make wicker work very neatly, flat and in baskets. They make use of earthen pots, which they use like many other nations for cooking their food. They are for the most part great eaters; are eager for feasts. They brought me every day more than twenty dishes of wheat, beans and pumpkins, all cooked. Mr. de la Marque, who did not hate

feasts, went to them continually with my children. As I did not go to them, my share was sent to me. The men are stout and tall, generally very active, fairly good looking, and a good physiognomy. The women have not the Indian physiognomy. The men indulge in a sort of ball play on the squares and ramparts.

On the evening of the 4th, the Sieur Nolant and my son arrived, well satisfied with their journey, having been well received and strongly urged to remain longer. The fort is on the bank of the river, as large again as this; the squares and streets very fine and clean; their palisade is in the best order and strength; the whole built in the same fashion as the one in which we were. From what they could hear, all their forts were alike; who saw one saw them all, with this difference, that some were much larger than others; that the last was the largest of all. The nearest to the Pananas that the river appeared to go was, according to the compass, southwest by south, by signs given to them; the lower part may go to the sea to the south-west by west. They were often amused with broken talk; not being able to answer questions put to them, they answered something else, for want of understanding. The waters of their rivers come down with great rapidity, having many shoals. The water is not good for drinking, being brackish. We have constantly found from the last mountain almost all the marshes and ponds brackish, or sulphurous. What they could understand was, that on the lower part of the river there were men like us, who made cloth and linen, were very numerous, and had wars with a large part of the Indians. We saw that it was useless to question them, as they could not understand us. We did not cease going to their feasts all the time we were at their fort, but could not attend all those to which we were asked. We noticed that in the plain there were several small forts of forty or fifty huts, built like the large ones, but no one was there at the time. They made us understand that they came inside for the summer to work their fields and that there was a large reserve of grain in their cellars. This is all the information they could give of their journey. On the 8th of December, I ordered my son to take the altitude which was forty-eight

degrees, twelve minutes. On the evening of the 7th I had consulted with Mr. de la Marque as to the course we should take. Like myself, he knew that little remained with us for presents, which rendered it impossible for us to go further; the season too trying to be able to undertake anything, and above all, no interpreter nor any hope of getting one during the winter. We had every reason to fear that the roads would become impracticable in spring on account of the waters and with the risk of arriving too late for the setting out of our canoes; the powder I would have would not perhaps be enough to supply all our wants during the winter and with the small quantity of goods remaining we might find ourselves in a difficulty about all our people, having no longer anything to carry us on, as the Indians would only serve us so far as they were paid and that in advance, as they looked on promises as a very small resource. On the other hand, that we had reason to apprehend setting out on a march in the worst season of the year. After having considered the whole, we decided that we must set out, leaving two men fit to learn the language in a short time, one in the fort in which we were and the other in the nearest fort, as being alone they could learn much more quickly and could consequently give all the information. Mr. de la Marque selected one of his hired men, a man of intelligence, whom he offered me as being one of the most capable, able to write. I accepted him with pleasure and gave him my servant as the second, although he was very useful to me, as well as very useful and attached to my service, I preferred to deprive myself of him for the good he might afterwards render, knowing his strong and quick intellect with a good memory and facility in learning languages, very wise and fearing God. I gave him full instructions of all he had to do, and on his side, Mr. de la Marque promised to send to look after them next summer. That ended, so far as regarded the two men whom I left, I notified our five Assiniboines, whom I made to understand that I wished to set out shortly, which gave them much joy. I showed them by signs, not being able to make myself understood otherwise, that it would be necessary for them to set out with two Frenchmen on the morning of the next day,

that everything would be ready for them, so that they might go speedily to the village to warn them to expect us; that I would leave four days after them, so that I might prepare everything for the journey. I then informed the Mandans of my design, which appeared to give them much sorrow. I showed them the two Frenchmen whom I left in my place, recommending that they should be taken good care of. They gave me many thanks, with great protestations of friendship and fidelity. I then let them know that I would not abandon them. I asked the chief to give me meal for the journey. The news soon spread throughout the fort. On the morning of the 8th, I made the two Frenchmen set out, guided by two Assiniboines, as I have already said, to go to warn the village of my departure. Wheat flour pounded for the journey was brought, much more than was necessary. I thanked them, giving them some needles which they greatly value. They would have loaded a hundred men for the journey; in a short time all hastened to bring me some. I made all our people take what they wished, which was done in a very short time. Having provided for all that our people needed, I assembled the chiefs and principal Mandans, made them a present of powder, balls and several trifles, which they greatly value, owing to their need for them, I gave the head chief a flag, gave him a leaden plate, which I had ornamented with ribbon at the four corners. It was put into a box to be kept in perpetuity, in memory of my taking possession of their lands, which I did in the King's name. It will be preserved from father to son, better than if I had put it in the ground, where it would have run the risk of being stolen. I made them understand as well as I could, that I left them that mark in memory of the Frenchmen who had come upon their lands. I very much desired I could have made them understand, in order to tell them many things which might have been very useful to them and to us, which to my regret and to theirs I could not do. I had wrought with so much diligence, that on the evening of the eighth every thing was ready for our departure, which I calculated to acomplish sooner than I had given notice of. During the night, between the 8th and 9th, I was taken ill, and in a very short time was very ill; I did not know what

to think of it. I kept my bed for three days. Finding myself better on the fourth, I prepared to set out the next day. I gave the two men enough to defray their expenses, liberally, and even to pay a guide, if need were to bring them to our fort; informed them once again of the cause which obliged me to leave them there. So soon as they could make themselves understood, they were to neglect nothing to learn what was this nation of whites, what metal they worked with; if there were any mines to their knowledge; what nations were above, going up the river; if they knew a height of land—in a word, to neglect nothing to obtain all possible information respecting the country.

I set out, although ill, in the hope that it would be nothing and that I would recover at the village my box in which I had put some remedies. On the 13th of December, to the great regret of all the Mandans, a chief came to conduct us a league and a half's distance, whence I sent him back; he testified to me by great demonstrations the regret he felt at my departure, making a sign that I would not abandon him, but to return and that he would accompany us. I gave him a small present of powder, once more recommending the two Frenchmen whom I left with them. He made me a sign that he would take one to his own house. I dismissed him after giving him many thanks. In the evening I noticed that we had only two Assiniboines with us. They made me understand that one had remained with our Frenchmen, not wishing to abandon them; that they would return only in summer with them. I arrived at the village on the 24th still very ill. We had experienced excessive cold, which caused great delay. My box was restored to me; nothing had been touched; they had been satisfied with the slave's bag, which was returned to me empty. Having rested a little, I reproached them for lying to me respecting the Mandans; that there was very little truth in all they had told me. They answered, that they had not pretended to speak of the Mandans, saying that they were like us, that they had intended to speak of that nation which is at the lower part of the river, who work in iron. An Assiniboine rose above the others, saying to me: This is the only one who can speak better to thee about it; thou hast not understood pro-

perly what was said to thee; I do not lie. Last summer I killed one who was covered with iron, as I have already said several times. If I had not killed the horse first, I could not have killed the man. I said to him: What hast thou brought of his spoil to show us that thou speakest the truth? As I wished to cut off his head, I noticed men on horseback who were blocking the way, I escaped with difficulty; I kept nothing to carry off; threw away everything I had even to my blanket, in my flight. What I say is true, and I will have it told to thee by others who were with me the following spring. They are not here now, but thou shalt see them. What I have said I repeat; the other side of the river cannot be seen; the water is salt; it is a country of mountains; a great extent between the mountains of fine land; many cattle, big and stout, white and of different colours, many stags and deer; I have seen their wheat fields, where no women are to be seen; what I tell thee is without deceit; thou wilt learn further of it afterwards. I continued my journey after three days rest. I reached the first mountain on the 9th day of January, where we remained a long time. Mr. de la Marque made up his mind to go on, seeing me still very ill, in order to send me assistance. He arrived on the first day of February; I arrived only on the 10th, greatly fatigued and very ill. I met the assistance he sent me at thirty-five leagues from the fort, which gave me great pleasure, having great need of it. I have never endured so much wretchedness in my life, from illness and fatigue, as in that journey. I found myself, after a fortnight's rest, a little restored. Mr. de la Marque waited my arrival to carry out his design of going to Fort Maurepas, having learned that there were no provisions. I told him that I thought his presence would be very useful in his post. He determined to set out, asking me to leave his brother with a large party of hired men for provisions at my fort, flattering themselves that there was more hope there of seeing people. We were nearly starving, when fortunatly two huts of Indians came, whom I stopped at the Fort. They supplied us by their hunting moose and deer. We numbered forty two persons in the fort, which means a large consumption of food. Mr. de la Marque left on the 16th of the month.

I received news from him shortly after. He informed me that he dreaded a famine, not seeing Indians. We are now in the 16th of April and have not yet seen any one. I do not know how God preserves us.

I sent my son, the Chevalier, that morning, the 16th of April, with an Indian to go to make a search for the fort of Lake Winipigon, and to take notice of the rivers which fall into it, especially the White River (to which I intend to go on the return of our canoes), from the mine which is in the lake, and from that which is in the White River, from the outlet of the lake, to notice the turn of it, and endeavor to prevent the Indians from going to the English, by making them hope for our speedy arrival.

I received a letter from Mr. de la Marque on the 23rd of April, which notified me that he had not yet had any of the Indians; that he has decided to go to find them in the great river Winipigon where they are engaged building their canoes.

I think he is leaving the post too early; the Indians might arrive from the Red River after his departure. On the 22nd of the present month I learned from an Indian that a large band of Assiniboines had drawn up on the Lake of the Prairies who were working on their canoes to go to the English.

On the 24th I sent Sanschagrin with a hired man to bring them here so as to turn them from going to the English.

On the 30th five Assiniboines arrived towards evening to let me know that a large number of people was coming; we have much need of them, having done nothing till now.

On the third of May this great band was reduced to very few.

On the 10th, Mr. Nolant, despairing at no more coming, asked leave to set out, representing to me that there were no more provisions and that they could not remain longer. I did my best to induce him to have patience for some time yet, being much vexed that he should go empty.

Seeing him determined to set out, I gave him permission.

On the same day, the 10th, in the evening, fifteen Assiniboines arrived to notify us that there were sixty huts coming and that they had been told we had gone.

I sent them back with tobacco to hasten their coming. They arrived on the 18th and did their trading in short time. These left. On the 20th, three men arrived to beg me to delay our departure, that thirty huts would arrive. I made them set out with speed, giving them tobacco to tell their people to hasten their coming.

I discovered these days a river flowing to the west. All the lakes and rivers of which I have had any knowledge go to Hudson's Bay, the Northern Sea, except the Mandan River.

I will obtain complete knowledge of it this summer, either by myself or some person on my behalf.

I have referred to the departure of my canoes till the 28th of the month, waiting uselessly for the people to come; only a few arrived, all postponing their coming till summer.

They are so stupid that they think they will be waited for into the summer, and that there will always be time enough to carry off their beavers.

I promised them that as soon as my son and the two men arrived, whom I had left with the Mandans, I would remove as from this quickly as possible.

The Expedition of 1742-43.

Margry's Introduction.

Setting out April 9, 1742 from Fort la Reine, Le Chevalier de la Verendrye and one of his brothers returned there the 20th of June, 1743. On this trip, while they regret having always gone to the south-west and towards the Spaniards, they arrived at the foot of the Rocky Mountains but were not able to cross them. The nations which they have visited call themselves: Les Mantenes (The Mandans), Les Beaux Hommes (the Handsome Men), Les Gens des Chevaux (the Horse Indians), Les Petite Renards (the Little Foxes), Les Pioya, Les Gens de l'Arc (the Bow Indians), Les Gens de Petite Cerise (Little Cherry Indians) on the banks of the Missouri, where the Chevalier performed the ceremony of taking possession, and finally Les Gens de la Fleche Collee, (People of the glued arrow), or Sioux of the Prairie. Vol. 6., p. 598.

Journal of the trip made by Chevalier de la Verendrye with one of his brothers, to reach the West Sea, addressed to M. le Marquis de Beauharnois.

Translated from Margry by C. S. Stevenson.

Sir:—

I take the liberty of writing for you this narrative of a trip that I made with one of my brothers and two Frenchmen sent by my father, charged with the honor of your orders to discover the Sea of the West beyond the Mandans, acting on the report of the savages.

We set out from Fort la Reine the 29th of April and arrived at the Mandans' the 19th of May. There we remained until the 23rd of July, awaiting the arrival of the Gens des Chevaux which we expected from day to day. Seeing the season was advancing and not wishing to give up absolutely, I sought two men among the Mandans to serve as guides to the land of the Horse Indians; in the hope of finding some village near the mountains or on our way; two offered themselves willingly, and we immediately set out.

We marched twenty days west-south-west, which to me did not seem the right direction; we found no one, but many wild beasts. I noticed in many places soils of different colors, as azure, a sort of vermillion, grass-green, shining black, a white as of chalk, and also the color of ochre. If I had seen that I would not be returning through this country I would have taken a piece of each with me. I did not want to burden myself, knowing that I had a long journey to make. We arrived, the 11th of August, at the Mountain of the Gens des Chevaux. Our guides not wishing to pass over, we set about constructing a small hut for ourselves, there to await the first savages whom we might discover. We built fires on all sides for signals, in order to attract someone to us, being resolved to join the first people that presented themselves.

The 10th of September there remained with us but one Mandan, his comrade having left, ten days before, to return to his lodge. I went or sent every day to the lookout on the heights. On the 14th of September our watches discovered a smoke to the south-south-west of us. I sent a Frenchmen with our Mandan

who found a village of Beaux Hommes (Handsome Men) who received them well. They were made to understand by signs that there were yet three others of our party not far away. The next day the chief sent with ours two young men of his tribe to seek us. We came up with them on the 18th and were received with great demonstrations of joy.

Our Mandan desired to return home, fearing we would meet a tribe inimical to his people. I rewarded him generously and gave him that which would be useful and necessary to him on his return home, as I had previously done to his companion.

We remained with the Beaux Hommes twenty-one days. I made them understand to the best of my ability we wanted guides to lead us to a village of Gens des Chevaux. They replied that they had young men who would guide us to the next tribe that we should meet. I gave them many presents with which they appeared well satisfied.

We took our departure the 9th of November. We soon understood them sufficiently for all our needs. Our guides conducted us south-south-west.

The second day we came across a village of the nation of Petite Renards, who exhibited great joy at seeing us. After giving them some presents I said to them through our guides that I sought the Gens des Chevaux who would guide me to the Sea. That set the whole village on the move and always in the same direction. I well knew then that we would be able to find only a known sea. The second days march we ran across a very strong village of the same nation. They treated us very friendly. I gave them many presents, which they regarded as great novelties, and they appeared to me very sensible. They led us to a village of the Pioya, where we arrived the 15th. We were there well received. After having given them some presents I proposed to them that they guide us to some nation that was on its way to the Sea. We continued our route to the south-west. The 17th we came upon a large village of the same nation. I gave them some presents. All together we marched south until the 19th, when we arrived at a village of the Gens des Chevaux. They were in great distress. There was tears and cursing for all their

villages had been destroyed by the Gens des Serpent, from whom very few of them had escaped. The people of this latter tribe were very brave. They were not content in a campaign, with simply destroying a village, as was the custom of the savages. They continued the war from spring until autumn. They were very numerous and woe to those whom they found in their way.

They had not a single nation for friends. We were told that in 1741 they had entirely destroyed seventeen villages, had killed all the men and aged women, made captives of the young women and had sold them on the sea for horses and merchandise.

Here, at the home of the Gens des Chevaux, I enquired if they knew of a nation which lived by the sea. They replied that none of their nation had ever been there as the road was barred by the Gens des Serpent; that we might be able to see, in the course of time, some nation who traded with the Whites of the Sea by making a long trip. By presents I engaged them to march with me to show me the home of the Gens de l'Arc, the only nation which by their bravery did not fear the Gens des Serpent. These have made themselves feared for the wisdom and good judgment of the chief who is at their head. This gave me some hope that he would be able to give me some knowledge of the sea, being friendly to the nation which went there to trade.

Having always marched to the south-west, we found ourselves, on the 18th of November, in a village containing a great number of the Belle Riviere Indians. They gave us information concerning the Gens de l'Arc, who were not far away. We marched together to the south-west. The 21st we discovered a village which appeared very large. All the people of this country have great numbers of horses, donkeys and mules. They use them to carry their luggage and for riding, as much for the hunt as for their travels.

Arrived at the village the chief took us to his lodge. They made their salutations to us after the manner of the savages which was the only way they knew. The chief had all our baggage, placed in his lodge, which was very large, and took good care of our horses.

Up to this time we had been very well received in all of the villages through which we had passed, but it was nothing to be compared with the delightful manner of this great chief of the Bows. A man by no means self interested as were all the others, and who always took very good care of all that belonged to us.

I became attached to this chief, who merited all our friendliness. I learned a little of the language at this time, enough to make myself understood and also to understand that which he desired to say to me, through the pains which he took to instruct me.

I asked him if they knew the Whites of the Sea and if they were able to lead us there. He replied to me, "We know them from what has been told us by the prisoners of the Gens des Serpent whom we ought to meet shortly. Do not be surprised if you see all the villages assemble with us. Word has been sent on all sides for the tribes to join us. You will hear every day the war cry, which is not purposeless. We are going to march to the side of the great mountains which are near the sea, in order to seek the Gens des Serpent. Apprehend nothing in coming with us. You have nothing to fear. You will be able to see the Sea which you seek."

He continued his discourse thus: "The French who are on the sea," he told me, "are numerous. They have a great quantity of captives which they establish on their lands in every nation. These have their own homes, are permitted to marry and are considered free, which causes them to be satisfied with their lot and they do not seek to escape. They raise quantities of horses and other animals which they use in working their land. They have a number of chiefs for their soldiers, and also have some priests." He spoke for me some words of their language. I recognized that he spoke Spanish and that which completed the confirmation of it for me was the story which he told me of the massacre of the Spanish who were going on an exploring trip of the Missouri, of which I had heard spoken. All this strengthened my own impression of the known sea. In the meantime I very much wished to proceed there if it were at all feasible.

We continued our march, sometimes south-south-west, some-

times north-west. Our troop was continually being increased by meeting with many villages of different nations. The first of January, 1743, we found ourselves in sight of the mountains. The number of warriors passed two thousand, which with their families made a considerable company moving steadily over the great prairies where the wild game is in abundance. Every night there were only songs and yells, for no other reason than to persuade us to accompany them to the war. I resisted always by saying that we were there to pacify the country and not to stir it up.

The chief of the Bows repeated often that he was grieved on our account, knowing what all of the nations desired of us, to see that we were undecided about following them, and he asked us as a favor (being engaged with them and not being able to retire until the end of the war) to be willing to accompany him as spectators merely, not asking us to expose ourselves; that the Gens des Serpent were our enemies as well as theirs and that we ought to know that they had no one for friends.

We had a consultation as to what we ought to do. We resolved to follow them, seeing the impossibility, situated as we were, of being able to take any other position, and also because of the desire which I had of seeing the sea beyond the mountains. I informed the chief of the Bows of what we had decided. He appeared well satisfied with this. They gathered together then a great council, to which we were called, as was the custom. The speeches were very long on the part of each nation. The chief of the Bows explained them to me. All talked over those measures which they had to take for the safety of their women and children during their absence, and on the manner of approaching the enemy. Then they addressed us in a speech asking us not to leave them. I replied to the chief of the Bows, which he repeated to the whole assembly, that the Great Chief of the French wished his children to be peaceable and had given us orders to leave all nations in peace, desiring to see all nations in quiet and not at war; that knowing their hearts were justly troubled, I bowed my head and said that I would gladly accompany them as long as they wished, but only to aid them in their councils when

it was needed. They thanked us heartily and held long ceremonies with the calumet.

We continued our march until the 8th of January. The 9th we left the village, where I left my brother to guard our baggage; which was in the lodge of the chief of the Bows.

The greatest part of the people were on horseback, marching in good order. Finally, the twelfth day we arrived at the mountains. They were for the most part well wooded with all kinds of timber, and appeared very high.

When not far away from the greatest of the villages of the Gens des Serpent the scouts returned, informing us that the Gens des Serpent had escaped with great precipitation and had abandoned their lodges and a great part of their equipage. This word terrorized our people, in the fear that the enemy, having discovered us would hurry on to our villages and arrive there before we could. The chief of the Bows did what he could to dissuade them and to engage them in pursuit. No one would listen to him. "It is too bad," he said to me, "that I have brought you thus far and am not able to pass over."

I was very much disappointed in not climbing the mountains as I had wished. We joined the party in turning back. We had come thus far in good order, but the return was very different, each fleeing his own way. Our horses, although fat, were very tired and not often fed. I marched in company with the chief of the Bows, my two Frenchmen following us. I perceived, after having gone quite a bit on the road without looking behind me, that they were missing. I said to the chief of the Bows that I could not see my Frenchmen any more. He replied to me, "I was about to stop all the people who are with us." I turned about at once and saw my men at a point of a wood, where they had stopped to feed their horses. Coming toward them I saw fifteen men who were approaching from the woods and were covering themselves with their shields. One was a little in advance of the others. With our guns half-raised we permitted them to approach. Seeing that they were about to attack us, I deemed it well to fire a few shots at them, which obliged them to retire promptly, fire arms being very much respected among all nations which did not use them, since their shields were not

able to protect them from the bullets. We remained there all night, after which we marched as was the plan, in the hope of finding our Indians again. The prairie through which we were passing was hard and dry, the hoofs of the horses not leaving a mark. We continued our route in good luck, but not knowing that we were going correctly. Finally we arrived at the first of the villages of the Bows, the 9th of February, which was the second day of our retreat.

The chief of the Bows had gone on ahead in order to stop his band which had marched with us, but the terror was too much among them to stop in a country so near the enemy. The chief was troubled all that night, and the next day he made a great detour in the road. He did not cease to seek for his men but did not succeed in finding them. He arrived finally at the village, five days after us, more dead than alive, and in great disappointment, not knowing that we had arrived before. The first news that he received was that we had arrived happily on the eve of the storm, more than two feet of snow having fallen in a veritable blizzard (un temps affreux) the day after our arrival. His sorrow changed to joy; he was unable to give us caresses and attention enough.

What surprised them was that the chief of the Bows with many others had separated his people in order to encircle us to the end of being able to discover us. While doing this he had arrived day after day at villages which were in gloom, believing us to be hopelessly lost. All the other nations had separated in order to find more for them to live upon. We continued to march with the Gens des l'Arc until the first day of March, making always east-south-east.

I sent one of my Frenchmen with a savage to the lodges of the Gens de la Petite Cerise, having learned that they were approaching. They took ten days on this trip and brought back word to us, inviting us to join them.

I communicated our plan to the chief of the Bows, who was very visibly touched at seeing us resolved to leave him. We were not less so at leaving him, for the good attitude which he always had had towards us. In order to console him, I promised to return to find him, supposing that he wished to go

to establish himself near a little river that I had indicated to him, there to construct a fort and to raise grain.

He acquiesced to all that which I proposed to him and asked of me that as soon as I had seen my father at Fort la Reine, to set out immediately the following spring to come to join him. I promised him for his consolation all that he desired and made him a present of all that I believed would be useful to him.

Not seeing any hopes of being taken to the settlements of the Spaniards and not doubting that my father was very anxious for us, we set out to go at once to Fort la Reine and left the chief of the Bows with much regret on both sides.

We arrived the 15th of March at the camp of the Gens de la Petite Cerise. They were returning from their wintering place and were then a two days' march from their home, which was on the banks of the Missouri.

We arrived the 19th at their fort and there we were received with great demonstrations of joy. I applied myself to learning their language and found much of it very easy. They had a man with them who had been raised among the Spaniards and spoke that language as well as his mother tongue. I questioned him often and he told me all that had been reported to me about his case, that he had been baptized and had never forgotten his prayers. I asked him if it were easy to travel there; he replied that it was far, and that the road was full of dangers, on account of the Gens des Serpent; it would take at least twenty days to make the journey, on horse-back.

I informed myself about their trading. He told me that they worked in iron and had a great traffic in the hides of cattle and in slaves, giving in exchange horses and merchandise as the savages wished, but never guns nor ammunition.

He told me that at a three days' journey from there was a Frenchman who had been established many years. I would have gone to find him if our horses had been in condition. I resolved to write to him to engage him to come to find us, that we would wait for him until the end of March, hoping to set out at the beginning of April to return to the Mandans and from there to Fort la Reine, and that if he were not able to come he would at least let us know his story.

I placed on an eminence near the fort a tablet of lead, with the arms and inscription of the King and a pyramid of stones for Monsieur le General; I said to the savages, who did not know of the tablet of lead that I had placed in the earth, that I was placing these stones as a memorial of those who had come to their country. I had very much wished to take the altitude of this place but our astrolabe had been out of service since the beginning of our journey, the ring being broken.

Seeing we were in the month of April, without news of the Frenchmen, being urged by the guides which I had engaged to guide us to the Mandans, and our horses being in good condition, I prepared to set out and gave many presents to the chiefs of the nation who had always treated and cared for us well while with them, as well as to many others of the great numbers of our good friends. I requested the chiefs that if perchance the Frenchmen to whom I had written should come to their fort a short time after our departure he should be sent to find us with the Mandans, as we counted on making some sojourn there. I had hopes of drawing him away from among the savages. I assured the chief of the nation that I had great need of three young men which he had given to us for guides, and that although the Mandans were their enemies, they had nothing to fear while with us.

We set out the second of April much to the regret of all the Indians. They heartily entreated us to return to see them.

On the 9th about midday, we met with a village of twenty-five lodges of the Gens de la Fleche Collee, otherwise called Sioux of the Prairies. We passed among the women and luggage; delaying very little. They were very friendly and showed us the place where they were going to camp.

We placed ourselves in sight of their village, expecting that someone would come out to find us, but we were always on our guard. No one came.

The next day we continued our march, always north-north-east and north-west until we came to the Mandans, without meeting anyone. There we arrived the 18th of May. I dismissed our guides after having rewarded them well.

It was necessary for us to settle down fifteen or twenty days to rest ourselves and to put our horses in good condition, but the 26th I learned that there were some Assiniboines at Fort la Butte, who were about to set out for Fort la Reine. We got ourselves ready promptly to profit by the occasion and to place ourselves through them under cover from dangers from the enemy. We came to Fort la Butte the morning of the 27th. The Assiniboines had just left. We had not informed them that we wished to go with them. Two Mandans presented themselves to go to see my father and to learn the route to Fort la Reine. We had gone but a little of the march when we joined the Assiniboines at their emcampment. There were more than one hundred of them. We continued our journey all together.

The 31st our scouts saw thirty ambushed on our road. We advanced all together. They were very much surprised at seeing so many people and retired in good order, turning about from time to time against those who approached them a little too fast. They well knew with whom they had to deal, knowing the Assiniboines for their cowardice. As soon as they perceived us all mounted on our horses, and that we were Frenchmen, they escaped with great haste, not even looking behind them. We had no one killed but many wounded. We did not know how many people they had lost except one man who suddenly found himself in our midst. We returned from the village near the mountains the 2nd of June. As our horses were fatigued we rested until the 20th, before marching with the village. We took a guide to lead us to Fort la Reine where we arrived the 2nd of July to the great joy of my father, who was very anxious concerning us, it not having been possible to give him news of us since our departure, and to our great satisfaction at seeing ourselves safely through all pain, perils and dangers.

Letter From Beauharnois.

The governor transmits the Chevalier's report upon the expedition of 1742-43 to the French Minister of Marine, with appropriate comment.

October 27, 1744.

I have the honor of sending you herewith the Journal, which the son of La Verendrye has addressed to me, on the occasion of the voyage which he has made to the Mandans, in order to follow up the discovery of the sea of the west, following orders and instructions the Sieur de La Verendrye had given to him and of which I had the honor to render a complete account to you last year. Although he may not as yet have reached the goal which he himself proposed, it appears to me, My Lord, that he has neglected nothing of the dlligence which ought to have taken him there, and he dares to flatter himself that you will be willing to judge likewise, if you will have the goodness to attach some consideration to the opposition which he has surmounted, it may be perhaps in bringing about friendship with the nations to whom no one has as yet penetrated; it may be necessary to success even to serve them, in order to obtain from them the aid and knowledge which are necessary for this enterprise. This officer, My Lord, has appeared in the extreme mortification of this, that they have tried to give to the purity of his sentiments for the success of this enterprise a character opposite to the views which he has. I do not take the liberty of entering into detail of the reasons which may be able to justify his conduct. But I am not able to refuse him the witnesses which appear to me to be due him, that he has, in this enterprise, worked only for the advantage of the colony through the number of establishments which he has made in the places where no one had before penetrated, which produce to-day a great quantity of beaver and hides, from which the English had profited, without occasioning any expense to His Majesty Governor of Canada for these establishments; that the idea, that he has done these things to amass wealth in these places, falls of its own accord through the poverty in which he is, being able to assure you, My Lord,

without any kindness nor partiality for him, that twelve years which he has spent in these posts have not netted him more than 4,000 livres, which is all that he has and which perhaps may remain to him after he has paid his debts which he has contracted for this enterprise, and finally, My Lord, these things in the condition in which he has placed them, appear to me always entirely worthy of your kindness toward him. There is also the hope, which I have, that you be willing to accord what I beg of you, My Lord, to give him reasonable recognition and to procure his advancement on the first occasion, along with his seniority over those who have been preferred in the vacant companies this year. I know no reason through which he had merited this mortification, which he has not of being promoted, and I dare even to attribute to forgetfulness, My Lord, what you have done to the proposition which I made to you concerning Sieur de La Verendrye, as the oldest of the lieutenants and the subject which appears to me to be most worthy of the graces of the King. In fact My Lord, six years of services in France, thirty-two in this colony, without reproach, at least I am not able to give him any, and nine wounds on the body, were the motives which have not been able to cause me to fluctuate from proposing him to you to fill one of the vacant companies, and if I have had reason to flatter myself, My Lord, that you are persuaded that I place on my lists only officers capable of service and who merit your graces, it is particularly in regard to the notice that you will be willing to take in favor of Sieur de La Verendrye.

I am with a very profound respect, My Lord, your very humble and very obedient servant

Beauharnois.

Pierre I. Protests.

Sieur de La Verendrye to the Minister of the Marine.

Quebec, October 31, 1744

My Lord,

The unfavorable discourse, as well as that which jealousy has been able to introduce through writing to Your Highness, concerning the enterprise which I have followed since 1731 for the success of the discovery of the sea of the west and of which I have been informed, renders the zeal, with which I have always been animated for the service and particularly for this discovery, especially more sensitive to the ridicule which has been given me, attacking not the least the purity of the motives which make up alone the object of my enterprise, towards which all my ambitions are bent entirely. Besides, My Lord, I can attribute to the slanders only, which have been told and written to you on my account, the mortification which I received today, of not having had part in the promotions of this year, although I am the senior officer and services should be able to arouse, on this occasion, the justice and graciousness of Your Highness. I feel My Lord, all the concern I have had in justifying myself in your eyes and I am able to give you no greater proof than the liberty, which I take to beg you to accept the short memoir which I have the honor to attach herewith, which outlines the conduct which I have observed since 1731 in order to be able to succeed in this discovery, the accidents from which I was not able to guarantee myself, and the opposition which it has not been possible for me to surmount in hastening towards the greatest perfection. If I dare to flatter myself, My Lord, that you will be willing to be persuaded of the sincerity and truth which is the foundation of this memoir, as regards the wealth, which some have written to Your Highness that I have procured in the different posts where I was established, that is easily destroyed by the situation in which I find myself, which furnishes little means to satisfy my loans, which I was obliged to make for this enterprise. This moreover, My Lord, is an

object which at all times has been the least of my desires, and although I may be poorer than I was before this discovery I will consider myself entirely repaid if the cares and the attentions which I have brought here should be able to merit for me the graciousness of Your Highness, and I dare to hope if it is necessary to add to them, nine wounds which I have on my body, thirty-nine years of service both in France and in this colony, and pains and fatigues which I have borne for thirteen years for the success of the establishments which I have made in those places, where none had before penetrated, which will always make up a considerable increase in the commerce of the colony, and even if I have not succeeded entirely in finding the sea of the west and for which I have never occasioned any expense to His Majesty.

I am with a very profound respect, My Lord your very humble and very obedient servant,

My Lord,

Varennes de La Verendrye.

La Verendrye Named Captain.

Letter from the Discoverer to the Minister of the Marine.

Quebec, November 1, 1746

My Lord,

It is with the greatest gratitude that I take the liberty of thanking you, My Lord, for the grace which you have had the goodness to accord me in procuring my promotion. I fully appreciate the value of this favor, which will only increase in me the emulation and the zeal which I have always had for my work.

M. le Marquis de Beauharnois, our general, has honored me by foreseeing for me that he would cause me to continue the discoveries of the sea of the west in default of M. de Noyelles, who has asked him to be relieved. I will make, I assure you, my Lord, the greatest efforts to repay the confidence which he has been kind enough to place in me. The knowledge which I have of this country, together with that which has been acquired by my sons, two of whom are in the posts now, puts me in good condition to make new discoveries yet more satisfactory; at least it will not restrain me. I beg you my Lord, to be persuaded of the attention which I will carry there, having yet more in view the success of the enterprise than my own particular interest, which I will always be ready to sacrifice, if it be necessary, in the service of the King.

I am with a very profound respect,

My Lord,

of Your Highness

The very humble and obedient servant,

La Verendrye

The New Governor is Loyal.

Letter from Marquis de La Galissoniere to the Minister.

Quebec, October 23, 1747

My Lord,

I had thought not to take up the subject of the discovery of the sea of the West, being as yet so little instructed. It appears to me though that what has been written to you on the subject of Sieur de La Verendrye as having worked harder in his own interests than for the discovery, is very false, and that most of the officers who have been employed there will find it necessary to give a part of their time to trading, as the King has not furnished them other means of subsisting, which perhaps would not be right; but it is not a good way to encourage them, to reproach them for some small profits or to retard their promotion as the Sieur de La Verendrye has pretended has happened to him. These discoveries cause a very great expense and expose them to greater fatigues and graver dangers than open warfare. The Sieur de La Salle and the sons of Sieur de La Verendrye and some others who have perished there, furnish the proof of this. Finally as regards the Sieur de La Verendrye I would refer you to a letter written you by M. de marquis de Beauharnois October 15, 1746.

I am with a very profound respect

My Lord, etc.,

La Galissoniere.

Death of Pierre Gautier de La Verendrye.

Extract from a letter from the Marquis de La Jonquiere, dated at Quebec, February 27, 1750.

I have the honor to report to you the death of Sieur de Croiselle, captain of the garrison of Three Rivers * * and that of M. de La Verendrye, also captain at Montreal which happened the 6th of December.

As this latter officer was commissioned to continue in person the discovery of the sea of the west, and as it appears to me that it is the intention of the King to pursue this discovery, I have charged M. de Saint Pierre with this task, and I am expecting that he will set out in the early spring. It is this officer alone who has the greatest knowledge of all this country, etc.

Unfortunate Situation.

Letter from the Chevalier de La Verendrye to the Minister of the Marine.

September 30, 1750

There remains to me no other recourse than to throw myself at the feet of Your Highness and to importune you through a recital of my misfortunes.

I am called La Verendrye. My late father is known here and in France as the Discoverer of the sea of the West to which he sacrificed more than fifteen of the last years of his life. He marched and caused us to march, my brothers and I, with the one idea of reaching the goal, which he might have done if he had been aided more and not been crosed at every turn through envy. Envy is here more than elsewhere a fashionable passion, against which it is not possible to guarantee oneself. While my father and I were overburdening ourselves with fatigues and expenses, our steps were represented only as being turned toward the discovery of beaver; our necessary expenses were only dissipations, and our narratives were only lies. The envy of this country is not a demi-envy. One of its principles of advancement is to talk evil, in the hope that even if half of the lies found favor, there would be sufficient to injure and effectively. My father, while doing his duty, has had the misfortune to return and cause us to return more than once in arrears, without aid and protection. He even sometimes received the reproaches of the Court, more occupied with marching than with telling about his trip when he might have made a more just account. He had no iea of promotions and had no zeal for his own enterprises, persuaded that sooner or later his work would not be without success nor without reward.

During the time that he was putting forth the best of his good efforts, envy had the upper hand. He saw pass into the hands of another the posts already established and his own work. While he was thus stopped in his course, the great quantity of beaver attracted the attention of the other one as they had himself; but the posts far from multiplying disappeared, and there was no progress made in the discovery. It is this

which grieved him the most. M. le Marquis de La Galissoniere arrived in the country about this time, and in spite of all that was told him of good or bad, he judged that a man who had advanced such discoveries at his own cost and his own expense, and although he had heard nothing from the King, and who was in heavy debt for the good establishments, merited another trial. More and more beaver in the colony and to the profit of the Company of India, four or five posts well established in the far country besides forts just as good which they were pushing into the country farther on, the number of savages received as subjects of the King, and of which some, in the company which I commanded set the example to our peaceable savages to strike against the other savages who were allied to the English, these appeared to be worthy services. Independent of the project commenced of the discovery and of which the success could not have been more prompt and more efficacious than by remaining in the same hands. It is thus that the M. le marquis de La Galissoniere has had the goodness to explain his actions, and without doubt it has been explained thus to the Court, since my father, the following year, which was last year, found himself honored with the Cross of St. Louis and invited to continue the work commenced with his children. He was anxious to set out with his whole heart. He was sparing nothing to succeed. He had already bought and prepared all the merchandise for the trading. He had inspired me and my brothers with his ardour, when his death took him from us the 6th of last December.

Although my grief was then very great, I was not able to imagine nor to foresee all that I had lost in losing my father. Succeeding to his engagements and to his charges, I had dared to hope for the succession of the same advantages. I had the honor to write immediately to M. le Marquis de la Jonquierre informing him that I had recovered from an indisposition which had come to me suddenly and which might serve as a pretext to someone to supplant me. He replied to me that he had made choice of M. de Saint Pierre to go to the Sea of the West. I set out immediately from Montreal, where I was to go to Quebec. I represented the situation in which my father had left me, that there was more than one post in the Sea of the

West; that my brother and I would be pleased to be under orders from M. de Saint Pierre; that we would be contented, if he were willing, with only a single post, and with the most distant post, that for ourselves we would ask only to go in advance; that in pushing the discoveries we would be able to get back part of the purchases of my late father and that which yet remained in the posts; that at least we would have the consolation of making the greatest efforts in order to change the views of the Court. M. le marquis de la Jonquiere, impressed and even touched, it appeared to me, by my representations, told me finally that M. de Saint Pierre wished neither me nor my brothers. I asked him what would become of our goods. M. de Saint Pierre had spoken. There was nothing to get. I returned to Montreal with this consoling solution. I sold a little land, the only property handed down from my late father, of which the last had served to satisfy the most pressing of the creditors. Meanwhile the season was advancing. I was anxious to go as a civilian to the rendezvous appointed with my employees in order to save their lives and to see about their return subject without this protection to robbery and abandonment. I obtained this permission without much trouble, in spite of M. de Saint Pierre, and only with the conditions and restrictions made for the last of the voyages. Scarcely had M. de Saint Pierre seen me set out than he complained that my departure had caused him a loss of more than ten thousand francs and he accused me without any ceremony of having loaded my canoe in spite of the permission he had accorded me. The accusation was examined. They sent out in pursuit of my canoe, and if they had overtaken it from that time, M. de Saint Pierre would have been the sooner satisfied. He overtook me at Missilimakinac and if I had believed him he was wrong to have acted thus. He had been very much offended at not having with him either me or my brothers. He witnessed this with many regrets to me and paid me many compliments. However that may be such was his conduct. It is difficult to find there good faith and humanity. M. de Saint Pierre was allowed to take all he has taken to assure his own interests of the advantages which will come, and to take a relative with him, without exclud-

ing us entirely. M. de Saint Pierre is an officer of merit, and I have nothing to complain of his being found opposed to me; but, with all the good ideas which we had been able to give to him on different occasions, he can hardly prove that in this matter he has had in view the good of the enterprise, that in this matter he has conformed to the intentions of the Court and has respected the kindnesses with which M. de La Galissoniere honored us. It may be though that in order to do us such a wrong he has prejudiced us in the eyes of M. le marquis de La Jonquiere, though himself always kindly disposed towards us.

I am ruined for all that. My returns of this year, received in half and at the end of a thousand inconveniences, has brought about my ruin. Accounts fixed, those of my father as well as mine, I find myself more than twenty thousand livres in debt, I am without foundation or patrimony. I am simply a second ensign. My elder brother has only the same grade as myself, and my younger brother is only a cadet with aiguilettes. This is the fruit of all that my father and my brothers and I have done. The one of my brothers who was assassinated by the Sioux some years ago was not the most unfortunate. His blood has won for us no honor, the labours of my father and ours have become useless. It is necessary to abandon that which has cost us so much, unless M. de Saint Pierre does not take back his better sentiments, and does not communicate them to M. le marquis de Jonquiere. Certainly we have not been nor never would be useless to M. de Saint Pierre. I have hidden nothing from him that I believe would be of service to him, but however clever he may be and I give him the best wishes, I dare to say that he is liable to take many false steps and to waste many a day by excluding us from his party. It is a difference from being always lost and it seems to us that we will be actually certain of the right road to reach the goal, if it can be done. Our greatest grief is to find ourselves snatched from a work which we provided ourselves for in order to push it with all our efforts.

Deign then, my Lord to consider the cause of three orphans. Is the misfortune, great as it is, without remedy? In

your hands, Your Highness are the resources for indemnification and compensation, I dare to hope. To find ourselves excluded from the west would be to find ourselves despoiled, with extreme cruelty, of a hope of heritage of that for which we have always worked and of which others have always had the fruits.

Jusserand.

Letters from the French Ambassador.

AMBASSADE
DE LA REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE
AUX ETATS-UNIS

Washington, le June 19th 1913.

President P. F. McClure,
The Pierre National Bank
Pierre. S. Dakota.

Dear Sir:

Representative Burke had the kindness of calling in person a few days ago and handing me your letter which I read with intense interest. Intense is certainly not saying too much Once more a chance find has proved the reliability of man's word; what the explorer said he had done, we now see that he had actually done to the letter; this proof of his minute veracity shows what confidence we must have in his relation of his bold journey in quest of the Western Sea. Bishop O'Gorman's quasi prophetic statement enhances, in the most picturesque fashion, the value of the find. I heartily congratulate South Dakota on the possession of such a unique **birthday plate.**

As Representative Temple of Pennsylvania has well pointed out in a note which Mr. Burke was so good as to hand me, the chief documents concerning the La Verendrye explorers are in Pierre Margry's valuable work called: "Devouvertes et Etablissements des Francais dans le Sud de l'Amerique Septentrionale, 1614, 1754," Paris, Vol. VI., 1888.

By sifting the documents printed there and putting together the data supplied about those "decouvreurs," one finds that the case was as follows:

There were five La Verendryes, viz., the father and four sons. The father's full name was Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, sieur de la Verendrye. He was an officer in the French troops in New France, otherwise Canada and had long been under the colours. A document of 1744 shows that he had at that date 38 years of military service (people entered the army in

those days almost as children; Marshal Rochambeau made his first campaign at sixteen); that is 6 years in France and 32 in Canada. He had been nine times wounded; and had been left for dead, fighting at Malplaquet under Marshal de Villars (1709). An account by himself of his efforts to discover the Western Sea shows that he had been busy then with this work for 13 years, "having undergone great pains and fatigues," he says, "to reach the spot where I created settlements and where no one had been before; the same will secure a considerable increase of trade to our colony, even if it does not prove possible to absolutely discover the Western Sea." He was made captain shortly after and received the much coveted cross of a Knight of St. Louis. His promotion had been slow; enemies had spoken ill of him at Court where he had no time to defend himself, being busier, proudly writes one of his sons, "walking than talking." He was about to start for a last western expedition with his sons when he died in Montreal on the 6th of December 1749.

A memoir of his concerning the road he intended to follow mentions a statement which one of his sons, the one usually called le Chevalier (the Knight), had received from Cristinaux Indians, and according to which, "they had knowledge of a great lake on the other side of the mountains, the water of which could not be drunk,"—may be the sea, may be, much more probably, the salt lake of Utah. The old explorer merely repeats the words, adding no comment.

He had four sons, all of them officers and explorers like himself. One was killed in an encounter with the Sioux. Of the three others the eldest named, like his father, Pierre Gaultier de La Verendrye, had entered the army in 1728, had spent six consecutive years in the unknown West, learning the languages of the Indian nations one after the other, as they were discovered. In 1741, accompanied by two Frenchmen, he had started on an important expedition West, which he carried so far as to arrive in the vicinity of two Spanish forts; so, at last, he was told; but vicinity is a vague word, and was a vaguer one in those days and regions. He served later on the "English frontier," by which was meant our establishments in the

Ohio valley; and made afterwards some more explorations West.

Le "Chevalier de La Verendrye," another son of the old officer started on the expedition in which he laid the newly discovered lead plate, in April 1742, taking with him the youngest of the brothers and two Frenchmen. He kept a brief journal, which he sent on his return to the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor General of New France. The program of the expedition, which had been planned by La Verendrye the father, consisted in "the discovery of the Western Sea through the country of the Mantanes" or Mandans. They left on the 29th of April the Fort La Reine, built in 1739 by La Verendrye the father on the St. Charles, now the Assiniboine River; reached the Mantanes' country on the 19th of May, visited the "Gens de l'Arc (Bow Indians), well received everywhere, but everywhere informed that, owing to the bravery, ferocity and power of the Snake Indians, the going beyond the Rockies was exceedingly difficult. No one had been able to pass that human barrier; vague reports stated however that by taking a long circuitous route, one might reach a nation (of Indians) that traded with "the Whites of the Sea," obviously the Spaniards of California. But that part of the coast was not at all that which the La Verendryes wanted to reach.

All the expedition could do was to come in sight of the Rocky Mountains, "which are, most of them, very woody, with all sorts of trees, and which seemed very high." On the return journey (begun in January 1743), made difficult by snow and bad weather, after divers incidents and halts with various "nations," they reached, on the 15th of March, "les Gens de la Petite Cerise," the Little Cherry Indians. "They were returning from their winter quarters and were at two days' distance on foot from their fort which is on the banks of the Missouri. We arrived at that fort on the 19th and were received with great manifestations of joy." The Chevalier began at once learning their language; helped by one of them who spoke Spanish, and was informed that a solitary Frenchman (with whom he vainly tried to communicate) was living at a three days' distance.

It is while staying at that fort that the plate was buried.

This was a customary thing to do. In another set of documents, also published by Margry (same volume), one sees another officer, M. de Celoron placing a number of such tokens, in 1749, along the "Belle Riviere," that is the Ohio River, when we had decided again to affirm our rights in this region. He says, for example, in his journal: "On the 29th (July 1749) I entered at noon the Belle Riviere and caused to be buried a lead plate on which is engraved the taking possession by me, in the name of the King, of the said River and of all those falling into it. I caused also the arms of the King, struck on a piece of sheet iron to be hung on a tree, and a declaration recounting the whole was drawn up and signed by me and the other officers."

There was much less solemnity in the case of the Chevalier de la Verendrye; no arms of the King at which the Indians might have taken unbrage were hung up to view; it was not a case of actual and regular annexation, but one, apparently, of asserting influence and preventing for the future other people's claims. Contrary to the Celoron examples no taking of possession was mentioned.

"I placed," wrote the explorer, referring to a time which the context shows to have been the end of March, "on a hillock near the fort, on behalf of our General, a plate of lead with the arms and the name of the King, and raised a pyramid of stones. I told the savages, who had no knowledge of the plate of lead which I had buried in earth, that I placed those stones as a memorial of our having come to their lands. I should have greatly liked to take the height at that place, but our astrolabe had been out of use, from our start its ring having been broken."

After having waited until the second of April for the unknown Frenchman, who did not appear, the party journeyed home and reached the Fort La Reine on July 2nd, 1743, "to the great contentment," the traveler says, "of my father who was very anxious about us, as it had been impossible to give him news of us since we had left."

The text of the plate so wonderfully recovered has a little story to tell. As it was not easy to print a text on the way, during such difficult expeditions, people would start with ready-

prepared ones. The Chevalier seems to have provided himself with one which had been made in view of his elder brother's before mentioned expedition of 1741. It bears, in fact, the name of the eldest of the La Verendryes the text stamped under the arms of France reading:

"Anno XXVI Regni Ludovici XV—Prorege illustrissimo Domino, Domino Marchione de Beauharnois, MDCCXXXI—Petrus Gaultier de Laverendrie Posuit."

That is: "In the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Louis XV., the most illustrious Lord, the Lord Marquis of Beauharnois being Viceroy, 1741, Peter Gaultier de Laverendrie placed this."

But the obverse of the plate, shows that it was really turned to use by the Chevalier and at the exact moment mentioned by him. Instead of the beautiful regular inscriptions engraved at home in Latin for the elder brother before he started, we have but a rough one, made as best they could, with the point of a knife, and certainly not by Verendrye himself. As the placing of the plate in the earth was done secretly, and he himself was probably staying, as usual, with the chief of the tribe, he apparently gave orders to one of his followers to do the necessary work. That follower must have been one of the "two Frenchmen" which he mentions without giving their names as having accompanied him. It was not his brother who is not named in the plate, and who, as we see in the journal, would sometimes be stationed at a different place. The author of the inscription was a man of little education who writes "chevalier" with a y and a t: "Chevalyet," and who apparently performed his work in some hurry. So far as it can be read on the photograph which you had the kindness of sending me, the text is:

"Pose par le
Chevalyet de Lave
t b St(?) Louis la Londette
A Miotte
le 30 de Marse 1743"

Louise or St. Louis la Londette and A. Miotte who sign as witnesses were undoubtedly the "two Frenchmen" who had accompanied the Chevalier.

Everything about the plate tallies with everything in the journal; its authenticity cannot be doubted. As a reminder of the plucky attempt of ancestors, acting under most trying difficulties, the new-found relic has a truly sacred character, for Frenchmen and for Americans both.

I may mention two more points, one is that the Chevalier brought back from one of his expeditions "two bits of stone which he had received from Cristineaux Indians who attribute to them great medical properties. They told him that they had them from a mountain in those parts that emit flames (fumes?) and makes a great noise" probably one of the earliest curios on record brought from the Yellowstone region.

The second point is that, at the death of La Verendrye the father, the search for the Western Sea was confined to another officer, Captain Legardeur de St. Pierre, he also a Knight of St. Louis, with 36 years experience of life among savages ("depuis 36 ans parmi les sauvages"). After one more futile attempt to reach the West, he was sent to command one of our re-established forts in the valley of the "Belle Riviere," and he probably never suspected that a visit he received there, in December 1753, would do more to give his name a place in history than all his explorations. The visitor who was bringing a letter from Robert Dinwiddie, Governor of Virginia, requesting the French to withdraw from those parts, was a young officer called Major Washington. Captain de St. Pierre wrote back to the British Governor from the "Fort sur la Riviere aux Boeufs, December 15, 1753:" Whatever may be your own instructions, mine are to stay here in accordance with the orders of my General, and I beg you, Sir, to be persuaded that I shall try to conform to them with all the exactitude and resolution which may be expected from a good officer." Concerning the young Major of 21, M. de St. Pierre said: "I took pleasure in welcoming Mr. Washington with all the distinction due to your dignity and to his personal merit." Other French officers were to render homage later to Washington's personal merit, under very different and much more memorable circumstances.

Thanking you most sincerely for having felt that the recent discovery would give me no less joy than to any of your

compatriots in South Dakota, and for having sent me such an interesting account of the find, I beg you to believe me, Dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

Jusserand.

I intend sailing for France on July 3rd, I shall not forget the La Verendryes while there, and if I find anything new which might interest you and your State, I shall not fail to let you know. Would it be possible for you to supply me with another copy of the two photographs of the plate? I would make good use of them. J.

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l'Ermitage
Evian
(Haute-Savoie)

Dear Sir,

Your letter of June 28th has followed me from place to place and lastly reached me here.

I am glad to hear that my answer concerning the La Verendryes pleased you and was found of use. To what I said I have only to add that the specialists whom I consulted agree that the separate letters at the beginning of the third line of the French text on the plate must be taken as an abbreviation of the name "Toussaint" a well known French Christian name. Those letters as you remember read

t o st

The full name of the first witness would thus be Toussaint Louis la Londette.

Believe me
Sincerely yours
Jusserand

Paris address
23 Avenue du Trocadero

AMBASSADE
DE LA REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE
AUX ETATS-UNIS

Washington, le April 10, 1914.

Dear Sir,

I have been greatly interested by your letter of March 21st and regret that pressure of business prevented me from answering it sooner.

I can add but little to what I had written before concerning the La Verendrye family and the leaden plate so wonderfully discovered. I have, however, ascertained how the third line of the inscription in French should be interpreted. The first letters preceding the word Louis are an abbreviation for the christian name of Toussaint. The full name of the man mentioned in that line reads therefore: Toussaint Louis la Londette.

I do not know where Rene Gaultier de Varennes was born. The chief place of abode of the family was certainly for a long time Trois Rivieres (Three Rivers) in Canada, Province of Quebec; there Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, father of the Chevalier and of the others was born in 1686, and his own father Rene had been, for 22 years, according to Margry, Governor of the said city of Trois Rivieres.

From what part of France the family hailed before settling in Canada, I do not know. The name of Varenne or Varennes is to be found in every part of the country; it desigates uncultivated grounds with game in them; I find 34 places bearing that name nowadays in France.

A nephew, as you know, of Pierre de Varennes de la Verendrye helped him and his sons in several of their explorations, he was called the Sieur de la Jemmeraye and was an officer like his relations: his mother (a sister of said Pierre) founded the order of the "Hospitalieres" nuns at Montreal.

The surviving La Verendrye continued to serve in the army and took part in the Seven Years War. The ultimate fate of the Chevalier alone is known: he perished in the wreck of the "Auguste" on November 15th 1761.

Why he was called the Chevalier, is not known with certainty. The probability is that he derived this title from having been made, in his youth, a member of the military order of Malta.

If I could learn more about this interesting, and in many respects admirable family, I would not fail to let you know. Allow me, in the meantime, to compliment you and your friends on the interest displayed in Pierre about the finding of the plate, and to express the hope that it has become the property of your city.

With many thanks for the interesting data as to the circumstances of the discovery which you were so good as to send me, I beg you to believe me, with best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

Jusserand.

To Hon. Charles E. DeLand:

Parkman's Story of the Verendryes.

(Half Century of Conflict, II. 29.)

Rene Gaultier de Varennes, lieutenant in the regiment of Carignan, married at Three Rivers, in 1667, the daughter of Pierre Boucher, governor of that place; the age of the bride, Demoiselle Marie Boucher, being twelve years, six months, and eighteen days. Varennes succeeded his father-in-law as governor of Three Rivers, with a salary of twelve hundred francs, to which he added the profits of a farm of forty acres; and on these modest resources, reinforced by an illicit trade in furs, he made shift to sustain the dignity of his office. His wife became the mother of numerous offspring, among whom was Pierre born in 1685,—an active and hardy youth, who, like the rest of the poor but vigorous Canadian noblesse, seemed born for the forest and the fur-trade. When, however, the War of the Spanish Succession broke out, the young man crossed the sea, obtained the commission of lieutenant, and was nearly killed at the battle of Malplaquet, where he was shot through the body, received six sabre-cuts, and was left for dead on the field. He recovered, and returned to Canada, when, finding his services slighted, he again took to the woods. He had assumed the designation of La Verendrye, and thenceforth his full name was Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Verendrye.[1]

In 1728, he was in command of a small post on Lake Nipigon, north of Lake Superior. Here an Indian chief from the River Kaministiquia told him of a certain great lake which discharged itself by a river flowing westward. The Indian further declared that he had descended this river till he reached water that ebbed and flowed, and terrified by the strange phenomenon, had turned back, though not till he had heard of a great salt lake, bordered with many villages. Other Indians confirmed and improved the story. "These people," said La Verendrye to the Jesuit Degonner, "are great liars, but now and then they tell the truth."[2] It seemed to him likely that their stories of a western river flowing to a west-

[1]M. Benjamin Sulte has traced out the family history of the Varennes in the parish registers of Three Rivers, and other trustworthy sources See Revue Canadienne, X. 781, 849, 935.—Francis Parkman.

[2]Relation du Pere Degonnor, Jesuite, Missionaire des Sioux, addressee a M. le Marquis de Beauharnois.—F. P.

ern sea were not totally groundless, and that the true way to the Pacific was not, as had been supposed, through the country of the Sioux but farther northward, through that of the Cristineaux and Assiniboines, or, in other words, through the region now called Manitoba. In this view he was sustained by his friend Degonner, who had just returned from the ill-starred Sioux mission.

La Verendrye, fired with the zeal of discovery, offered to search for the Western Sea if the King would give him one hundred men and supply canoes, arms, and provisions.[3] But, as was usual in such cases, the King would give nothing; and though the Governor, Beauharnois, did all in his power to promote the enterprise, the burden and the risk were left to the adventurer himself. La Verendrye was authorized to find a way to the Pacific at his own expense, in consideration of a monopoly of the fur-trade in the regions north and west of Lake Superior. This vast and remote country was held by tribes who were doubtful friends of the French, and perpetual enemies of each other. The risks of the trade were as great as its possible profits, and to reap these, vast outlays must first be made: Forts must be built, manned, provisioned, and stocked with goods brought through two thousand miles of difficult and perilous wilderness. There were other dangers, more insidious, and perhaps greater. The exclusive privileges granted to La Verendrye would inevitably rouse the intensest jealousy of the Canadian merchants, and they would spare no effort to ruin him. Intrigue and calumny would be busy in his absence. If, as was likely, his patron, Beauharnois, should be recalled, the new governor might be turned against him, his privileges might be suddenly revoked, the forts he had built passed over to his rivals, and all his outlays turned to their profit, as had happened to La Salle on the recall of his patron, Frontenac. On the other hand, the country was full of the choicest furs, which the Indians had hitherto carried to the English at Hudson Bay, but which the proposed trading-posts would secure to the French. La Verendrye's enemies pretended that he thought of nothing but beaver-skins, and slighted the discovery which he had bound himself

[3]Relation de Degonor; Beauharnois au Ministre, 1 Oct. 1731.—F. P.

to undertake; but his conduct proves that he was true to his engagements, and that ambition to gain honorable distinction in the service of the King had a large place among the motives that impelled him.

As his own resources were of the smallest, he took a number of associates on conditions most unfavorable to himself. Among them they raised money enough to begin the enterprise, and on the 8th of June, 1731, La Verendrye and three of his sons, together with his nephew La Jemmeraye, the Jesuit Messager, and a party of Canadians, set out from Montreal. It was late in August before they reached the great portage of Lake Superior, which led across the height of land separating the waters of that lake from those flowing to Lake Winnipeg. The way was long and difficult. The men, who had perhaps been tampered with, mutinied, and refused to go farther.[4] Some of them, with much ado, consented at last to proceed, and, under the lead of La Jemmeraye, made their way by an intricate and broken chain of lakes and streams to Rainy Lake, where they built a fort and called it Fort St. Pierre. La Verendrye was forced to winter with the rest of the party at the river Kaministiguia, not far from the great portage. Here months were lost, during which a crew of useless mutineers had to be fed and paid; and it was not till the next June that he could get them again into motion towards Lake Winnipeg.

This ominous beginning was followed by a train of disasters. His associates abandoned him; the merchants on whom he depended for supplies would not send them, and he found himself, in his own words "destitute of everything." His nephew, La Jemmeraye, died. The Jesuit Auneau, bent on returning to Michillimackinac, set out with La Verendrye's eldest son and a party of twenty Canadians. A few days later, they were all found on an island in the Lake of the Woods, murdered and mangled by the Sioux.[5] The Assiniboines and Cristineaux, mortal foes of that fierce people, offered to join the French and avenge the butchery; but a war with the

[4]Memoire du Sieur de la Verendrye du Sujet des Establissements pour parvenir a la Decouverte de la Mer de l' Ouest, in Margry, VI. 585.

[5]Beauharnois au Ministre, 14 Oct. 1736; Relation du Massacre au Lac des Bois, en Juin, 1736; Journal de la Verendrye, joint a la lettre de M. de Beauharnois du—Oct. 1737.—F. P.

Sioux would have ruined La Verendrye's plans of discovery, and exposed to torture and death the French traders in their country. Therefore he restrained himself and declined the proffered aid, at the risk of incurring the contempt of those who offered it.

Beauharnois twice appealed to the court to give La Verendrye some little aid, urging that he was at the end of his resources, and that a grant of 30,000 francs, or 6,000 dollars, would enable him to find a way to the Pacific. All help was refused, but La Verendrye was told that he might let out his forts to other traders, and so raise means to pursue the discovery.

In 1740 he went for the third time to Montreal, where, instead of aid, he found a lawsuit. "In spite," he says, "of the derangement of my affairs, the envy and jealousy of various persons impelled them to write to the court insinuating that I thought of nothing but making my fortune. If more than forty thousand livres of debt which I have on my shoulders are an advantage, then I can flatter myself that I am very rich. In all my misfortunes, I have the consolation of seeing that M. de Beauharnois enters into my views, recognizes the uprightness of my intentions, and does me justice in spite of opposition."[6]

Meanwhile, under all his difficulties, he had explored a vast region hitherto unknown, diverted a great and lucrative fur-trade from the English at Hudson Bay, and secured possession of it by six fortified posts,—Fort St. Pierre, on Rainy Lake; Fort St. Charles, on the Lake of the Woods; Fort Maurepas, at the mouth of the river Winnipeg; Fort Bourbon, on the eastern side of Lake Winnipeg; Fort La Reine, on the Assiniboin; Fort Dauphin, on Lake Manitoba. Besides these he built another post, called Fort Rouge, on the site of the city of Winnipeg; and, some time after, another, at the mouth of the River Poskiac, or Saskatchewan, neither of which, however, was long occupied. These various forts were only stockade works flanked with block-houses; but the difficulty

[6]Memoire du Sieur de la Verendrye au sujet des Establissements pour parvenir a la Decouverte de la Mer de l'Ouest.—F. P.

of building and maintaining them in this remote wilderness was incalculable.[7]

He had inquired on all sides for the Pacific. The Assiniboins could tell him nothing. Nor could any information be expected from them, since their relatives and mortal enemies, the Sioux, barred their way to the West. The Cristineaux were equally ignorant; but they supplied the place of knowledge by invention, and drew maps, some of which seem to have been made with no other intention than that of amusing themselves by imposing on the inquirer. They also declared that some of their number had gone down a river called White River, or River of the West, where they found a plant that shed drops like blood, and saw serpents of prodigious size. They said further that on the lower part of this river were walled towns, where dwelt white men who had knives, hatchets, and cloth, but no firearms.[8]

Both Assiniboins and Cristineaux declared that there was a distant tribe on the Missouri, called Mantannes (Mandans), who knew the way to the Western Sea, and would guide him to it. Lured by this assurance, and feeling that he had sufficiently secured his position to enable him to begin his Western exploration, La Verendrye left Fort La Reine in October, 1738, with twenty men, and pushed up the River Assiniboin till its rapids and shallows threatened his bark canoes with destruction. Then, with a band of Assiniboin Indians who had joined him, he struck across the prairie for the Mandans, his Indian companions hunting buffalo on the way. They approached the first Mandan village on the afternoon of the 3rd of December, displaying a French flag and firing three volleys as a salute. The whole population poured out to see the marvelous visitors, who were conducted through the staring crowd to the lodge of the principal chief,—a capacious structure so thronged with the naked and greasy savages that the Frenchmen were half smothered. What was worse,

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[7]Memoire en abrege de la Carte qui represente les Establissments faits par le Sieur de la Verendrye et ses Enfants (Margry, VI. 616); Carte des Nouvelles Decouvertes dans l'Ouest du Canada dressee sur les Memoires de M. de la Verandrie et donnee au Depot de la Marine par M. de la Galissonniere, 1750; Berlin, Remarques sur la Carte de l'Amerique, 1755; Bougainville, Memoire sur l'Etat de la Nouvelle France, 1757.

Most of La Verendrye's forts were standing during the Seven Year's War, and were known collectively as Postes de la Mer de L'Ouest.—F. P.

[8]Journal de la Verendrye joint a la lettre de M. de Beauharnois du—Oct. 1737.—F. P.

they lost the bag that held all their presents for the Mandans, which was snatched away in the confusion, and hidden in one of the caches, called cellars by La Verendrye, of which the place was full. The chief seemed much discomposed at their mishap, and explained it by saying that there were many rascals in the village. The loss was serious, since without the presents nothing could be done. Nor was this all; for in the morning La Verendrye missed his interpreter, and was told that he had fallen in love with an Assiniboin girl and gone off in pursuit of her. The French were now without any means of communicating with the Mandans, from whom, however, before the disappearance of the interpreter, they had already received a variety of questionable information, chiefly touching white men cased in iron who were said to live on the river below at the distance of a whole summer's journey. As they were impervious to arrows,—so the story ran,—it was necessary to shoot their horses, after which, being too heavy to run, they were easily caught. This was probably suggested by the armor of the Spaniards, who had more than once made incursions as far as the lower Missouri; but the narrators drew on their imagination for various additonal particulars.

The Mandans seem to have much declined in numbers during the century that followed this visit of La Verendrye. He says that they had six villages on or near the Missouri, of which the one seen by him was the smallest, though he thinks that it contained a hundred and thirty houses.[9] As each of these large structures held a number of families, the population must have been considerable. Yet when Prince Maximilian visited the Mandans in 1833, he found only two villages, containing jointly two hundred and forty warriors and a total population of about a thousand souls. Without having seen the statements of La Verendrye, he speaks of the population as greatly reduced by wars and the small-pox,—a disease which a few years later nearly exterminated the tribe.[10]

[9]Journal de la Verendrye, 1738, 1739. This journal, which is ill written and sometimes obscure, is printed in Brymner, Report on Canadian Archives, 1889.—F. P.

[10]La Prince Maximiliene de Wied-Neuwied, Voyage dans l'Interieur de l'Amerique du Nord, II, 371, 372 (Paris, 1843). When Captains Lewis and Clark visited the Mandans in 1804, they found them in two villages, with about three hundred and fifty warriors. They report that, about forty years before, they lived in nine villages, the ruins of which the explorers

La Verendrye represents the six villages as surrounded with ditches and stockades, flanked by a sort of bastion,—defences which, he says, had nothing savage in their construction. In later times the fortifications were of a much ruder kind though Maximilian represents them as having pointed salients to serve as bastions. La Verendrye mentions some peculiar customs of the Mandans which answers exactly to those described by more recent observers.

He had intended to winter with the tribe; but the loss of the presents and the interpreter made it useless to stay, and leaving two men in the village to learn the language, he began his return to Fort La Reine. "I was very ill," he writes, "but hoped to get better on the way. The reverse was the case, for it was the depth of winter. It would be impossible to suffer more than I did. It seemed that nothing but death could release us from such miseries." He reached Fort La Reine on the 11th of February, 1739.

His iron constitution seems to have been severely shaken; but he had sons worthy of their father. The two men left among the Mandans appeared at Fort La Reine in September. They reported that they had been well treated, and that their hosts had parted from them with regret. They also declared that at the end of spring several Indian tribes, all well supplied with horses, had come, as was their yearly custom, to the Mandan villages to barter embroidered buffalo hides and other skins for corn and beans; that they had encamped, to the number of two hundred lodges, on the farther side of the Missouri, and that among them was a band said to have come from a distant country towards the sunset, where there were white men who lived in houses built of bricks and stones.

The two Frenchmen crossed over to the camp of these Western strangers, among whom they found a chief who spoke, or professed to speak, the language of the mysterious white men, which to the two Frenchmen was unintelligible. Fortunately, he also spoke the language of the Mandans, of which the Frenchmen had learned a little during their stay, and hence

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saw about eighty miles below the two villages then occupied by the tribe. The Mandans had moved up the river in consequence of the persecutions of the Sioux and the Small-pox, which had made great havoc among them. Expedition of Lewis and Clark, I., 129. (ed. Philadelphia, 1814.) These nine villages seem to have been above Cannon-ball River, a tributary of the Missouri.—Francis Parkman.

were able to gather that the white men in question had beards, and that they prayed to the Master of Life in great houses, built for the purpose, holding books, the leaves of which were like husks of Indian corn, singing together and repeating **Jesus, Marie.** The chief gave many other particulars, which seemed to show that he had been in contact with Spaniards, —probably those of California; for he described their houses as standing near the great lake, of which the water rises and falls and is not fit to drink. He invited the two Frenchmen to go with him to this strange country, saying that it could be reached before winter, though a wide circuit must be made, to avoid a fierce and dangerous tribe called Snake Indians (Gens du Serpent).

On hearing this story, La Verendrye sent his eldest son, Pierre,[11] to pursue the discovery with two men, ordering him to hire guides among the Mandans and make his way to the Western Sea. But no guides were to be found, and in the next summer the young man returned from his bootless errand.[12]

Undaunted by this failure, Pierre set out again in the next spring, 1742, with his younger, the Chevalier de la Verendrye.* Accompanied only by two Canadians, they left Fort La Reine on the 29th of April, and following, no doubt, the route of the Assiniboin and Mouse River, reached the chief village of the Mandans in about three weeks.[0]

Here they found themselves the welcome guests of this singularly interesting tribe, ruined by the small-pox nearly half a century ago, but preserved to memory by the skilful pencil of the artist Charles Bodmer, and the brush of the painter George Catlin, both of whom saw them at a time

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[11]Journal du Sieur de la Verendrye, 1740, in Archive de la Marine.—F. P.

[12]Memoire du Sieur de la Verendrye, joint a sa lettre du 31 Oct. 1744. —F. P.

*We know that it was not Pierre who led the expedition of 1742-43, but Francois, the Chevalier; and his younger brother, Louis-Joseph.—Doane Robinson.

[0]This village was undoubtedly about the mouth of Heart River, N. D., the present site of Mandan.—D. R.

when they were little changed in habits and manners since the visit of the brothers La Verendrye.[13]

Thus, though the report of the two brothers is too concise and brief, we know what they saw when they entered the central area, or public square, of the village. Around stood the Mandan lodges, looking like round flattened hillocks of earth, forty or fifty feet wide. On examination they proved to be framed of strong posts and poles, covered with a thick matting of intertwined willow-branches, over which was laid a bed of well-compacted clay or earth two or three feet thick. This heavy roof was supported by strong interior posts.[14] The open place which the dwellings enclosed served for games, dances, and the ghastly religious or magical ceremonies practiced by the tribe. Among the other structures was the sacred "medicine lodge," distinguished by three or four tall poles planted before it, each surmounted by an effigy looking much like a scarecrow, and meant as an offering to the spirits.

If the two travellers had been less sparing of words, they would doubtless have told us that as they entered the village square the flattened earthen domes that surmounted it were thronged with squaws and children,—for this was always the case on occasions of public interest,—and that they were forced to undergo a merciless series of feasts in the lodges of the chiefs. Here, seated by the sunken hearth in the middle, under the large hole in the roof that served both for window and chimney, they could study at their ease the domestic economy of their entertainers. Each lodge held a gens, or family connection, whose beds of raw buffalo hide, stretched on poles, were arranged around the circumference of the building, while by each stood a post on which hung shields, lances, bows, quivers, medicine-bags, and masks formed of the skin of a

[13]Prince Maximillian spent the winter of 1832-33 near the Mandan villages. His artist, with the instinct of genius, seized the characteristics of the wild life before him, and rendered them with admirable vigor and truth. Catlin spent a considerable time among the Mandans soon after the visit of Prince Maximilian, and had unusual opportunities of studying them. He was an indifferent painter, a shallow observer, a garrulous and windy writer; yet his enthusiastic industry is beyond praise, and his pictures are invaluable as faithful reflections of aspects of Indian life which are gone forever.—F. P. Catlin's visit to the Mandan's was in the summer prior to Maxmillian's visit.—D. R.

Beauharnois calls the Mandans Blancs Barbus, and says that they have been hitherto unknown. Beauharnois au Ministre, 14 Aout, 1739. The name Mantannes, or Mandans, is that given them by the Assiniboines.

[14]The Minnetarees and other tribes of the Missouri built their lodges in a similar way.—F. P.

buffalo's head, with the horns attached, to be used in the magic buffalo dance.

Every day had its sports to relieve the monotony of savage existence, the game of the stick and the rolling ring, the archery practice of boys, horse-racing on the neighboring prairie, and incessant games of chance; while every evening, in contrast to these gayeties, the long, dismal wail of women rose from the adjacent cemetery, where the dead of the village, sewn fast in buffalo hides, lay on the scaffolds above reach of wolves.

The Mandans did not know the way to the Pacific, but they told the brothers that they expected a speedy visit from a tribe or band called Horse Indians, who could guide them thither. It is impossible to identify this people with any certainty.[15] The two travellers waited for them in vain till after midsummer, and then, as the season was too far advanced for longer delay, they hired two Mandans to conduct them to their customary haunts.

They set out on horseback, their scanty baggage and their stock of presents being no doubt carried by pack animals. Their general course was west-southwest with the Black Hills at a distance on their left, and the upper Missouri on their right. The country was a rolling prairie, well covered for the most part with grass, and watered by small alkaline streams creeping towards the Missouri with an opaque, whitish current. Except along the watercourses, there was little or no wood. "I noticed," says the Chevalier de la Verendrye, "earths of different colors, blue, green, red, or black, white as chalk, or yellowish like ochre." This was probably in the "bad lands" of the little Missouri,† where these colored earths form a conspicuous feature in the bare and barren bluffs, carved into fantastic shapes by the storms.[16]

For twenty days the travellers saw no human being, so

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[15]The Cheyennes have a tradition that they were the first tribe of this region to have horses. This may perhaps justify a conjecture that the northern division of this brave and warlike people were the Horse Indians of La Verendrye; though an Indian tradition, unless backed by well established facts, can never be accepted as substantial evidence.—F. P.

†See Mr. Deland's comment on this portion of the trip, ante. They were probably upon the headwaters of the Cannonball instead of the Little Missouri.—D. R.
The context show the latter to be correct.

[16]A similar phenomenon occurs farther west on the face of the perpendicular bluffs that, in one place, border the valley of the river Rosebud.—F. P.

scanty was the population of these plains. Game, however, was abundant. Deer sprang from the tall, reedy grass of the river bottoms; buffalo tramped by in ponderous columns, or dotted the swells of the distant prairie with their grazing thousands; antelope approached, with the curiosity of their species, to gaze at the passing horsemen, then fled like the wind; and as they neared the broken uplands towards the Yellowstone, they saw troops of elk and flocks of mountain-sheep. Sometimes, for miles together, the dry plain was studded thick with the earthen mounds that marked the burrows of the curious marmots, called prairie-dogs, from the squeaking bark. Wolves white and gray, howled about the camp at night, and their cousin, the coyote, seated in the dusk of evening upright on the grass, with nose turned to the sky, saluted them with a complication of yelpings, as if a score of petulant voices were pouring together from the throat of one small beast.

On the 11th of August, after a march of about three weeks, the brothers reached a hill, or group of hills, apparently west of the Little Missouri, and perhaps a part of the Powder River Range. It was here that they hoped to find the Horse Indians, but nobody was to be seen. Arming themselves with patience, they built a hut, made fires to attract by the smoke any Indians roaming near, and went every day to the tops of the hills to reconnoitre. At length, on the 14th day of September, they descried a spire of smoke on the distant prairie.

One of their Mandan guides had left them and gone back to his village. The other, with one of the Frenchmen, went towards the smoke, and found a camp of Indians, whom the journal calls Les Beaux Hommes, and who were probably Crows, or Apsaroka, a tribe remarkable for stature and symmetry, who long claimed that region as their own. They treated the visitors well, and sent for the other Frenchmen to come to their lodges, where they were received with great rejoicing. The remaining Mandan, however, became frightened,—for the Beaux Hommes were enemies of his tribe,—and he soon followed his companion on his solitary march homeward.

The brothers remained twenty-one days in the camp of the Beaux Hommes, much perplexed for want of an interpreter.

The tribes of the plains have in common a system of signs by which they communicate with each other, and it is likely that the brothers had learned it from the Sioux or Assiniboins, with whom they had been in familiar intercourse. By this or some other means they made their hosts understand that they wished to find the Horse Indians, and the Beaux Hommes, being soothed by presents, offered some of their young men as guides. They set out on the t9h of October, following a south-southwest course.[17]

In two days they met a band of Indians, called by them the Little Foxes, and on the 15th and 17th two villages of another unrecognizable horde, named Pioya. From La Verendrye's time to our own, this name "villages" has always been given to the encampments of the wandering people of the plains. All these nomadic communities joined them, and they moved together southward, till they reached at last the lodges of the long-sought Horse Indians. They found them in the extremity of distress and terror. Their camp resounded with howls and wailings; and not without cause, for the Snakes, or Shoshones,[††]—a formidable people living farther westward,—had lately destroyed most of their tribe. The Snakes were the terror of that country. The brothers were told that the year before they had destroyed seventeen villages, killing the warriors and old women, and carrying off the young women and children as slaves.

None of the Horse Indians had ever seen the Pacific; but they knew a people called Gens de l'Arc, or Bow Indians, who, as they said, had traded not far from it. To the Bow Indians, therefore, the brothers resolved to go, and by dint of gifts and promises they persuaded their hosts to show them the way. After marching southwestward for several days, they saw the distant prairie covered with the pointed buffalo skin lodges of a great Indian camp. It was that of the Bow Indians, who may have been one of the bands of the western Sioux,—the predominant race in this region. Few or none

[17]Journal du Voyage fait par le Chevalier de la Verendrye en 1742. The copy before me is from the original in the Depot des Cartes de la Marine. A duplicate, in the Archives des Affaires Etrangeres, is printed by Margry. It gives the above date as November 9th, instead of October 9th. The context shows the latter to be correct.—F. P.

[††]It seems very clear that the enemy was not the Shoshones, but most likely the Kiowas, or perhaps the Comanches.—D. R.

of them could ever have seen a white man, and we may imagine their amazement at the arrival of the strangers, who, followed by staring crowds, were conducted to the lodge of the chief. "Thus far," says La Verendrye, "we had been well received in all the villages we had passed; but this was nothing compared with the courteous manners of the great chief of the Bow Indians, who, unlike the others, was not self-interested in the least, and who took excellent care of everything belonging to us."

The first inquiry of the travellers was for the Pacific; but neither the chief nor his tribesmen knew anything of it, except what they had heard from Snake prisoners taken in war. The Frenchmen were surprised at the extent of the camp, which consisted of many separate bands. The chief explained that they had been summoned from far and near for a grand war-party against that common foe of all,—the Snakes.[18] In fact, the camp resounded with war-songs and war-dances. "Come with us," said their host; "we are going towards the mountains, where you can see the great water that you are looking for."

At length the camp broke up. The squaws took down the lodges, and the march began over prairies dreary and brown with the withering touch of autumn. The spectacle was such as men still young have seen in these Western lands, but which no man will see again. The vast plain swarmed with the moving multitude. The tribes of the Missouri and the Yellowstone had by this time abundance of horses, the best of which were used for war and hunting, and the others as beasts of burden. These last were equipped in a peculiar manner. Several of the long poles used to frame the tepees, or lodges, were secured by one end to each side of a rude saddle, while the other end trailed on the ground. Crossbars lashed to the poles just behind the horse kept them three or four feet apart, and formed a firm support, on which was laid, compactly folded, the buffalo-skin covering of the lodge. On this again, sat a mother with her young family, some-

[18]The enmity between the Sioux and the Snakes lasted to our own time. When the writer lived among the western Sioux, one of their chiefs organized a warparty against the Snakes, and numerous bands came to join the expedition from a distance, in some cases, of three hundred miles. Quarrels broke out among them, and the scheme was ruined.—F. P.

times stowed for safety in a large open willow basket, with the occasional addition of some domestic pet,—such as a tame raven, a puppy, or even a small bear cub. Other horses were laden in the same manner with wooden bowls, stone hammers, and other utensils, along with stores of dried buffalo-meat packed in cases of rawhide whitened and painted. Many of the innumerable dogs—whose manners and appearance strongly suggested their relatives the wolves, to whom, however, they bore a mortal grudge—were equipped in a similar way, with shorter poles and lighter loads. Bands of naked boys, noisy and restless, roamed the prairie practicing their bows and arrows on any small animal they might find. Gay young squaws—adorned on each cheek with a spot of ochre or red clay, and arrayed in tunics of fringed buckskin embroidered with porcupine quills—were mounted on ponies, astride like men; while lean and tattered hags—the drudges of the tribe, unkept and hideous—scolded the lagging horses, or screeched at the disorderly dogs, with voices not unlike the yell of the great horned owl. Most of the warriors were on horseback, armed with round, white shields of bull-hide, feathered lances, war-clubs, bows, and quivers filled with stone-headed arrows; while a few of the elders, wrapped in robes of buffalo-hide, stalked along in groups with a stately air, chatting, laughing, and exchanging unseemly jokes.[19]

"We continued our march," says La Verendrye, "sometimes south-southwest, and now and then northwest; our numbers constantly increasing by villages of different tribes which joined us." The variations of their course were probably due to the difficulties of the country, which grew more rugged as they advanced, with broken hills, tracts of dingy green sage-bushes, and bright, swift streams, edged with cottonwood and willow, hurrying northward to join the Yellowstone. At length, on the 1st of January, 1743, they saw what what was probably the Bighorn Range of the Rocky Mountains, a hundred and twenty miles east of the Yellowstone Park.

A council of all the allied bands was now called, and the

[19]The above descriptive particulars are drawn from repeated observation of similar scenes at a time when the primitive condition of these tribes was essentially unchanged, though with the difference that the concourse of savages counted by hundreds, and not by thousands. Vol. II., 4.—F. P.

Frenchmen were asked to take part in it. The questions discussed were how to dispose of the women and children, and how to attack the enemy. Having settled their plans, the chiefs begged their white friends not to abandon them; and the younger of the two, the Chevalier, consented to join the warriors, and aid them with advice, though not with arms.

The tribes of the Western plains rarely go on war-parties in winter, and this great expedition must have been the result of unusual exasperation. The object was to surprise the Snakes in the security of their winter camp, and strike a deadly blow, which would have been impossible in summer.

On the 8th of January the whole body stopped to encamp, choosing, no doubt, after the invariable winter custom of Western Indians, a place sheltered from wind, and supplied with water and fuel. Here the squaws and children were to remain, while most of the warriors advanced against the enemy. By pegging the lower edge of the lodge-skin to the ground, and piling a ridge of stones and earth upon it to keep out the air, fastening with wooden skewers the flap of hide that covered the entrance, and keeping a constant fire, they could pass a winter endurable to Indians, though smoke, filth, vermin, bad air, the crowd, and the total absence of privacy, would make it purgatory to any civilized white man.

The Chevalier left his brother to watch over the baggage of the party, which was stored in the lodge of the great chief, while he himself, with his two Canadians, joined the advancing warriors. They were on horseback, marching with a certain order and sending watchmen to reconnoitre the country from the tops of the hills.[20] Their movements were so slow that it was twelve days before they reached the foot of the mountains, which, says La Verendrye, "are for the most part well wooded, and seem very high."[21] He longed to climb their great snow-encumbered peaks, fancying that he might then see the Pacific, and never dreaming that more than eight hundred miles of mountains and forests still lay between him and his goal.

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[20]At least this was done by a band of Sioux with whom the writer once traversed a part of the country ranged by these same Snakes, who had lately destroyed an entire Sioux village.—F. P. Always bear in mind that the Verendrye Indians were not Sioux.—D. R.

[21]The Bighorn Range, below the snow line, is, in the main well timbered with pine, fir, oak, and juniper.—F. P.

Through the whole of the present century the villages of the Snakes were at a considerable distance west of the Bighorn Range, and some of them were even on the upper waters of the Pacific slope. It is likely that they were so in 1743, in which case the war-party would not only have reached the Bighorn Mountains, but have pushed farther on to within sight of the great Wind River Range. Be this as it may, their scouts reached the chief winter camp of the Snakes, and found it abandoned, with lodges still standing, and many house-hold possessions left behind. The enemy had discovered their approach, and fled. Instead of encouraging the allies, this news filled them with terror, for they feared that the Snake warriors might take a circuit to the rear, and fall upon the camp where they had left their women and children. The great chief spent all his eloquence in vain, nobody would listen to him; and with characteristic fickleness they gave over the enterprise, and retreated in a panic. "Our advance was made in good order; but not so our retreat," says the Chevalier's journal. "Everybody fled his own way. Our horses, though good, were very tired, and got little to eat." The Chevalier was one day riding with his friend, the great chief, when, looking behind him, he missed his two French attendants. Hastening back in alarm, he found them far in the rear, quietly feeding their horses under the shelter of a clump of trees. He had scarcely joined them when he saw a party of fifteen hostile Indians stealthily creeping forward, covered by their bull-hide shields. He and his men let them approach, and then gave them a few shots; on which they immediately ran off, firearms being to them an astounding novelty.

The three Frenchmen now tried to rejoin the great chief and his band, but the task was not easy. The prairie, bare of snow and hard as flint, showed no trace of foot or hoof; and it was by rare good fortune that they succeeded, on the second day not in overtaking the chief, but in reaching the camp where the women and children had been left. They found them all in safety; the Snakes had not attacked them, and the panic of the warriors was needless. It was the 9th of February. They were scarcely housed when a blizzard set in, and on the night of the 10th the plains were buried in

snow. The great chief had not appeared. With such of his warriors as he could persuade to follow him, he had made a wide circuit to find the trail of the lost Frenchmen, but, to his great distress, had completely failed. It was not till five days after the arrival of the Chevalier and his men that the chief reached the camp, "more dead than alive," in the words of the journal. All his hardships were forgotten when he found his white friends safe, for he had given them up for lost. "His sorrow turned to joy, and he could not give us attention and caresses enough."

The camp broke up, and the allied bands dispersed. The great chief and his followers moved slowly through the snow-drifts towards the east-southeast, accompanied by the Frenchmen. Thus they kept on till the 1st of March, when the two brothers, learning that they were approaching the winter village of a people called Gens de la Petite Cerise, or Choke-Cherry Indians, sent one of their men, with a guide, to visit them. The man returned in ten days, bringing a message from the Choke-Cherry Indians, inviting the Frenchmen to their lodges.

The great chief of the Bow Indians, who seems to have regarded his young friends with mingled affection, respect, and wonder, was grieved at the thought of losing them, but took comfort when they promised to visit him again, provided that he would make his abode near a certain river which they pointed out. To this he readily agreed, and then, with mutual regret, they parted.[22] The Frenchmen repaired to the village of the Choke Cherry Indians, who, like the Bow Indians, were probably a band of Sioux.[23] Hard by their lodges, which stood near the Missouri, the brothers buried a plate of

[22]The only two tribes of this region who were a match for the Snakes were the Sioux and the Blackfeet. It is clear that the Bow Indians could not have been Blackfeet, as in that case, after the war-party broke up, they would have moved northward towards their own country, instead of east-southeast into the country of their enemies. Hence I incline to think the Bow Indians a band of Sioux, or Dakota,—a people then, as since, predominant in that country. The banks of the Missouri, in the part which La Verendrye would have reached in following an east-southeast course, were occupied by numerous bands or sub-tribes of Sioux, such as the Minneconjou, Yankton, Oncpapa, Brule, and others, friends and relatives of the Bow Indians, supposing these to have been Sioux.—F. P. No Sioux were west of the Missouri at this time. The Verendryes spoke the Sioux language. Parkman is quite mistaken.—D. R.

[23]The Sioux, Cheyennes, and other prairie tribes use the small astringent wild cherry for food. The squaws pound it, stones and all, and then dry it for winter use.—F. P. The French words are "Petite cerise," (little cherry.) They were Arichara. The Bows were perhaps Arickaras; maybe Pawnee or Cheyenne, but certainly not Sioux.—D. R.

lead graven with the royal arms, and raised a pile of stones in honor of the Governor of Canada. They remained at this place till April; then, mounting their horses again, followed the Missouri upward to the village of the Mandans, which they reached on the 18th of May. After spending a week here, they joined a party of Assiniboins, journeyed with them towards Fort La Reine, and reached it on the 2nd of July,—to the great relief of their father, who was awaiting in suspense, having heard nothing of them for more than a year.

Sixty-two years later, when the vast western regions then called Louisiana had just been ceded to the United States, Captains Lewis and Clark left the Mandan villages with thirty-two men, traced the Missouri to the mountains, penetrated the wastes beyond, and made their way to the Pacific. The first stages of that remarkable exploration were anticipated by the brothers, La Verendrye. They did not find the Pacific, but they discovered the Rocky Mountains, or at least the part of them to which the name properly belongs; for the southern continuation of the great range had long been known to the Spaniards. Their bold adventure was achieved, not at the charge of a government, but at their own cost and that of their father,—not with a band of well equipped men, but with only two followers.

The fur-trading privilege which was to have been their compensation had proved their ruin. They were still pursued without ceasing by the jealousy of rival traders and the ire of disappointed partners. "Here in Canada more than anywhere else," the Chevalier wrote, some years after his return, "envy is the passion **a la mode,** and there is no escaping it."[24] It was the story of La Salle repeated. Beauharnois, however, still stood by them, encouraged and defended them, and wrote in their favor to the colonial minister.[25] It was doubtless through his efforts that the elder La Verendrye was at last promoted to a captaincy in the colony troops. Beauharnois was succeeded in the government by the sagacious and able Galissoniere, and he too befriended the explorers. "It seems to me," he wrote to the minister, "that what you have been told touching the Sieur de la Verendrye, to the effect that

[24]Le Chevalier de la Verendrye au Ministre, 30 Sept. 1750.—F. P.
[25]La Verendrye pere au Ministre, 1 Nov. 1746, in Margry VI., 611.—F. P.

he has been more busy with his own interests than in making discoveries, is totally false, and, moreover, that any officers employed in such work will always be compelled to give some of their attention to trade, so long as the King allows them no other means of subsistence. These discoveries are very costly, and more fatiguing and dangerous than open war."[26] Two years later, the elder La Verendrye received the cross of the Order of St. Louis,—an honor much prized in Canada, but which he did not long enjoy; for he died at Montreal in the following December, when on the point of again setting out for the West.

His intrepid sons survived, and they were not idle. One of them, the Chevalier, had before discovered the river Saskatchewan, and ascended it as far as the forks.[27] His intention was to follow it to the mountains, build a fort there, and thence push westward in another search for the Pacific; but a disastrous event ruined all his hopes. La Galissoniere returned to France, and the Marquis de la Jonquiere succeeded him, with the notorious Francois Bigot as intendent. Both were greedy of money,—the one to hoard, and the other to dissipate it. Clearly there was money to be got from the fur-trade of Manitoba, for La Verendrye had made every preparation and incurred every expense. It seemed that nothing remained but to reap where he had sown. His commission to find the Pacific, with the privileges connected with it, was refused to his sons, and conferred on a stranger. La Jonquiere wrote to the minister: "I have charged M. De Saint-Pierre with this business. He knows these countries better than any officer in all the colony."[28] On the contrary, he had never seen them. It is difficult not to believe that La Jonquiere, Bigot, and Saint-Pierre were partners in a speculation of which all three were to share the profits.

The elder La Verendrye, not long before his death, had sent a large quantity of goods to his trading-forts. The brothers begged leave to return thither and save their property from so much, unless M. de Saint-Pierre should take juster views.

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[26]La Galissoniere au Ministre, 23 Oct. 1747. F. P.

[27]Memoire en abrege des Establissments et Decouvertes faits par le Sieur de la Verendrye et ses Enfants.—F. P.

[28]La Jonquiere au Ministre, 27 Fev. 1750.—F. P.

destruction. They declared themselves happy to serve under the orders of Saint-Pierre and asked for the use of only a single fort of all those which their father had built at his own cost. The answer was a flat refusal. In short, they were shamefully robbed. The Chevalier writes: "M. le Marquis de la Jonquiere, being pushed hard, and as I thought even touched, by my representations, told me at last that M. de Saint Pierre wanted nothing to do with me or my brothers." "I am a ruined man," he continues. "I am more than two thousand livres in debt, and am still only a second ensign. My elder brother's grade is no better than mine. My younger brother is only a cadet. This is the fruit of all that my father, my brothers, and I have done. My other brother, whom the Sioux murdered some years ago, was not the most unfortunate among us. We must lose all that has cost us and prevail on the Marquis de la Jonquiere to share them. To be thus shut out from the West is to be most cruelly robbed of a sort of inheritance which we had all the pains of acquiring, and of which others will get all the profit."[29]

His elder brother writes in a similar strain:

"We spent our youth and our property in building up establishments so advantageous to Canada; and after all, we were doomed to see a stranger gather the fruit we had taken such pains to plant." And he complains that their goods left in the trading-posts were wasted, their provisions consumed, and the men in their pay used to do the work of others.[30]

They got no redress. Saint-Pierre, backed by the Governor and the Intendent, remained master of the position. The brothers sold a small piece of land, their last remaining property, to appease their most pressing creditors.[31]

Saint-Pierre set out for Manitoba on the 5th of June, 1750. Though he had lived more or less in the woods for thirty-six years, and though La Jonquiere had told the minister that he knew the countries to which he was bound better than any-

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[29]Le Chevalier de la Verendrye au Ministre, 30 Sept. 1750.—F. P.

[30]Memoire des Services de Pierre Gautier de la Verendrye's l'aisne,, presente a Mgr. Minister et secretarie d'Etat.—F. P.

[31]Legardeur de Saint-Pierre, in spite of his treatment of the La Verendrye brothers, had merit as an officer. It was he who received Washington at Fort Le Boeuf in 1754. He was killed in 1755, at the battle of Lake George. See Montcalm and Wolfe, I., 303.—F. P.

body else, it is clear from his own journal that he was now visiting them for the first time. They did not please him. "I was told," he says, "that the way would grow harder and more dangerous as we advanced, and I found, in fact, that one must risk life and property every moment." Finding himself and his men likely to starve, he sent some of them, under an ensign named Niverville, to the Saskatchewan. They could not reach it, and nearly perished on the way. "I myself was no more fortunate," says Saint-Pierre. "Food was so scarce that I sent some of my people into the woods among the Indians,—which did not save me from a fast so rigorous that it deranged my health and put it out of my power to do anything towards accomplishing my mission. Even if I had had strength enough, the war that broke out among the Indians would have made it impossible to proceed."

Niverville, after a winter of misery, tried to fulfill and order which he had received from his commander. When the Indians guided the two brothers La Verendrye to the Rocky Mountains, the course they took tended so far southward that the Chevalier greatly feared it might lead to Spanish settlements; and he gave it as his opinion that the next attempt to find the Pacific should be made farther towards the north. Saint-Perre had agreed with him, and had directed Niverville to build a fort on the Saskatchewan, three hundred leagues above its mouth. Therefore, at the end of May, 1751, Niverville sent ten men in two canoes on this errand, and they ascended the Saskatchewan to what Saint-Pierre calls the "Rock Mountain." Here they built a small stockade fort and called it Fort La Jonquiere. Niverville was to have followed them; but he fell ill, and lay helpless at the mouth of the river in such a condition that he could not even write to his commander.

Saint-Pierre set out in person from Fort La Reine for Fort La Jonquiere, over ice and snow, for it was late in November. Two Frenchmen from Niverville met him on the way, and reported that the Assiniboins had slaughtered an entire band of friendly Indians on whom Saint-Pierre had relied to guide him. O hearing this he gave up the enterprise, and returned to Fort La Reine. Here the Indians told him idle stories

about white men and a fort in some remote place towards the west; but, he observes, "nobody could reach it without encountering an infinity of tribes more savage than it is possible to imagine."

He spent most of the winter at Fort La Reine. Here, towards the end of February, 1752, he had with him only five men, having sent out the rest in search of food. Suddenly, as he sat in his chamber, he saw the fort full of armed Assiniboins, extremely noisy and insolent. He tried in vain to quiet them, and they presently broke into the guard house and seized the arms. A massacre would have followed, had not Saint-Pierre, who was far from wanting courage, resorted to an expedient which has more than once proved effective on such occasions. He knocked out the heads of two barrels of gunpowder, snatched a fire brand, and told the yelping crowd that he would blow up them and himself together. At this they all rushed in fright out of the gate, while Saint-Pierre ran after them, and bolted it fast. There was great anxiety for the hunters, but they all came back in the evening, without having met the enemy. The men, however, were so terrified by the adventure that Saint-Pierre was compelled to abandon the fort, after recommending it to the care of another band of Assiniboins, who had professed great friendship. Four days after he was gone they burned it to the ground.

He soon came to the conclusion that further discovery was impossible, because the English of Hudson Bay had stirred up the Western tribes to oppose it. Therefore he set out for the settlements, and, reaching Quebec in the autumn of 1753, placed the journal of his futile enterprise in the hands of Duquesne, the new governor.[32]

Canada was approaching her last agony. In the death-struggle of the Seven Year's War there was no time for schemes of Western discovery. The brothers La Verendrye sank into poverty and neglect. A little before the war broke out, we find the eldest at the obscure Acadian post of Beausejour, where he wrote to the colonial minister a statement of

[32]Journal sommaire du Voyage de Jacques Legardeur de Saint-Pierre, charge de la Decouverte de la Mer de l'Ouest. (British Museum.)—F. P.

his services, which appears to have received no attention. After the fall of Canada, the Chevalier de la Verendrye, he whose eyes first beheld the snowy peaks of the Rocky Mountains, perished in the wreck of the ship "Auguste," on the coast of Cape Breton, in November 1761.[33]

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[33]The above narrative rests mainly on contemporary documents, official in character, of which the originals are preserrved in the archives of the French government These papers have recently been printed by M. Pierre Margry, late custodian of the Archives of the Marine and Colonies at Paris, in the sixth volume of his Decouvertes et Establissments des Francais dans l'Amerique Septentrionale,—a documentary collection of great value, published at the expense of the American government. It was M. Margry who first drew attention to the achievements of the family of Verendrye, by an article in the Moniteur in 1852. I owe to his kindness the opportunity of using the above-mentioned documents in advance of publication. I obtained copies from duplicate originals of some of the principal among them from the Depot les Cartes de la Marine, in 1872. These answer closely, with rare and trivial variations, to the same documents as printed from other sources by M. Margry. Some additional papers preserved in the archives of the Marine and Colonies have also been used.

My friends, Hon. William C. Endicott, then Secretary of War, and Captain John G. Bourke, Third Cavalry, U. S. A., kindly placed in my hands a valuable collection of government maps and surveys of the country between the Missouri and the Rocky Mountains visited by the brothers La Verendrye; and I have received from Captain Bourke, and also from Mr. E. A. Snow, formerly of the Third Cavalry, much information concerning the same region, repeatedly traversed by them in peace and war.—F. P.

TRUDEAU'S JOURNAL.

On May 12, 1794 there was completed in Saint Louis a commercial organization known as "The Commercial Company for the Discovery of Nations of the Upper Missouri." There was no regular incorporation but the articles of agreement were signed by Laurent Durocher, Antoine Reihle, Joseph Robidou, Hyacinthe St. Cyr, Charles Sanguinet, Louis C. Dubreuil, Joseph Motard, Benito Vasquez and Jacques Clamorgan.[1] The Spanish government at once granted this company the exclusive trade of the Upper Missouri, above the Poncas. Clamorgan seems to have been the chief promoter and was made managing director of the enterprise. Already the French were pretty well informed about the Upper Missouri region. As early as 1734 an adventurous voyageur had gone from New Orleans to the Arickaras,[2] who were then settled about Pierre.[3] In 1787 Don. Andres Fagot la Garciniere, of Saint Louis had sent Joseph Garreau,[4] then a youth of 23 to the Upper Missouri and he had settled and remained with the

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[1]For information pertaining to the organization of this company and for sketches of the incorporators see Vol. 4, Missouri Historical Society Collections, page 9, et seq.

2. Margry Vol. VI. p. 453. Letter from Bienville, (Jean Baptiste LeMoyne,) Governor of Louisiana, to the Minister of Marine, dated April 22, 1734: "A Frenchman, who lived some years with the Panimaha, established on the Missouri, having been with the savages to the Ricaras who who inhabit the upper part of this same river, and who have never yet seen Frenchmen, has found in many places mines of silver which to him appeared very rich, one among others which he believed pure. Two voyageurs setting out with him verify this report."

[3]Verendrye found them about the center of the state in 1743. The physical evidences show they had been there for a very long time. See Trudeau for October 9th, 1794. Also Lewis and Clark for September 29th, 1804, referring to the fortification still to be seen at the Buffalo pasture near Fort Pierre: "A Ricara band of the Panies had a village five years ago; no remains but the mound which surrounded the town."

[4]Joseph Garreau, was the first permanent settler in South Dakota. He was probably a native of Canada where the name was common. Thwaites says (Maximillian 3, p. 35, note 19, that he came about 1785, but I find no evidence of his being here prior to 1787. LaRaye, 1802, does not mention him, but Lewis and Clark found him, both when going out and returning. Upon the first occasion he showed them how the Aricara made glass beads from absidian. They speak of him as Mr. Garrow, and Interpreter Garrow. Wilson Price Hunt saw him in 1811, and he told Hunt he had been with the Aricara 20 years. From Trudeau's account it would appear that Garreau did not join the Aricara until 1792. Washington Irving, in Astoria, upon the testimony of Hunt, describes him as "a French Creole, one of those haphazard wights of gallic origin who abound on the frontier, living among Indians like one of their own race. He had been twenty years among the Aricaras, had a squaw and a troop of pibald children, who officiated as interpreter." He was still living in 1833 when Maximillian found him at the Mandans and was badly impressed, calling him: "The perfidious old Garreau." Many of his descendents are still in the Dakotas.

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Arickaras in Central South Dakota.[5] In 1789 Jean Monier[6] had discovered the Poncas, on the Niobrara, and at that time trade with the Omahas, near the mouth of the Sioux seems to have been well established.[7]

Clamorgan selected Jean Baptiste Trudeau and eight men to conduct the enterprises of the company in the wilderness. Trudeau, or Truteau as he generally writes it, was born in Montreal on Dec. 11, 1748 and was consequently 45 years of age at this time. He was the first school master of Saint Louis, but whether he had engaged in shcoolmastering prior to this enterprise is not clear. He says in his journal that he had spent 26 years in making trips, presumably among the Indians.[8] He was distantly related to Lieut. Governor Zenon Trudeau, the representative of the Spanish government at Saint Louis at that time. Eight men were employed to accompany him upon the voyage. They were Pierre Berger,[9] second in command; Noel Charron,[10] hunter; Joseph La de Route,[11] Joseph Chorette,[12] ——— Quebec,[13] ——— Savoy,[14] ——— Le Coyer,[15] and perhaps Francois Menard.[16]

No time was lost after the completion of the organization of the Company on May 12th for 25 days later, that is on June 7th 1794 Trudeau and his party set out with a large pirogue, loaded with merchandise. It was propelled with eight oars. Clamorgan instructed Trudeau to keep a daily journal of events and to this we are indebted for the illumination of an extremely interesting period in South Dakota History. The

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[5]See Trudeau's remarks for September 30th.

[6]Jean Monier, of St. Louis, son of Joseph Monier and Anne Marie Prevost of Vercheres, in Canada, came to St. Louis in 1789 or earlier. His monopoly of the Ponca trade for four years began January 1, 1794. Houck, Spanish Regime, II., 1-3.

[7]Fletcher and LaFlesche, 27th Bureau of Ethnology report.

[8]Trudeau's Journal for July 10th 1795.

[9]Pierre Berger, second in command of the expedition, son of Pierre Berger and Joset Heber of St. Louis, was living in 1818. Am. Hist. Review.

[11]Laderoute is a common name in St. Louis. Am. Hist. Review.

[10]I find no positive identification of Charron. Thirty years later one Charron was in the employ of the American Fur Company and in command of the wintering post at the Forks of the Cheyenne.

[12]Joseph Chorette, who was drowned at the Arickara town July 10th, 1795, was son of Jean Chorette, who in 1787 lived on the Mississippi below Corondelet. He was then 29 years of age.—Mo. Hist. So.

[13]Of St. Charles where members of the family still live. This man not specifically identified.

[14]Savoy, either Isadore or Jean Baptiste of St. Charles.

[15]LeCoyer. This man was captain of one of the company's boats and may not have been one of the eight men under Trudeau.

[16]Francois Menard, of Florisan, was 43 years of age. He was killed by the Assiniboines in 1803. It is not clear that he was one of Trudeau's party but appears to have been.

journal is in two parts, the first covering the period from June 7th 1794 to March 25th 1795. The second portion begins with May 24th 1795 and ends with the 20th of July of that year. The second portion has long been in the Library of Congress and was published in Volume IV. of the Collections of the Missouri Historical Society, 1912, but the second portion was for many years lost sight of until Mr. Roscoe R. Hill, of the Carnegie Institution, searching for the materials for American History, in the Spanish "Archives of the Indies" came upon it recently at Seville. It was transcribed and published in French, with illuminating editorial notes, in the American Historical Review for January 1914. We acknowledge our obligation to the Missouri Historical Society and to the American Historical Review for text and notes of which we have freely availed ourselves. The translation of the first part was made by Mr. C. Stanley Stevenson, of this Department with some assistance in rendering idiomatic expressions from Prof. Charles Gastine,* a venerable French scholar of Fort Pierre. While the translation is generally literal, occasionally it has been necessary to resort to a free construction for the sake of clarity.

Trudeau made fair progress and on August 6th being then a short distance below the mouth of the Platte he was overtaken by Jacques D'Eglise,[16] a rival trader enroute to the Arickaras, who had not left St. Louis until June 30th or later. Clamorgan sent by him additional instructions, among other things telling him to turn over a lot of 26 guns which he had to Sr. Quenneville[17] who was trading at the mouth of the Kansas. As Trudeau was already far above the Kansas he could not comply with this direction but entrusted the guns to D'Eglise to carry on as far as the Arickaras. D'Eglise accepted the guns with the stipulation that he should not be

*Augusta Charles Gastine, born at Carcassonne, France in 1846. Took a classical collegiate course and entered the army at 19. After five years' service honorably discharged and appointed to a position under government at Paris, but six months later the war with Prussia broke out and he returned to his regiment as sergeant major to defend Strasburg. At the end of twenty-eight days' siege city surrendered and Gastine was taken as prisoner of war to Dantzig. Was released at end of 9 months and became a teacher of languages and music in France, England and the United States, being for many years an instructor in Bourbonni's Chartered College near Kankakee, Illinois. He came to Dakota for rest about six years ago.

[17]Jacques d'Eglise, was a man of great activity and business enterprise, in strong contrast to the cowardly and tactless Trudeau. He was inhibited from trading with the lower tribes, the trade with whom was

held responsible if they were lost. He passed Trudeau and going forward reached the Ponca village near the mouth of the Niobrara, where the warriors stopped him, and dispossessed him of the guns and some powder and balls. It may be surmised that D'Eglise was not unwilling to buy his way through the hostile country with his rival's guns.

It was the purpose of the Clamorgan people to extend the trade of Saint Louis among the tribes yet unknown near the headwaters of the Missouri and consequently Trudeau used every precaution to pass the lower bands without being discovered as each would be sure to levy tribute upon him if it discovered his passage.

The expedition reached the mouth of the Big Sioux river on the evening of August 25th and the next morning, Tuesday, August 26th 1794 entered into South Dakota.

There was no event of importance until the morning of the 30th day of September when they arrived at the present site of Crow Creek Agency when they were compllled to land by a party of Teton Sioux, among whom were three families of Yanktons, whom he had previously known while sojourning with that tribe upon the headwaters of the Des Moines river. They wished to trade with him but in his anxiety to preserve his wares for the tribes higher up he refused to accommodate them, whereupon the tribesmen helped themselves and gave him a few skins in return. They detained him until the evening of the 2nd day of October when they allowed him to depart. Believing it would be impossible to pass with his goods that autumn, through the Sioux country, he crossed to the west side of the river that evening, and going up stream about six miles to a point where the rough river breaks came down close to the water, he unloaded his vessel, carried the goods back into the breaks and buried them. He then took the boat some further up stream and sunk it near the shore, determining to go across country to the Arickara village at the

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monopolized by the favorites and consequently he pushed up the river in 1790 in search of free trade and reached the Mandans. He was up again in 1792, and this year, 1794 was making his third voyage. The Clamorgan Company secured the monopoly of the Arickara trade, and in a letter sent Trudeau, by the hand of d'Eglise himself, Clamorgan instructs Trudeau to stop d'Eglise from trading with the Arickara or the Mandans. When Trudeau finally reached the Aricara, d'Eglise, more enterprising than he, had secured all of the fur they possessed that year. He was still in the Missouri River Indian Trade in 1804.

mouth of the Cheyenne and secure assistance and return and get the boat and goods and proceed with them to the Arickara town and spend the winter there. The party traveled nights, back a few miles from the river, across the eastern end of Stanley county. The Tetons at Crow Creek told Trudeau that the Arikara had recently abandoned their homes and flown, but he believed it was a ruse to induce him to remain with them; however when on the 9th of October they reached the mouth of the Cheyenne they found the report absolutely true. The Arickara had abandoned their homes so precipitately that they had not waited to gather up their property but had left it to the enemy. Trudeau and his party turned about the next morning to return to the cache where the property was hidden. They reached the point on the 18th and found their property intact. They baled out the boat, and loaded most of the property, leaving some of the heavier articles in the cache to be recovered the next spring and set out down river to find a suitable place to spend the winter out of the usual hunting grounds of the tribes, their object being to get below the Sioux and still remain above the Poncas and Omahas. On the 4th of November they settled in a heavy wood, under a ledge of chalkstone where a little creek ran down to the river, on the north side of the Missouri, in what is now Section 22, Town 95 Range 65 in Charles Mix County, South Dakota. First caching most of their goods and covering the earth over them with the chips hewed in making a canoe, they began the erection of a cabin on November 11th. It was the purpose to bury the remainder of the goods in the earthen floor of the cabin, but the next day Neol Charron returned from his hunt, bringing with him an Omaha Indian, and their troubles were renewed. A day or two later The Rabbit, a very well known chief, called by the French Le Gros Lapin, came with his band and settled down near the establishment and on the 10th of December, Blackbird, the most famous chief of the Omaha tribe arrived with the remainder of his people. They wanted to trade and compelled Trudeau to give them some credit for goods to be paid for in skins. Trudeau had none of the tact of the successful trader and the Omahas were not slow to discover his weakness and his life that winter was anything but enjoyable.

Jean Monier, who had discovered the Poncas in 1789, had secured from the Spanish government a monopoly of the trade of the Poncas for the space of four years and he had come up with goods in the autumn of 1794 after Trudeau. Another trader called Solomon Petit[18] had also arrived with goods from Saint Louis and was some where in the country, within communicating distance of the Trudeau establishment but just where has not been determined. It appears however that these boats had been stopped by Blackbird, at his village in Eastern Nebraska, below the mouth of the Sioux, and dispossessed of their goods and that they were compelled to pass the winter near there. At any rate at midwinter six of Monier's men appeared at Trudeau's and stated that their patron was left in his camp without food. It may be assumed that after Blackbird had stopped Monier and deprived him of his goods and compelled him to lay up for the winter, the wily savage had heard of the Trudeau establishment and had slipped away leaving the marooned Frenchmen without the food which the Indian hunters otherwise would have supplied. These men remained wth Trudeau until February 16th when two of them, accompanied by two of Trudeau's men, set out to return to Monier's camp, for Trudeau had been informed that Solomon carried a letter to him, from his wife, and he wanted it.

Twenty-one days later, on March 9th these courier's returned with the letter and Solomon was with them.

On the 8th of March Blackbird and his band, left Trudeau's and that day a party of Poncas arrived. On the 11th Rabbit and his people left. The Poncas brought a great quantity of dried meat with them which Solomon purchased and again they were opulent. It was an open winter, only 4 inches of snow falling during the entire season. On the 21st of March the ice went out. Trudeau had first and last made up quite a pack of fur secured from the Sioux at Crow Creek and from the Omahas and Poncas in enforced trade, and he started off two men on the 23rd with this fur to carry it to Jean Monier who had through Solomon promised to take all of the fur secured to Saint Louis, but later having become alarmed

[18]Salomon Petit. As Trudeau frequently speaks of this man as Mr. Salomon it is quite likely that Salomon was his family name and the Petit but a soubriquet. He has not been identified.

lest Solomon and Monier should combine against his interests he sent another man with his large boat, to pick up the first two and transport their fur to Saint Louis independently. Trudeau quit the house where he had spent the winter on Wednesday, March 25, 1795 and stopping for a season in an unavailing endeavor to have the Poncas pay for the guns and ammunition they had got away from Jacques D'Eglise, quit them and evidently went at once to the Arickara which he found in their new home near the mouth of Grand river. The first portion of the Journal ends with March 25th 1795.

The second portion of the Trudeau journal begins abruptly on June 24th 1795 at the Arickara villages near Grand River, where the remnants of the bands which, devastated by the Sioux and the smallpox in Central South Dakota, had gathered, after abandoning their hereditary homes the previous year. There is some evidence to make it appear that the first settlement near Grand River was made upon the east side of the Missouri north of Evarts in Walworth county, and it is possible that Trudeau found them at that place. Jacques D'Eglise had passed the winter there and he was a good trader who picked up all of the fur at good bargains, leaving none for Trudeau to obtain. The latter however had somewhere upon his passage that spring obtained a small quantity of fur from the Cheyennes and as D'Eglise was returning to Saint Louis, entrusted it to him to convey to the home company. It is to be hoped that D'Eglise did not find it necessary to pay it out to buy his passage through the hostile country, as he had done with Trudeau's guns the previous year. D'Eglise started down river on May 24th.

Having sent his big boat back to Saint Louis from the Pawnee house, in the early spring, and having made his way to the Arickaras in two small canoes which they had built during the winter, Trudeau found himself among the Arickara who had no fur for him and unable to go on to the Mandans for lack of transportation. Consequently he sent out Quebec and Savoy with two other men to find timber to build a larger boat. They searched the river bank for a distance of 75 miles but found no suitable timber. Therefore Trudeau set down patiently to wait the coming of the boat, which he

understood his company would send up that season and he devoted his journal chiefly to a discussion of the character and habits of the Arickara in which his observations agree with those of other travelers as set out by Mr. DeLand in Volume 3 of our collections. He very strongly condemns the morals of Joseph Garreau, a man named Lauson who accompanied him, Jacques D'Eglise and other white men who had visited the tribe; but he as highly commends D'Eglise's business methods. He informs his superiors that he must have liberty to pay higher prices, in barter, for furs to enable him to compete with the English traders from the north. Throughout the early summer the Arickara were engaged in little forays against neighbors or preparing to defend themselves against threatened attacks. The newness of the settlement at that time is indicated by the fact that it was not yet stockaded, but upon information that the Sioux of a village called Ta Coropa was preparing to attack them they went to work and built a strong stockade about the place. On the 10th of July one of the men, Joseph Chorette was drowned in the Missouri while bathing.

The journal closes as abruptly as it began on July 20th.

No record has been found of Trudeau's further operations on the Upper Missouri. It has been assumed that he remained with the Arickara in the summer of 1795 until the boats from Saint Louis arrived, when he went to the Mandans and spent the winter with them, and in the autumn of 1796 returned to the house in Charles Mix county, where he spent the winter of 1796-7. This however is purely conjecture. Lewis and Clark say on September 8th 1804:

"N, 35° W, 7 mi, (from the Tower) to a pt. on l. s. opsd the house of Mr. Troodo where he wintered in 96 & seven called the Pania hos., in a wood to the s. s."

Patrick Gass says, same date:

"Captain Clark, who had been out hunting with some of the men, informed us he had passed a trading house built in 1796."

It must be remembered that the Captains, especially Capt. Lewis, had spent much time in Saint Lewis the previous winter, in conference with traders from up the Missouri, and had

with them a copy, made by Jefferenson of at least a portion of Trudeau's journal. It would seem probable that they consulted the school master and got all of the information possible from him and that Trudeau had told them where he spent the winter of 1796-7. We only know that in 1798 Trudeau was back at the school house in Saint Louis.



The Tower.

From Catlin's Painting, 1832.

That Captain Clark spoke of it as the Pania (Pawnee) House is not especially significant. Trudeau might have traded with the Pawnees from Northern Nebraska there, but it seems to me more likely that knowing Trudeau had been in trade with the Arickara he referred to the latter people, whom he frequently called Pania, or Panies. See the journal of L. & C. for Sept. 29th and October 12th 1804 and for August 6th 1806.

The Journal.

The 25th (August, 1794), I embarked at dawn of day and went into camp at the Big Sioux River, on the right[19] of the Missouri six leagues above the village of the Omahas.

This river is able to carry only hunting canoes. We found this day a very swift current and many bad passages because of short sandbars. The 26th, rain, very little travel.

The 27th I camped above the great bend[20] estimated at twelve leagues from the Omahas.

The 28th I proceeded until noon. The rain stopped us the rest of the day and it continued all night. The next day, the 29th, we dried our blankets a part of the day. The 30th and 31st of August and the 1st of September advanced in beautiful weather. The 2nd and 3rd rainy weather, little travel. I set out and camped three times the same day. The 4th in the morning our hunter, Noel Charron, killed a deer at the mouth of the James River,[21] on the right of the Missouri. This river is forty-five leagues above the village of the Omahas. It is navigable only in little boats.

I spent a part of the day drying over the fire the flesh of the deer which would soon spoil, a necessary precaution not only to avoid fasting but in order not to be obliged to fire our guns in dangerous places. For more than ten leagues below the village of the Omahas we had carefully extinguished our fires and every morning we threw the wood of our lean-to into the fire, taking great care to leave as little trace as possible. The 4th (5th) advance until two or three hours after noon. The rain obliged me to camp on an island, named Chicot Island,[22] at four leagues above the James river. The 6th of the month I caused our blankets to be dried on another island named BonHomme Island[23] at three leagues above the first. The 7th I advanced the entire day. The 8th, 9th, and

[19]The right going up. Throughout the journal he speaks of the right shore, as being on the east, or north side.

[20]This is the bend in the neighborhood of McCook, Union county, South Dakota. In recent years the Missouri has cut across the gorge leaving the former course around the bend but a lake.

[21]Generally in the translation we have used the modern names of streams, islands, etc., to avoid confusion.

[22]No such island appears upon the Missouri River Commission map. It must have been in about the location of the present Ambrose Island a short distance above Yankton.

[23]Bon Homme Island, so named in original journal, and it pretty effectually disposes of the modern fiction that it was named for a settler who resided there until recent years.

10th, little travel on account of contrary winds. The 11th I embarked in the early morning; our hunter this day killed a deer which gave us great succor.

Having for food only about a bushel and a half of maize and fifty pounds of flour for nine men, I have yet over a hundred leagues to make in order to reach the Arickaras, constantly impeded by bad weather. I camped this day below the Niobrara River. Where this river empties into the Missouri is estimated at seventy leagues from the great village of the Omahas, and also distant from the mouth of the Missouri three hundred fifty leagues, according to the reports of the savages. There is here a great abundance of beaver and otter, but the waters are so swift that one is not able, so to speak, to either ascend or descend. The village of the Poncas is situated a league above, near the Missouri.[24] The trade in pelts with this nation would be advantageous were it not that the Omahas, although their allies, offer an obstacle hindering the traders from reaching there in the autumn, suffering them only rarely to go in the spring to make the exchange of such merchandise as remains after they have taken out at least the better part.

They never failed to try to persuade the French that it was for the conservation of their profit and the safety of their lives that they retained them, saying that this people called the Poncas were not civlized, that they only think of robbing, striking, or killing those who entered their country and because of the great friendship which they had for the French they did not wish any evil to befall them; false talk which they gave us. The real motive which urges them to act is their own interest, for in depriving this nation of a direct commerce with us they would obtain all the best pelts, beaver and otter, for a mere bagatelle, which they sold again very dear, and they exchange these same pelts either with us or with nations situated on the Mississippi for good merchandise which they obtain very cheap.[25]

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[24]The general location of the Poncas has not changed greatly in historic times. Always they have been somewhere in the vicinity of the Niobrara.

[25]The tribes of the Mississippi had been supplied with Merchandise for at least 110 years at this time; and the Missouri river Indians had made regular trips to the Mississippi for trading purposes. Too they were frequently visited by pack peddlers from Canada. Consequently they were well informed as to the value of goods and furs.

The night of the 11th and 12th of September we were surprised by a furious tempest of wind, hail, and rain which forced us to unload our conveyance in the darkness of the night. The 12th the rain continued all day. The 13th the weather was cleared by a strong wind from the west. I had some of the merchandise dried which had been soaked while unloading it in the night. The 14th I set out, approaching the village of the Poncas with suspicion. About three or four hours after noon I hid myself behind an island which reaches their village. I set out at the falling of the night and proceeded as late as we could, but having run on to flat sandbars we spent the night on the aforesaid without fires. This village is very difficult to pass without being seen, for besides there being prairie on both sides of the Missouri near their lodges there rise up hills from the tops of which they can watch up and down the Missouri for three or four leagues.

The 15th I set out in the early morning and I came to camp at a place called the tower[26] at six leagues from the village of the Poncas.

The 16th camped on the Isle aux Basques[27] five leagues above the tower, the 17th I advanced until noon. The wind from the west arose with such force that we were unable to proceed, our food was going, we had killed nothing in the lower part of the Missouri, the rain and the mountains of water had retarded us very much. The furious and frequent winds in the vicinity of the prairie hindered us.

I am in continual fear of some evil mishap, perhaps a lack of food, perhaps a meeting with some nation which will

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[26]"The Tower" is one of the best known land marks on the Middle Missouri. Perhaps every explorer who left a journal mentions it. Thus: Captain Clark's journal for Sept. 7, 1804. "We landed * * * near the foot of a round mounting * * * resembling a dome. Cap. Lewis & myself walked up to the top which forms a cone and is about 70 feet higher than the high lands around it; the base is about 300 foot." Patrick Gass' Journal of same date; Captain Lewis and Clarke with some of the men went to view a round knob of a hill on the prairie." George Catain 1832; "The Tower" a remarkable clay bluff rising to the height of some hundreds of feet from the water and having in the distance the castellated appearance of a fortification." Catlin painted it and the painting is No. 378 of the Catlin Gallery in the Smithsonian Institution. In 1856 when General G. H. Warren surveyed the Fort Randall military reservation he adopted the Tower as the initial monument for the survey and it stands precisely upon the South line of the reservation.

[27]This island corresponds almost exactly with Chicot, or Big Cedar Island of the Missouri River Commission map. Perhaps it was called Basque because it resembles the shape of the face of a typical Biscayan; broad at the top with pointed chin.

oppose us. The 18th I camped on the Isle of Cedars,[28] twenty leagues above the Niobrara River. Our hunter killed for us today a roe. The 20th little travel because of the contrary winds and the bad shoals.

The 21st we set out again. We killed this day a deer and a buck which gave us an abundance of food. The 22nd I camped about two leagues below the White River on the left bank of the Missouri,[29] estimated at fifteen leagues above the Isle of Cedars. In this length of journey are to be found many islands well covered with wood and abundant with wild game. The 23rd and the 24th stopped by a great wind and rain. The 25th little advance, 26th little progress, rainy weather. The 27th I advanced the entire day. We discovered a smoke which arose on the banks of the Missouri above us. My men thought that this might be the French and the Arickaras who had come before us and had built the fire, that it would be proper to respond to them, which fortunately I did not wish to do.

The 29th stopped by contrary winds. One of my men who had gone on a hunt reported to me that he had seen the track of a man who had passed the day before.

I went myself to find out. Having reached the place where the fires had been built I found the trail of a band of Sioux who were marching ahead of us. There appeared to me to be about ten or twelve lodges. I was very glad that they had not discovered us. The 30th I set out, and having crossed to the other bank[30] I stopped at three leagues above to give the savages time to get away.

The food failed absolutely, after the White River we found nothing to kill, the Sioux having passed so recently. This band marching before us placed me in an embarrassing position. I feared, with just cause of falling into their hands. I was informed of the bad treatment which they had received

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[28]This corresponds in distance from the Niobrara with the Little Cedar Island of the Missouri River Commission map, a short distance below the mouth of Platte Creek, Charles Mix county.

[29]This camp was on the west shore in the breaks directly opposite Brule City. What capital Charles Collins would have made of this bit of history had he known it.

[30]This is the first crossing noted since we left them on the west side two miles south of White river on the morning of the 23rd but it is clear that they must have crossed to the east side some time after leaving the White river camp and upon this morning crossed back to the west shore.

among the Arikaras at the hands of Lauson[31] and Garaut,[32] who had shot them. I know that the greatest satisfaction of the savages is for revenge. I was afraid of becoming a victim and in spite of all my suspicions and my precautions I was not able to avoid being partly their victim and by a very narrow escape from being fully their victim.

Believing myself not far from the Arikaras, according to the indications which Quenville[33] and Jacques d'Eglise had given me, I determined to send two men across country to this nation as much to seek food as to invite them to come to me to guarantee me from the insults of the Sioux.

The men Pierre Berger and Joseph la Deroute whom I was sending to the Arikaras having supplied themselves with shoes and with some biscuits for their trip, were just rising up to start out when we heard a cry from the other side of the Missouri.

I saw many savages who were descending the opposite side toward us, shouting in the Sioux tongue who we were, where we had come from and where we were going. I replied in the same tongue that they could easily see that we were French.

They cried out also to a number of others who arrived up and down the bank of the river.

In this occasion my embarrassment was not small. Flight was difficult and dangerous in this place, the wide sandbars which filled the Missouri, the waters being low at this season, the channel being narrow, which we were obliged to look for and which we found where the savages were, hindered me in doing it in safety. To continue going up they would have joined me again very quickly. To hide myself in this place in order to resist by arms would have been for a very little

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[31]I find nothing about this man, nor do I find the name anywhere at that date. He must have come up in 1792 in company with d'Eglise.

[32]This refers to Joseph Garreau. See note 4 ante.

[33]Sr. Quenville is not identified. Am. Hist. Review Vol. XIX p. 305, note 2 says: "Quenville is a well known Canadian family." I suggest that there may be an error in decyphering the manuscript and that Quenelle is intended. Edwards' Great West, mentions a habitant family of that name in St. Louis; p. 264. In the British-Indian attack on Saint Louis, May 25th, 1780 two of the Quenelle brothers were involved. One of them resided in the city and the other was with the British and Indians. He had no doubt the village would be taken and the inhabitants massacred, and wishing to save his brother's life he crossed the river the night of the 24th and endeavored to induce his brother to accompany him across the Mississippi to the Indian camp. He declined to go and reported the interview to the governor. I suspect this trader to have been the loyal brother. The "Sr." as used by Trudeau throughout this journal is a little used abreviation for "Sieur," and as used here is but a complimentary title, equivalent to Mr.

time only. We were needing food, and besides they were stronger in numbers and we would all perish there. In this extremity I pondered for some time over the course which I ought to adopt. My men were very much afraid. It was a little reassuring that I had some knowledge of this nation, of which I possessed the language passably, a fortunate resource for travelers in dangerous happenings.[34]

I decided then to speak to them, but before approaching them I made sure that my arms were in good condition. I floated a flag on the rear of my pirogue. I had three shots of the blunderbuss fired and my men fired a volley with their guns. During these preparations they asked me without ceasing to come to them. I did not wish to do so without assurances of what nations of Sioux they were, if they were a war party or a hunting party, if they had some notable chief among them. I asked them these things in their own language. They were not a little surprised to hear me speak after this manner.

The spokesman rose up. He told me that he was of the nation of Yankton Sioux who lived on the Des Moines River. That he was not out for war but for the hunt and that the women and children would soon arrive and that I might come to them in safety.

I replied that I had very little to make me believe it and that they might deceive me. They threw up their hands towards the sun and bowed themselves to the ground, doing as witness that they spoke the truth. He then recited all the chiefs of his nation by their names. He recalled many deeds of which I had gained knowledge myself during the time when I had visited this people. He named for me all the French both old and new who had moved among them.

Without knowing that he spoke to me, he named me by the name which I had previously borne among them. All these correct citations justified me in judging that he spoke the truth. As for his village, being known by this nation of the Sioux called Yanktons, savages sufficiently civilized, I had

[34]Elsewhere Trudeau says he had spent 26 years making trips; see journal for July 10th, 1795. It is clear he had been among the Yanktons about the head waters of the Des Moines.

reason to hope, that I could withdraw more easily from this than from any other village of the Sioux.

But for yet better assurance of the truth, I demanded that two of his men only should cross a great sandbar which separated us.[35] Three crossed by swimming. I made an advance toward them with three armed men. I recognized them for such as they had told me they were and they recognized me also. I caused them to smoke which they did with a good grace. At last they gave me every expression and assurance that no harm would befall me.

We took them to our pirogue where I gave them something to eat. We saw then arriving at the other bank of the river the women and all their baggage, which confirmed the statement that they were a hunting and not a war party.

I set out then with these three rascals in my conveyance. They wished to descend below where they had planned to put up their lodges. Having no shelter for my canoe in case of wind, I did not wish to do this. I set a course by marking out to gain a point of woods which appeared higher up. All these rascals following along the river, just like a pack of wolves following a buck as he is about to land, in order to devour him. Before arriving at the fatal point, I found a little channel of which the entrance was not sufficiently deep to accommodate our pirogue. All these tigers took hold of it and dragged it toward their encampment. All their flattering statements which they made to me, were not able to convince me of their sincerity and honesty. I knew too well the trickery and knavery of savages to place any confidence in them. This predicament in which I found myself forced me to appear joyful at having met them, although in my heart I detested the moment.

The orders which the directors of the company had given me were to make alliances, give promises, open commerce with all the nation which I should discover above the Poncas. I ought then to seek them rather than to flee from them. But I protest that all voyageurs who undertake to gain access to the nations of the Upper Missouri ought to avoid meeting

[35]This crossing and Indian camp was in the immediate vicinity of what was then known as "The Three Rivers of the Sioux Pass," the present Crow Creek Indian Agency in western Buffalo county, South Dakota, at mile 267 above the mouth of the Sioux.

this tribe, as much for the safety of their goods as for their lives even. One will be able to understand that from what happens to me here. Here I am then in their hands, in a channel nearly dry, without being able to advance or to return, my pretended friends from the Des Moines, having told me some truths. But they had hidden from me that there were only three lodges of their nation and that this band was largely composed of Teton Sioux, a ferocious people, little civilized, who wandered around constantly for food, filled with barbarous customs and manners. The vast prairies, which they cross north of the Missouri, were presently stripped of wild animals and they were obliged to come to hunt the buffalo and wild cows on the banks of the Missouri, and even to cross over to the west bank for hunting. These were lean and skinny. They had lived on roots and some wild rice, which they had gathered on the banks of certain swamps which they had passed.

This is the sort of men among whom I had fallen. And thus I could not hope for any relief in the way of food. They were arriving in great numbers, and were putting up their lodges at the edge of a wood. They lit a great fire near to our conveyance and there all assembled. I started off by presenting them little pieces of tobacco, with great care to make them smoke it, some accepted it, others refused it, even to shake hands with me. I suspicioned evil from this refusal for among all these peoples the calumet is a symbol of peace and friendship.

They asked me where I was going. I told them I was going to the Arikaras. I was not able to hide it, for they saw that I was loaded with merchandise for trading. They raised a murmur among themselves at this news. I spared nothing in trying to soften the disposition of these wild beasts through my words.

I asked them if they had some notable chiefs in their band. They told me that they had none. I told them that their father, the great chief of the Spaniards had sent me to the home of the Arikaras, that having been informed of their misery, and that of the Tetons, he had pity on them and wished to procure for them a charge of powder and a knife, that as

soon as I had been to the Arikaras I would return to the Tetons in order for them to listen to the words of their Spanish father and to smoke the peace pipe. That they should be assured that they would be able to find all their wants in the village of the Arikaras in exchange for the hides which they would carry there.

They replied to me that the Tetons did not have one great chief greater than all the others. That each man was chief of his cabin; that we French did very wrong to carry powder and balls to the Arikaras. That this powder would be used to kill the Sioux. That the French who had already been to the home of the Arikaras were bad French, always talking evil against them, and exciting the Arikaras to kill them when they had gone there under promise and we were going to do the same. The rest of the day passed in some festival of bad wild rice which only the Yanktons gave us. They demanded some powder and balls in order to go on the hunt the next day, promising to give us the meat. I gave it to them. They wished to borrow all the guns of my men who let them take three. I was opposed to giving them any more. My friends of the Des Moines River made the demand. I foresaw that I would have absolute need of them in order to snatch myself from the scrape into which I had fallen.

It was necessary not to rebuke them harshly. The night had come, they all assembled around our fire. My men lay down in the pirogue and kept a good guard. I put up a little tent near the fire so that I could watch their actions and more easily hear their discourse whether good or bad. The Yanktons approved all their words that I had spoken to them, saying that their chiefs had been at different times in the country of the French, that they had been well received by the great chief of the Spaniards, the father of all the Red skin nations. That since that time they had always had abundance of merchandise so useful to life. That the French were traveling over all the earth. That they rendered all nations which received them very happy and on the contrary the people whom the French did not frequent were miserable, exposed to die of hunger, and to be conquered by their enemies, from want of defensive arms which the white men alone were able to procure for them.

All this discourse hardly affected the dispositions of the ferocious beasts. They saw a great pirogue loaded with merchandise which it would be easy to seize through violence, therefore they persisted in their evil thoughts.

The Yanktons seeing them obstinate in wishing to maltreat us, said to them that they wished they would not do any evil to me in particular; that I had visited their nation for a long time; that I was their ally and parent; that their chiefs and old men would reproach them if we were killed in their presence; that they had promised me through an oath to the sun and to the earth to get me to come to them that no evil would befall me; that I had smoked and eaten with them. The night passed with just such contests on one part and the other. The next morning they retired. The Yanktons alone remained with us. Some of them made believe they were going on the hunt and returned without having killed anything. I saw that my pledges were giving way. The one who had spoken for me took me into his lodge where he caused me to eat. He told me that the Tetons were bad men; that he feared much for me and my Frenchmen; that there were so few of their nation that they feared they would kill them. I encouraged him to help me in ths occasion. He promised that he would do his very best, but he told me that the French would open up the bad road by giving presents, that this was the only means to pacify the Tetons, all of whom had a bad heart, that they thought that I would think well of it, which is to say that I would spare nothing for our freedom. I told him that when some of the principle rascals who were on the hunt should return I would talk to them definitely. He led me to the conveyance and for a time awaited the return of the hunters, he called together all the young and old men, the women and children of all ages and each sex and obliged me to give to each individual, little and big knives, awls, combs, vermillion and other gifts of all kinds. One can easily judge that the expense was no little matter. I was in despair from such profusion. This however was not the worst point; what to do in a meeting so dangerous? What to offer them in defense in such simple words when they so little valued my words after this distribution. They brought some beaver and

deer hides to me and demanded to trade them for cloth, powder and balls. They crowded around the conveyance in a throng. My men had every possible difficulty in keeping off the robbers. They took from me powder, balls, cloth, white blanket, hatchet, pickax, vermillion, knives, etc., without giving me time to count their hides, yet less to settle on a price, in spite of any effort I made to resist them. This was a real pillage. My safe guards from the Des Moines river, were not in the least left out of it. The eagerness for booty in all these savages is a dominant passion. These forgot in a moment their oath and their care of me.

After this assault they retired, only some young rascals remaining who tried to make us mad.

One of them, called me into his cabin. While I was absent they stole two cooking kettles, and took two guns from my men.

I returned immediately to them, I swore, I prayed, I supplicated, but all in vain.

They told me that an old wicked man, supported by many boys his children and other relatives, had asked that these things be done—and he had used all his efforts in order to pillage me.

My embarrassment and my pain was unequaled.

I judged that the sooner I could get from them the better. Some old women had warned me that they had sent couriers to warn other bands which were in the neighborhood, that they should come promptly to this place.

If they arrived before my departure it would be all up with my merchandise. In order to depart it was not only necessary to secure their consent but also their aid, in order to take our pirogue out of that confounded channel, nearly dry, into which they had dragged us.

I prepared them promptly and arranged on the shore the present that I was obliged to make them, which consisted of seven or eight ells of cloth, a barrel of powder, balls in proportion, four carrots of tobacco, two packets of knives containing two dozen each, four white blankets, four pickaxes, four hatchets, two sacks of vermillion, flints, wormscrews, hammers, etc. I asked the leaders to come. A part of them

came, some refused, in the number of which was the infernal old man of whom I have spoken.

I placed on the sand the blue cloth, symbolic of the clear road which I demanded of them. I told them that I desired to leave that same day. I took back the word which the great chief of the Spaniards, their father, had charged me to carry to the Arikaras, to the Teton chiefs, his children ,which is done that I might render myself absolutely to following his wishes.

I asked them to send some young men to warn the great chief of their nation of my arrival among the Arikaras, that I would await them there the following spring, at the latest, that they should set about hunting beaver, otter and other peltries; that I would give to them in exchange their needs; that they should have no fear that they would not be well received by me and by the Arikaras. That my heart was not like the other Frenchmen of whom they complained. I would take the Yanktons who knew me to witness. These last approved me but the demons of Tetons responded to me as insultingly as the day before and in addition telling me that they had no Spanish father. That they had sent couriers to all the bands of Sioux who were on the upper or lower river to warn them that they had found a great pirogue loaded with merchandise for the Arikaras. That I was foolish to desire to go among this nation which had run away in the middle of the summer, having been attacked by the savages of the North, having abandoned their lodges without giving themselves time to gather their crop. Do you think, said they to me, you can escape the hands of the Sioux, who border the the Missouri on both sides, even to the village of the Arikaras and even above that. They are warned, they will hunt for you, they will rob and perhaps kill you, and your men, for, they said to me, the Tetons do not have a good disposition. Remain with us, build a house here for the winter. All the Sioux would come to trade with you many hides because of the desertion of the Arikaras. I did not wish to believe them. The voyageurs newly returned from the Arikaras having assured me that they were established in their habitations, going alternately by bands to hunt the buffalo, and know-

ing the savage fertile in ruses and lies, I judged that these had invented this news in order to deter me from the resolutions which I had to take myself there.

The Yanktons, not daring to express their thoughts openly, fearing to displease them, made signs to me to not accept their demands.

I took care not to accept them, after the bad treatment I had received from them, and because they were yet ready to commit the same offense again. I had much to fear over the arrival of some other brigand of this bad nation, who would have entirely robbed me, rather than consent to take up my residence among them. By what means would I be able to withstand an entire winter with these people which had a peculiar ferocity, who have no ties, who wander ceaselessly in a group, not being able to gather together in a village without stealing, fighting, killing, it may be for women, perhaps for the possession of horses of which one may have more than another. People filled with evil prejudices, attributing ordinary misfortunes, sickness, deaths, to the merchandise or the food which they may have received from us; men greedy for goods which they see without ever wishing to pay the value of it; violent tempers always ready to strike at the least contradiction which they may receive, who do not know such a thing as subordination and do not fear any stranger, who violate without scruple the words or assurance of peace and alliances which they give to or receive from their neighbors. What tyranny would they not exercise against the French whom chance has placed in their hands, and whom they know is destined not for them but for their enemies? To what excess will the jealousy not carry them. The Sioux, insulted by Garaut and Lauson, have they not themselves the greatest reason for revenge? They would have robbed us not only of our merchandise, but also of our guns, and they would have left us to die of hunger if they had not taken our lives themselves.

I refused haughtily to accept that which they proposed. I told them that I wished to depart immediately, that they should come to learn what I would give them for the support of their wives and children. I asked them to give

me back the two guns and two kettles that their men had taken, representing to them that we had nothing in which to cook our food. They replied to me that it was impossible that I could set out inasmuch as I and my men were seeking our own death. They all got up and carried away the present with bad grace, finding it not large enough.

We were then for some minutes alone. I was not able to go from this place without aid. To unload my pirogue in order to lighten it would be to expose it anew to theft and pillage Time was pressing me. I could not see any more my men, the Yanktons, they had abandoned me. There unexpectedly appeared some old women who had known me on the Des Moines river, who told me again all the wicked designs that the Tetons had had concerning me and still had against us; that their men were opposed to our going; that they assured me that there were five bands of this nation which would march before us on each side of the Missouri; that twenty two lodges of the same people would shortly set out from the neighborhood of the White River. They counseled me to march only during the night and to hide during the day, saying that if they would see us we would be lost. I promised them to do this. But I was not able to depart from this place, for immediately other women called loudly those here and caused the children who were near us to retire, I judged and not mistakenly that there was some evil gathering against us.

I promptly went up the bank, marched straight to the lodge of the one who had first given me the hand on the sandbar, and demanded of him what was going on.

He did not reply. I reproached him for having abandoned me against his promise. He told me that he did not have a contented heart, that the Tetons had divided the present among themselves. That neither he nor his men had received any part of it; that the old man, of which I have already spoken or his children had not been willing to be present at the sharing of it. Finally that he wished to strike against us.

I pressed him, getting him to promise to come with his men and aid me in leaving the place.

The old women of his lodge aided as they could, he set out and came with us, accompanied by six other of his men. Scarcely had we arrived at the conveyance when we heard a great noise in the savage camp; lamenting, cries of the women who were weeping; they were going to shoot the French. They all appeared to interest themselves in our conservation. It was perhaps as a recognition of the knives, awls, etc. that I had been forced to distribute among them the day before.

Many men appeared to us who were rushing here and there with arms in hand. Some were following them to oppose them in this evil plan. Those who accompanied me to the number of six, urged me to depart. I prayed them yet to aid us in getting our pirogue into deep water. I promised to give each of them a brasse[36] of cloth, therefore they aided us in placing our conveyance in the deep channel with more celerity than in the coming in, although we were then many more people, because the approach of peril gives strength and courage to shun it. I then kept my word and gave them that which I had promised them.

I crossed immediately to the other bank.[37] The sun was just setting. I then started up stream, always in sight of the rascals, thinking over in what manner I would be able to escape the hands of these tigers or their like.

In this place the river makes a bend[38]—From the White river to the great bend 20 leagues, from the great bend to the Little Missouri 25 leagues, from the Little Missouri to the village of the Arikaras 15 leagues—from four to five leagues long, so that the savages which we had just left would be able to join us again by going over land in three or four hours. Taking a day for the route by water, I had every reason to believe that they would pursue me the next day with the same disposition in which I had left them. I felt assured

[36]A measure of the length of the human body, adopted at 5.318 feet but among the traders the length of the forearm was substituted for the legal measure.

[37]This returned them to the west shore as a further reading of the journal indicates.

[38]Trudeau was not so near the Big Bend at this hour as the journal indicates. From what follows it is certain he was about opposite Crow Creek agency. They went up the west shore from this point six miles, before finding a suitable hiding place in the rough river breaks which end five miles south of the gorge of the Bend.

that there were others above and below us whom I would not be able to avoid, it being impossible for us to navigate by night a river which is so shallow at this season, that we were often obliged to lighten our boat of the lead and other heavy loads, making little portages at certain places. Besides, according to the indications which Jacques d'Eglise and Quenneville had given me, and which I had traced on a piece of paper, concerning the size of the rivers which discharge into the Missouri from the mouth of the River Platte up to the village of the Arikaras, and other notable places, I would judge that we must be about forty leagues from the Arikaras.

It would be most unfortunate, after having come thus far in order to succeed, to turn back. To hide ourselves and our effects would not be possible. The savages whom I feared would be able to hunt all autumn in these places; besides we were without food. Hunger was tormenting us. There remained to me for all provisions about thirty pounds of flour and a quarter of a bushel of maize. It was little for nine hungry men. In this extremity I could find no other way to do than to place what remained of our merchandise and our pirogue in hiding and all go overland to the Arikaras, whom I was assured resided at all seasons in their village, proposing to return with a good escort to seek the pirogue and the merchandise. I executed this resolution, which was not at all times without some risk, for the Sioux might be able to find our hiding place and rob it. But I doubted that they would cross the river at this place; believing that we would continue our journey all that night and the next day, they would pursue us along the banks of the Missouri which without doubt the shortest and best way. For on the western bank at this place where I was going to hide our goods, the banks and rocks raised themselves so precipitously that the way there was impossible. We rowed then along the banks for the distance of two leagues. Then we stopped and set about hunting the proper place for our plan. The moon which was just then full made it easy for us.[39] At this moment it seemed that nature wished our safety for having penetrated by a

[39]The full moon nearest this date fell at 7:45 a. m., October 8th, 1794. Consequently on the night of October 2nd, the moon was just past the first quarter and set about 1 o'clock a. m.

little crooked foot path into a deep ravine, we found a cave, the most proper place in the world to do our hiding.

We promptly transported all our effects there. Having them placed in good order we returned to our pirogue. It was necessary to hide it, which would not be a little difficult for it was so heavy and so large that we were not able to drag it over the ground in any place. We rowed it up as high as we could and sunk it in the water by means of many holes which my men bored with an auger in the bottom of the boat and by a quantity of stones which they threw within it. This work finished the day approached. It was necessary to flee, fearing to be seen. We climbed many deep ravines filled with thickets, which tired us very much during the remainder of the night. At sun up we found ourselves on a vast prairie, where one could see only sky and earth.[40]

We remained the entire day hidden in a hole without food or drink. In the evening pressed by thirst, we gained a little streamlet where we cooked pancakes from the flour which we carried with us.

It was the third day of the month of October. During the night we covered more than two leagues from the river out on the prairie and we marched the 4th the entire day without finding water. The 5th, pressed by hunger and thirst we approached the river running the chance of being discovered. We had the good fortune to kill a roe. We spent the remainder of the day and night in drying the flesh after having our hunger well satisfied. We saw the fires of the Sioux who were all above and below us and even around the part where we were.

None of us knew this country. We were not able to follow close to the river, fearing to be discovered. It was necessary to march two or three leagues at a distance, taking good care not to show ourselves on the heights. We did not find in the course of the day any stream where there was water to quench our thirst.

[40]They were evidently still in the river breaks near the gorge of the Big Bend in eastern Lyman county. They had arrived at the Indian camp the morning of September 30th, and remained there until the evening of the 2nd, when they crossed to the west shore, found the hiding place and disposed of the goods and boat, hid all day the 3rd, and that night started on the cross country tramp. The Arickara villages they sought were at the mouth of the Cheyenne approximaely 100 miles distant, from their hiding place.

In the evening it was necessary to go out of our way more than two leagues to find water. Yet at one time we found only some bad salty water. At length, in the day having the sun for a guide and in the night the stars, we marched five days with fear, thirst and hunger, our feet always covered with stickers which the voyageurs call "pomme de raquete"[41] with which the surface of the prairie is covered.

The sixth day in the morning, the 9th of the month, we discovered the village of the Arikaras.

All contented, we believed our troubles ended, and our lives in safety, but our joy was not long in duration.

For having carefully examined, from a hill, the place where the lodges appeared, I could see no one around, not even any appearance of smoke coming from the top of their houses. I suppsed at once that they were all empty, and that the Sioux who had captured us had spoken the truth. We continued our march and entered into the abandoned lodges.[42] For more than two months the lodges had been in a ruined state and half burned by the enemy.[43] We found a quantity of shoes, of tanned buffalo skins, and all sorts of utensils for their use, which they did not take time to hide or carry away in their flight. We passed the night very chagrined and worried over the future. Our hopes had fallen and our only re-

[41]Pomme de raquete; racquette, refers to the prickly pears, (Opunita) and small flowered cactus (Echinoccactus) the two varieties abounding on the Missouri. The ancient French warriors carried a sort of spiked war-club called Pomme de raquet.

[42]This confirms the statement made by the Tetons to Trudeau Sept. 30th. Swiftbird Chappelle, the noted Sioux son of the well known trader for whom Chappelle Creek is named, told the editor in 1901 that the Rees were driven out of Central South Dakota by the Sioux at the end of a forty years' war in which his mother's father took an active part and that his own mother well remembered when they left. Swiftbird was born in 1831. In the scond part of this journal Trudeau, it will be seen accounts for the the removal of the Arickara to the new location chiefly upon the score of decimation through small pox from which only a few families in each of the 32 villages escaped and these had united to form the new villages near Grand River. The fact that they had left their furs in the old village at the Cheyenne gives color to this view. At the same time Trudeau says, (Journal for May 24th) "The Sioux nations are feared and dreaded, on account of the firearms with which they were always provided. Their very names causes terror, they have so often ravaged and carried off the wives and children of the Ricarees.' It is likely that both the smallpox and the Sioux contributed to their humiliation in the central part of the state.

[43]This village located at the mouth of the Cheyenne and across the Missouri from the Little Bend seems to have been the last to be abandoned in the central part of the state where for centuries the Rees in their fortified towns had been impregnable to all assaults. Lewis and Clark , 1804 say the village at the Buffalo pasture was not abandoned until 1799 but they may have been misinformed. Of the village at the Cheyenne Perrin du Lac's map calls it "Ancien village de Ricaras." Lewis and Clark, October 1st, 1804, say "there remains only circular mound walls 3 or 4 feet high.'

source vanished through the desertion of the Arikaras. Some of my men thought that it would be well to follow their road even to the place where they had stopped for the winter, others said it would be better to continue our route even to the village of the Mandans situated a little over a hundred leagues from here. I did not accept any of this advice. It was extravagant to undertake so long a journey in an unknown country without food, still more imprudent to give up to chance the merchandise placed in hiding, without knowing at what time we would be able to return. It might be found by the savages or damaged by injuries from the weather. I resolved to return there promptly; to descend the Missouri with caution even to the ordinary crossings of the Sioux, being determined to fight even to the death before allowing ourselves to be taken, either by water or by land by these demons.

The next day the 10th of the month, after taking a good supply of shoes and shoe leather, we retraced our footsteps.

We stopped in the neighborhood of three leagues from there where there appeared to be deer. One of my men found a deer which the wolves had killed, which made us a good repast. The 11th and 12th we frequented the same route which we had taken in going. We passed the night in a level country without water, fire, or food. The third day in the morning we arrived at a little river named the Little Missouri[44] to the left of the Missouri. This river is very small. The water does not flow at this season of the year and we found it there only in holes. Seeing there the footprints of deer, my men asked me to remain there for a day or two in order to hunt and in order to rest themselves. I willingly consented, not having anything to eat for two days and being very fatigued with the journey which we had already made traveling both day and night. We remained at this place both this day and the next, the 14th of the month. My men killed two deer. The 15th, 16th, and 17th we continued our journey with the same trouble about water, and always in the fear of being discovered by the Sioux whose fires we had seen very near us. The 17th we killed a very thin cow. My men took some parts of it. Finding ourselves near a water hole

[44]The Teton or Bad River. It was called the Little Missouri on many of the older maps. Captain Clark named it Teton.

they cleaned the belly of the cow and made a sort of portable urn and filled it with water to drink on the march.

That afternoon we crossed a road where the Sioux had passed the day before. I followed it even to their encampment. There were twenty-eight lodges of them. They appeared to be going toward the little Missouri whence we had come.

God preserved us from meeting them, but I very much feared that they had passed near the place of our hiding. We knew upon our arrival at the Missouri that they had come from another part, and had crossed higher up. The 18th we marched along the banks of the Missouri until we came to the boat which we found just as we had left it.

Having bailed out the water, we descended to the hiding place of our merchandise which we found in the same condition. The next day, the 19th of the month I resolved to hide twelve or thirteen hundred pounds of lead, one hundred fifty pickaxes and hatchets, and one case containing four gross of knives. Two good reasons led me to take this position; the first, the waters being low at this season, I could not descend without a great deal of trouble, having a load so heavy as to drag on the sand; and if unhappily I met the Sioux, who were hunting on the lower river it would be impossible for me to escape from their hands under cover of night, being so loaded.

The second, before returning in the spring my boat would be lighter and consequently I would be able to make better time. This hiding being accomplished, I set out and went into camp three leagues below.

The 20th we traveled down the entire day. Two hours before the setting of the sun two of my men going hunting saw the footprints of a man who had passed that same day. The next day, the 21st, our hunter, Noel Charron, having been in a hunt, returned soon to report to me that he had found the place where a deer had been killed, the blood of which still appeared on the leaves. I thought it was the Sioux who had come to hunt wild cattle and that their lodges were quite distant, even on the other bank of the Missouri. I was mistaken. I was nearer to them than I thought. I remained that day in the same place in order to see if I could discover where

they were, without being seen. I myself tried to make the discovery in the evening. I neither saw nor heard anything. It was the third day that we had eaten nothing but rose-buttons, which we found here and there. My men weak from hunger, tried to boil two fresh deer hides, which we ate (bad feast). The 22nd in the morning a deer appeared on a sandbar near our encampment. We embarked in order to go to shoot it, with great intention, in our necessity, to kill it. Providence preserved us there from a new misfortune. The deer fled and even so swiftly that we were not able to shoot it. We pushed on, thoughtful, chagrined with so many accidents and trouble. We were permitting ourselves to drift easily on the course of the waters, when we heard cries, howling of dogs being beaten. These cries came from the center of a thicket of trees which we were following. I promptly approached the bank. Reaching a high bank by the aid of some stumps I got off the boat and crept along even to a little hill where I could make discovery without being seen. I saw a number of women and children with their following of dogs and horses, who were coming from the edge of the woods at twenty arpens from us. I easily distinguished their language. I knew that this was a party of Sioux who were on the march, and who were marching on the prairie while going up the Missouri.

Having heard the voice of a man who appeared to be coming toward us, I hurried to embark and placed ourselves at a distance by force of our oars. The waters were so low that we could touch bottom at each stroke, but the point of the woods which was long and deep saved us from being seen by them. We forced our way ahead this day very late and the next day all day long. One of my men killed a little year old deer, which we ate for our only repast. Arriving at some leagues below the White River, we felt a little more assured, being outside of the places most frequented by the Sioux.. We found ourselves in the midst of wild beasts, sufficient for food. We made part of a day's trip. Deer, roe, and wild cattle hurried along the banks of the river in herds. Now we were in great abundance of food after having been fasting.

I and my men are very much chagrined at not having been able to go to the nations where we had set out to go in the au-

tumn, by the meeting with the Sioux and the flight of the Arikaras which had most contributed to our giving up.

Our hopes commence to grow again, especially as we no longer lacked food, for I have had many discussions with my men, who had often believed themselves lost on the prairies or absolutely dead perhaps from hunger or from thirst, or by the hands of the Sioux, cursing the very moment when they had embarked on such a trip. I had always reanimated their courage through my word and example. But anyway the most infallible way to regain joyfulness and procure quietude in the minds of certain men, is to let them fill up their bellies. The only question now was to select a place convenient to pass the winter and live from the hunt, and to settle in a place not frequented by the Sioux or any other nation while awaiting the return of spring in order to ascend the Missouri again. I stopped in the neighborhood of ten leagues above the village of the Poncas; knowing that this nation at this season was away hunting wild cows and the Sioux never came to hunt on their territory, being their enemies. It was the 4th of November when we chose a place for a winter home wishing ourselves to be well fortified against the attacks of the savages.[45]

Always in the fear of some unforseen event, I had them dig a very deep hole in the ground in order to place there the merchandise most advantageous to the nations of the Upper Missouri where I ought to be going, wishing to make a second hiding of the rest of the effects in the center of our cabin when it should be built, reserving only that which was absolutely necessary for us to live on.

The loss that I had received from the Sioux was great enough for the hides that I received from them did not come to two hundred pounds. This verification made, I set about burying the greater part of the stuff in the hole, after taking

[45]The exact location of this house, the site for which was selected Nov. 4th, 1794, and the erection of which was begun November 11th, is of general interest for it is the first structure by white men within South Dakota of which he have record and is probably the first ever made. Lewis and Clark locate it opposite a point seven miles above The Tower. This would place it in the woods, near the little stream that cuts the chalk stone ledge on Section 22, Town. 95, Range 65 in Charles Mix county, an ideal spot for a sheltered winter home. Captain Clark's maps do not show this section of the river.

an inventory of it and putting it in good condition. My men, the better to hide the place, made a little hunting canoe above the opening so that the quantity of wood chips which was heaped up over it was effacing the least traces.

The 10th of the month the work was finished.

The 11th my men cut down trees for our winter cabin. The 12th our hunter, Noel Charron, being on a hunt as usual, returned bringing with him a savage. I was surprised at the sight of this man for I had not expected to see any of them here.

I asked to what nation he belonged. He told me he was an Omaha; and that twenty-two lodges of his nation were encamped at some leagues below us, who would arrive the next day. The chief of this band is named by the French, Big Rabbit[46] and is also recognized as a great rascal.

I experienced a sharp grief over their arrival. I had not yet hidden all the merchandise which remained with us.

I foresaw all the bother they were going to carry on in order to procure ammunition for the hunt on credit, for they had already informed me that part of their village was out of powder, balls and other necessities. That no one had come to them from the French this autumn; that Jean Muniers had arrived there in the middle of the summer in order to obtain food to carry him to the Poncas; they had stopped him, but he was carrying so little merchandise that the greater part of their men were not able to have any of it; that the lack of food having no maize this year, had obliged them to set out and to disperse by bands on all sides in order to seek a living for the women and children who were half dead from hunger. In fact there came to us this day many men who threw themselves on our food like famished wolves. We had at that time scaffolds well filled with deer and turkeys and wild animals.

Towards the evening the chief Big Rabbit arrived who told me the same things that the first arrivals had told me. He told me that he and his people were very glad to have met with us; that the French alone are the support of all the red

[46]Big Rabbit (LeGros Lapin of the French and Mushtinga of the Omaha according to Long.) The Omaha name means simply Rabbit without any descriptive adjective. He was well known to history and in 1800 upon the death of Blackbird he became head chief of the Omaha tribe. He died soon after. Long speaks well of him.

skin nations; that they felt today more than ever the necessity of having things better, failing absolutely to nourish themselves, through lack of guns, powder, balls, etc.; that the French only could procure them for them, (flattering and deceitful talk which they had continued to hold with the French since the first sight) seeking ceaselessly to deceive us, and to extort our merchandise by all sorts of means.

All the savages of this river, as elsewhere, I speak of those who have been visited by us, are shrewd and deceitful. They have more knowledge than many people believe. The chief Big Rabbit told me that the great chief named Toangarests, (in French, The Village Maker)[47] was still with the man named Jean Muniers, hoping that the French would come in the last of the autumn, that this chief had been displeased when he had learned that I had passed his village without stopping, with a great boat loaded with merchandise for the nations of the Upper Missouri. I gave him an amplified story of what had happened to me at the home of the Sioux. I exaggerated the amount of merchandise which the Sioux had pillaged from me, for he did not fail on seeing our boat to say to me that it was not believable that so great a boat had carried only such merchandise as was apparent. I gave him to understand that the Sioux had robbed me of the greatest part and even of my cooking kettles. The hides of the Sioux which he recognized caused him to believe that I spoke the truth and then he bothered me no more on that score.

The 3rd of the month the old men, women and children arrived. It was true that they were out of food, eating only

[47]This was unquestionably Blackbird. What is told of him perfectly identifies him as the most notable of all of the Omahas known to history. The old journals of explorers are filled with antecdotes of him. He had risen to great power through having obtained arsenic and by the use of it gained tremenduous cult as a medicine man. He was an utter despot. All of the writers agree that he was buried on Blackbird Hill overlooking the Missouri, in Thurston county, Nebraska. Lewis and Clark on August 11th, say: "Captain Lewis and myself and 10 men assended the hill on the l. s. where the Mahar's king Blackbird was burried four years ago. Died of smallpox; a mound of earth is raised over him about 12 feet in diameter at base and 6 feet high, turfed and a pole 8 feet high in the center." Alice Fletcher and Francis LaFleche (27th Am. Bureau Eth.) say his story is apochryphal, on the authority of "the old men of the tribe, who only know the hill as the place where Big Elk is buried." Big Elk died in 1853, about as far back as tribal history would run. Lewis and Clark visiting the spot while the grave was still green are certainly best authority. The stories of Brackenridge, 1811, enlarged upon by Catlin, 1832, to the effect that he was buried astride his favorite horse are almost certainly fictitious and that for the reason that in his latter years Blackbird had grown so prodigiously large that he could not ride or walk but was carried about by his friends upon a buffalo robe. See Long's Journal 1820 p. 320.

herbs, so they crowded around us when we ate our meals, fighting among themselves as to who should have our soup, gathering up the bones which we threw for them to gnaw on. It was a strange sight.

I conducted myself on this occasion so as not to irritate these hungry men, and not to expose ourselves to a certain shortage of things to eat. We gave them some of our food, distributing small portions principally to the children. They represented their misery to me, for the most of them had no guns and asked us for ours to hunt deer which we did not like to do, but willing or not it was necessary to consent, for they took possession of them without waiting our approval and we found ourselves dependant upon them for food.

The next day they assembled to demand powder, balls, and knives on credit. I resisted their demands for a long time, representing to them that I had very few. They persisted which obliged me to give them some.

In order to avoid the tumult which arose when they took things by force, I consented to give them some, provided that they would take only for twelve or fifteen hides for each hunter, which was carried out in an instant. The chief Big Rabbit and some of the big men forced me to give them credit for thirty or forty hides. He made great promises for himself and his men, but I have some fear that he will deceive me.

They set out first for a hunt of wild cattle and returned at the end of fifteen days hunt loaded with dried meat. In recognition of the assistance which they had received from us, they sold me food at exorbitant prices. All the savages, and more than one among them, did not know or at least did not wish to recognize the benefits which they had received from us, believing we were obliged to accommodate them.

The expense which I have been obliged to bear here for the nourishment of nine men is exorbitant. Not having any maize for food I am reduced to buy dried meat, bit, by bit, from this mob, our hunter Noel Charron, not being able to kill anything among them, the wild animals having run away. They returned to the hunt for beaver and deer, they said in order to pay me well.

The 10th of December there arrived the great chief of the

Omahas, (Blackbird) of whom I have spoken above. A repetition of surprise and displeasure for me. The arrival of the first had inconvenienced me very much for our departure in the spring and had occasioned me much expense, which I would not have had if they had not have come, as much for food as for merchandise which I had been forced from time to time to give them. The arrival of this last named chief put a climax to my embarrassment.

This great chief of the Omahas (Blackbird) was the most shrewd, the most deceitful and the greatest rascal of all the nations who inhabit the Missouri. He is feared and respected and is in great renown among all strange nations, none of whom dare to contradict him openly or to move against his wishes. They do not set out either for war or for the hunt unless he has given his consent to it. His name is recited in all assemblages and speeches are made in his absence in the most distant places to which they go. All the neighboring tribes hear his word and crown him with presents when he goes to visit them. If any of his men acquire beautiful merchandise or beautiful horses and he appears to desire them they instantly give them to him. He never goes about on foot, but always mounted on the most beautiful horse in the village. He has slaves for his work, and better to say, they are all his slaves, for should he wish to sleep he has one or two hired attendants who gently rub his legs and feet while he sleeps. If these ordinary valets are absent, he presses into that service even the greatest and bravest of the tribe.

When it is time to awaken him it is necessary to do it with caution, being careful not to cry in his ears, nor to stroke him with the hand, but they use a feather which they pass lightly over the face or tickle gently certain parts of his body. Finally he is a man who by his wit and cunning has raised himself to the highest place of authority in his nation and who has no parallel among all the savage nations of this continent. He is able to do or cause to be done good or evil as it pleases him. It is not his warlike actions that have brought him so much power, for he has been inclined towards peace, but because of the fear that his men and his neighbors have of certain poisons which he uses, they say to kill off those who

displease him. He takes from the French who come to trade with him their most beautiful merchandise and gives them in exchange very few hides, that those who have lost only one hundred to one hundred fifty per cent from the cost price are fortunate. He promises much and never keeps his word. He takes every year from the Poncas and from his own men a quantity of beaver and otter hides. But he saves them for the nation situated on the Mississippi which brings him every spring in exchange, scarlet cloth, china ware and unwrought silver, and some little brandy for which he has a great passion, and the greater part of his men follow his example paying only hides of deer good or bad for guns, kettles, powder, balls, etc., which they take on credit. If they trade with beaver or otter it is at the price they set, and always to the loss of those with whom they trade. The chief pretended for some time to take an interest in the French, but at the bottom all the beautiful talk which he held, the grand promises which he made, having nothing for an end but the pillage for himself, under a false cover of friendship which he seems to display for them; and after being satisfied he leaves the trader to debate with his men who snatch his goods at the best bargains possible. In this extremity it is always necessary to have recourse to the chief of the second rank, to the braves and to the soldiers, who are so many bloodsuckers who extort from you the other third of the goods for their good services.

This man knows how to make the Frenchmen realize how much they are in need of him, perhaps in commerce with his nation, perhaps in the distribution of credits which without his presence would be made long and noisily, perhaps also in getting payment. Having the policy of leaving the trader on such occasions in the embarrassment of disputes, threats, and robbery from his men, who are naturally brutal and ferocious and coming immediately to his aid, restores calm and order. The poor traders finding themselves fortunate for his support, are forced to load him with glory, with caresses and with good treatment, and no one dared to refuse what he desired.

As for his men, he caused them to know that they depended on him for their welfare. He determined the measures of powder and the price of the merchandise. Sometimes of an

immense size and the price of the merchant not large enough, wishing he says to have pity on them; at other times they are very small and the prices high, which happens very rarely By this changeable attitude of good and bad he holds one or the other in fear or hope. But as for his private life there has been for many years a change. On the contrary he takes freely a third at least of the merchandise which comes to his village. Upon the arrival of the French at his villages he causes an exhibition of the goods to be made and then carries off and appropriates whatever is pleasing to him. The servants even are forced to open their cases or havresacks which he examines. He takes from them a part of their tobacco and other little effects which they may have. The second chief carries on his robbery also, and one is not able to object to them, and always with promises of good pay which ease their own mind and are a loss to the trader. As to the common people the trade is carried on with much profit, but the loss which this chief and his followers bring to the trader which takes from them the better or greater part of their effects without price, places them in a condition to make no gain. This Omaha post is about the most disadvantageous on the whole river as much through the great knowledge they have of trading through the English on the Mississippi, as through the evil disposition of this nation and of their chiefs in our regard. It is said that some 'Coureurs de bois' had great profits. They had not at that time this pernicious communication from the nations dependent upon the English. There was only one chief among them who lately recognized as chief by the commanders of Illinois, devoted himself entirely in the interests of the traders. His individual conduct was honest. He always paid for the merchandise which he took. For some years past he has been entirely changed toward us. He talks to us in one way and thinks and acts in another. His mind is occupied only with deceptions and lies in order to deceive us and to steal our merchandise. Every day he reproaches us that the French are great liars and deceivers. He told me that many years before he had asked for a certain medal, greater than all ordinary medals, which M. Montardy[48]

[48]Pierre Montardy a well known trader of the period and a man of some consequence in his time. Born in France 1736. Died at St. Louis, 1809.

had brought to him, but not finding it equal to the others, because of four portraits which were inlaid thereon and because the exergue was missing and the edge was plain, he had returned it to his Spanish father, for it to be remade with only one figure, not having four hearts, he said, for four fathers, that this medal belonged to him in as much as it had been sent to him by his Spanish father, that he had not refused it nor had returned it to lose it entirely. He said that every year the traders who had come to his place had told him that this medal had been sent to a great village of the Spanish in order to be remade (which was false, for M. Montardy had kept it) and made him believe that it would come the following year. He plainly sees that he has been deceived and he loses no opportunity in causing a loss to the French who come to trade with him, or who wish to pass through his country in order to go to the upper country.

He said that every day he was on the brink of giving full liberty to his men and permit them to rob and kill all the French wherever they could find them, that his nation only had never killed any Frenchmen because of the opposition which he had always made, that presently very little would hold him back. He especially accused M. Montardy of having made great promises to him which had never been carried out.

All these reasons are for him a legitimate pretext for robbing, blocking the road and forcing burdensome tribute.

So, gentlemen, if I have dwelt a little long on the subject of this chief and his nation whose character I have studied this winter, his way of thinking and acting, it was to instruct you with the truth of what takes place among this nation, for I foresee that you have need of direct communication with it in order to procure a free passage and safety for your boat in going up as well as in descending the Missouri. Do not hope to continue secret voyages with safety. Sooner or later all your goods will be taken or stolen and perhaps your people killed.

For it is certain that knowing the plans of the French to trade on the upper Missouri, and the time when they are accustomed to go up, they will watch and search in war parties, both the upper and lower country in order to surprise them. They are already very roused up against us on this subject

and particularly against Jacques d'Eglise, who hastens stealthily along the road every summer they say. I have persuaded the chief that I would have stopped at his village on passing in order to see him and talk with him, but having found no one I had continued the route.

The village of the Omahas would be a most propitious place to establish a post for merchandise and provisions to supply the trade on the upper Missouri, it being situated about half way to the Mandan villages. From there the transportation of merchandise to the Mandans would be much quicker and less risky, being able to profit by the seasons when the Sioux were ordinarily away from the Missouri. In order to pass above, this is absolutely necessary, in order to place the great chief of the Omahas in our interest, as well for the commerce with his nation as with those of the upper Missouri, which will not be easy to do without his consent, except to content him by giving him this medal, which he has demanded for so long a time, and a great flag and every year the company as well as the government should send him a present. By this means you will be able to procure through this nation's territory a free passage, and to obtain there some help in food for so long a journey in going as well as in returning. Every day this chief talks to me of the enterprises of the French on the Upper Missouri, of the risks and dangers to which they expose themselves through meeting with the Sioux. He does not disapprove of the fact of visitation being made with the Arikaras and the Mandans. He admits that they are good savages by whom the French will be well received. But he is unable, he says, to forgive us for passing and hiding from his village. I replied to him that the French always find so much trouble in passing villages situated on the Missouri, that they often decide to pass secretly, that the French would hurry through all the country, that the road was free to them except where some savage nation place there an obstacle. That along this river alone did the nations close their ears to the words of their Spanish father, hindering the French from going to seek pelts anywhere they wished; that if on the contrary they left the road free and open they would see all the time boats loaded with merchandise pass and repass their village, where they would stop in safety as in their own

places, just as the nations on the Mississippi do where the French come and go freely. What jealousy, I said to him, gets the better of you when you see us carry needs to the nations situated farther on from you? Why do you impede us so obstinately in our course? Are you not content and happy that the French have reached you and bring to you every year your needs? Why do you hinder us in carrying them to others and seeking hides? These nations of the Arikaras and Mandans, whom you say yourself to be good savages, they will not thank you. Why not leave an open road for the French who bring you a charge of powder and a knife? Then your name will be made public and spread abroad to all nations even to the source of this river. Your father, the great chief of the Spaniards, when he learns that you hear his word, that you join your heart to his, in order to procure the needs of all his people, will it not content him? I do not discover any reasons, just and true, which would give you occasion to close the road to the French on these trips, on the contrary I see only good for you and this nation; you will be assured of seeing them in every season. The nations whom you can reach would be able through our help to visit you and to bring quantities of horses at a better price than among the Panis whom you always have to pay very dear.

He replied to me that that was good; that he was not ignorant that the white nations were anxious to seek hides among all the savage peoples whom they could discover, and that without doubt the first French who would penetrate from nation to nation would open the road between them and each village through which they passed, announcing the words of their great chief, making presents on his behalf when it was necessary; placing the savages in union everywhere, sparing nothing to calm their ferocious and changeable spirits, and that he knew very well that in spite of the good heart of the French and their presents, that they would have often been robbed and killed by the nations whom they visited (except the Omahas). That the road which they had opened would be red with their blood and covered with merchandise as much given away as stolen; that today our chief and ourselves do not follow the same footsteps as our ancestors; since instead of marking out the road with good understanding

with all the nations who are situated on our way, in announcing the words and plan of our chief, in place of employing the ordinary and convenient means in order to bring accord among them, and in order to calm the spirit and heart of the merchant, we have sought only to irritate them by hurrying along the road secretly, that without doubt the plan of our chief and of ourselves was to open the road with blood and pillage. You have yourself, he said to me, just felt the hand of the Sioux, who have nearly closed your life, others will lose their lives, it may be by the Poncas as well as the Sioux As for me, you cannot say that I have harmed you since you have always been so well hidden from me.

You reproach me, he said to me, with having stopped the man named Jean Munier who had been destined for the Poncas. It is true if I did it, it was to preserve him from the insults which this nation would have given him, if he had gone to their place. I had been informed of their bad disposition toward the French, and for him in particular, saying that after his departure from there a certain number of their braves and headmen had died, attributing this mortality to a certain calumet which Jean Munier had caused them to smoke.

Besides I am more and more discontented with the French. They carry great boats loaded with merchandise to the Poncas, the Arikaras and the Mandans and to all the nations who inhabit the Missouri, people for the most part who kill them every day, and my people who have never killed a white man, are deprived this year as I am myself of my medal.

Then, after having waited even to the last season of the autumn in the neighborhood of my village, I have seen arrive a second conveyance by a man named Salomon Petit, loaded with merchandise for the Poncas and none for me. I have been greatly provoked against the French. I have abandoned them, and I am going to hunt wild cattle with all my family in the number of seventeen lodges for something to eat.

Jean Munier not having been able to make any provision for food has sent six winterers with the savages. They have arrived here with the last band. They have assured me that up to the arrival of the last boat, this chief had treated them very

badly; that he had even pushed two of the servants so rudely that they fell head over heels over the bluff, threatening to take the powder from the said Jean Munier; that having appeased himself had forced them to winter very near his village and to give credit to his men for powder and balls, using as a measure a horn, whose contents three times full were given for one hide, more than a pound of powder, and that he himself had taken more than four pieces of cloth and twenty white blankets with things to match, without giving him a single beaver.

On his arrival here he asked me to relate what had happened and having caused me to enter into my magazine, he obliged me to show him what remained of the merchandise. He pitied me for the misfortune which had happened among the Sioux adding that he did not wish his men to cause me to weep. But for a precaution, seeing I had little stock and before I trade it, he took away much of the merchandise, telling me that he would pay me well for it. Every day he fleeces me. I had as yet received only small bits of food. I fear that he will treat me as he has treated all the others.

I have had great difficulty with the chief Big Rabbit, chief of the second rank, who, not content with having taken from me three hundred ninety one livres of merchandise, according to the invoice value, and having given me in exchange only sixteen beaver, four otter, fifty deer and four hides of roe, wished to force me to give him ten measures of cloth and ten white blankets, on credit payable in the springtime at his village. I firmly refused. But I believe that without the presence of the great chief, who had taken my side on this occasion, he would have treated me very badly.

For, Gentlemen, with what can I oppose them, only simple words which have no more effect than if they were spoken to the trees and rocks, and the angry threats of their father, our chief, and of the deprivation of their needs? Their ears are tired with this sort of threats which never happen, for which they laugh and mock us, treating us as robbers, saying that we bring to them only bad merchandise; our guns are valueless, for the most part breaking in their hands, or the spring failing them when the hunt is half over; that our hatchets

are not made of durable iron, breaking at the first blow against the softest tree; that finally it is too much to pay two beaver or otter hides and two or three deer hides for a yard of cloth, a white blanket, since the English merchandise, which is more beautiful and better, is sold cheaper on the Mississippi. As to the rest of the smaller articles which they have taken always in quantity, they apportion that among themselves freeely, as due to their number of chiefs and soldiers. I have been paid almost entirely by the remainder of this band to whom I have given for two hundred thirty one hides, a credit for powder, balls, knives, flints, etc.

I have lost sixty two hides by the soldiers and head men. They have used twenty five days on the hunt for deer and beaver, and have killed only a very few, the fault they say, of not having good guns for the deer and of the thick ice for the beaver.

Aside from the chief and the soldiers one sells to the common people of the village with profit. But the first take at a low price the greater part of the merchandise, and never leave enough for us to take up the hides of the latter which are always the best.

Very timely after my arrival here last autumn, I hid the merchandise which would be best for the nations on the upper Missouri, for if all these rascals of chiefs and head men had seen it they would have taken away the best of it.

The second day of February three young savages who had gone to hunt wild cattle reported that they had heard many shots of a gun, and had seen three men. They sent out ten young men the next day to find out who had fired the shots.

The fourth they reported that they had found six lodges of Poncas at some leagues above us.

In announcing this news to me, they brought also very distressing news affecting Jacques d'Eglise and myself, and consequently which caused a notable prejudice against the company. They told me then that the Poncas had surprised Jacques d'Eglise that summer a half day's march above their village; that having spent some moments in deliberating whether to kill him or not, they had contented themselves with taking from him twenty five guns, two barrels of powder, balls in

proportion, tobacco, knives and other merchandise of which I do not know the exact number or quantity.

I was greatly grieved over this loss. I believed these guns safe within the hands of Jacques d'Eglise, to whom I had confided a commission, for the reasons which I have cited on other pages. Besides if I had kept them in my boat they would have been stolen by the Sioux. This news has not been announced to me peaceably. The Omaha chiefs have burdened me with reproaches and insults, and they threaten especially to maltreat Jacques d'Eglise if they catch him traveling stealthily, and also, all others who undertake it in the same way.

I defended myself by telling them that I did not know that Jacques d'Eglise had come up the Missouri after me, and that no doubt he had passed me at the time when I was marching overland in trying to reach the Arikaras.

I told them again the intentions of their Spanish father, who wished to satisfy the needs of all the nations situated on the Missouri. That the French who wished to visit all the savage peoples of the Missouri sought only to do good and not bad, and that on the contrary they were the ones who had caused the robbery, loss, maltreating them everywhere they met them and even in their own villages.

I told him that these secret voyages of which he had made so much reproach had not caused him any damage, and that if the French acted so, it was because of their knowledge of their evil intentions toward the French and once through difficulties which they always offered before permitting them to pass, and if on the contrary they would leave the road free we would stop there with pleasure.

If all the savage people, I told him, who are situated along the road of the French from the country where the merhcandise is made even to you had closed the passage, you would never have received from us the needs which you want so much, but on the contrary all these nations, contented with having the French among them who give life to their women and children, hear the word of their Father, are always in accord with their brothers, the white man, who go and come at any time in all seasons from one village to another, as they

please, without finding any opposition. You alone, Omahas, Otos and Poncas, who have a greater need of us than any other nation, close the ears to the words of their father, our chief. Your spirits and your hearts are full of evil sentiments towards us, seeking only to rob us, to deceive us, injuring us in our enterprises by all sorts of means. Finally after as many disputes, for I would not end if I were to cite all the impertinent discourse, which they held with me every day, the main deceit being always that it was for the safety of our effects, and even for the life of the French, if he found fault with the trips to the upper Missouri. The loss of the effects of Jacques d'Eglise by the hand of the Poncas and of mine by the Sioux gave a great weight to these reasons, although the true motive of his discontent was over not having been able to snatch the most beautiful and best part if we had stopped there.

The 16th of February two of the employees of Jean Muniers have set out to return to him.[49]

I have sent two of my men with them to seek a letter written to me by my wife and carried by Salomon. I had thought to prove to the Omahas and to the Poncas through this letter that the guns taken by the latter, while in the hands of Jacques d'Eglise, had belonged to me, saying that as there had been no guns in the French village on my departure, I had commanded Jacques d'Eglise to bring me twenty six if they happened to arrive there before he set out. I did not know if this ruse would succeeed.

The 8th of the month of March the great chief of the Omahas and all his family have set out from here to return to their own village without giving me a single hide, saying that the hides were buried in his village, but I hope for nothing from this rascal for two hundred twenty three livres, according to my invoice.

The 9th two men arrived whom I had sent for the letter accompanied by Salomon and two other employees, with some effects with which to buy food, having fasted the greater part of the winter, eating only wild beans.

The 10th two great chiefs of the Poncas arrived here,

[49]These men returned March 9th, having been away 21 days. This gives a hint of the distance they traveled and confirms the editor in the belief that Jean Monier and Salomon passed the winter at the Omaha village across from and below Sioux City.

(the one named Kichetabaco, the other Morrest Naugy). I received them well. I have told them that their Spanish father, protector of all the nations which inhabit the Missouri, wished to procure their needs for them, sending them every year a conveyance loaded with merchandise for them, but that the Omahas, cunning and deceitful had closed the road, saying that the Poncas were bad men, accusing them of desiring to rob and kill the French who came among them, attributing their sicknesses and deaths to their merchandise, that the Omahas alone were the cause of their misfortunes. I exhorted them to treat the French well wherever they might find them, that the intentions of their Spanish father was to have a good road among his children. I asked them to pay for the effects which they had taken from Jacques d'Eglise.

I assured them, by showing them the letter which Salomon had brought me, that the guns belonged to me, besides the powder and the other merchandise which they had taken, coming from the same village and from the same house as mine; also that they would do well to give me the hides which they had meant to pay to him and not to trade them to any other Frenchman nor to the Omahas which would surely happen if they did not give them to me for Jacques d'Eglise, not being able to at once return to their village; that if they caused us to weep the Omahas would be content and would confirm their wicked words against them.

And on the contrary if they would render to us a contented heart that would prove that all the bad talk of the Omahas was false. That their Spanish father would be satisfied with them and that they should be assured that the French, learning of their good conduct, would make every effort to come again to their village, carrying them their wants.

I advised them to lend a deaf ear to the flattering and deceitful talk of the Omahas, which tended only to stir up trouble with us and would render them unhappy..

They told me that all the bad discourse of the Omahas was false; that there was nothing on earth better than the white man and his merchandise. That the chief of the Omahas was an evil one who deceived them always and placed them in a pitiful condition. That I would find out for myself when I

entered into their village that they were as they were accused. That it was true that they had taken twenty four guns, powder and balls from Jacques d'Eglise. That necessity, seeing that the Omahas had stopped every boat, had caused them to do it. That moreover it was for revenge on the Arikaras who had received them badly and wished to kill them when they had talked with them last summer in their village. That the head men of their nation had determined to make the young men pay well for that which had been taken. That they would not detach any hides until the payment was complete. That when they had all arrived at their village, he would hold a council on the matter, and that he would recommend to me that as soon as navigation was open I should render myself there immediately, that they thought I would be contented.

They represented that they were out of powder and that that alone might cause some of their men to keep their hides and get powder with them from the Omahas. In order to encourage them in saving their hides I promised them that if they would pay me well, I would sell them some, as well as some cloth and a white blanket which I had reserved for them. For the time they appeared very content and promised me earnestly to save them. The Omahas did everything possible to take away the pay for that which they had taken from Jacques d'Eglise. This man had shown to the Poncas the five medals and five flags which he was carrying to the chief of the Mandans. This sight has brought about a great jealousy between these two nations and occasioned bad words against us.

In speaking to the Ponca chiefs of the Arikara nation, among whom they had been last summer, they told me that five French were staying at the home of this nation, and that they had seen only two of them, that the Arikara had told them that three other Frenchmen had set out, some considerable time before, with seven of the head men of their nation, to go to speak to savage people far away, that not having returned, they believed that they had been killed and that they were planning to go to war to avenge their death.

The 11th the chief Big Rabbit left here with his family. The 12th twenty lodges of Poncas arrived on the banks of the Missouri opposite to us. The 13th I paid them a visit. They gave me a great feast. Salomon bought much dried meat cheaply.

I proposed to the chief of this band that he make the men who had my guns pay me for them. He did not wish to, saying that it was necessary to assemble all in a village to do that.

The 14th they broke camp and set out. I have sent Pierre Berger who understands their language passably with them, having given him some pieces of tobacco in order to have a smoke with the head men of each band and to encourage them to save their hides for me.

I am very impatient at not being able to set out from here promptly; the ice yet covers the surface of the waters. We have had a very mild winter. There having fallen only four inches of snow which lasted only ten days.

But the waters of the Missouri are so low that the ice will not be able to move without its rising.

The 21st, the ice in the Missouri has broken up and passed down. The 22nd and 23rd I had two men set out to descend with the furs which I had received from the Omahas and the Poncas. Jean Munier has promised me through Salomon to crate all the furs together.

I am going up to the nations of the upper country with six men, the few furs that I sent down are not worth sending more men.

Upon my arrival at the Arikaras and at the Mandans, if I am able to pass the first freely, I will trade for the pelts which are to be found among these peoples and I will send him to you by three of the employees as soon as possible. If I see Jacques d'Eglise as I hope, by furnishing him with two or three men and if necessary my big boat and one other that he has without doubt made this winter, sufficient to descend with his furs and mine, and for the time I will propose to keep his old boat in order to navigate if it be necessary.

I am sending from here two little boats which my men have made this winter. It has not been possible to make them

bigger and better. There was no wood in this place suitable to make boats of.

If Jean Munier descends with only one of my boats I have recommended to my men to place the other in hiding in some marked place which the second party which descends will be able to pick up in passing.

It did not work out that way. I have decided to send the large boat and one of the smaller ones, using myself one of the middlesized ones which my men have made this winter for the up trip. The threats and the bad words given by Salomon to my men on his departure, having recommended to two of my men employed by Jean Munier to trade with the Poncas, to make a canoe of hides in order to take their hides below and to leave my two men on the sand with their boat and merchandise, has caused me to fear that he will persuade Jean Munier to deceive me some evil day and that the two men would find themselves inconvenienced at having to travel alone.

That is why I am determined to send three men to take to you the pelts which I had received from the Omahas and the Poncas. I was not able to set out from my winter camp until the 25th of March, and I arrived the same day near the village of the Poncas. The next day I entered their village. Their lodges are built about half a league from the Missouri.

Time does not permit me to give a full narration of the character of this nation.

I will tell you for one thing that they are great rascals. They copy the Omahas exactly in all their ways of dealing with the French buying the merchandise as they please, or taking by force what is refused them. The chiefs are the principal robbers of merchandise. I have made a bad deal with them. These two chiefs have taken half of the cloth and white blankets which I carried for three hides of deer, the blanket, little and big hides equally, for a sack containing twenty five pounds of powder and another of sixty pounds of balls they have given me only thirty hides. These are the men who look over all the merchandise generally and take what suits their fancy and at the price they set. All representations and complaints can have no effect on their evil hearts. They tell us continually that the Omahas have done worse to us than they

have. The latter do not cease their evil councils instructing them at the bottom of all their deceits and trickeries to rob the French. These follow their advice too much.

This great rascal of the Omahas especially is heard by the Poncas as an oracle. He is their protecting god. He and the other chiefs of this nation have used all the efforts to prevent the Poncas from paying me for the guns taken from the hands of Jacques d'Eglise. Every day coming to camp near us. they send messengers to spread lies and hold evil discourse against us. I denied as much as possible all these lies and tales, causing the Poncas to understand that the Omahas were seeking only to make them miserable, depriving them of meeting the French, so as to force them to give up their pelts.

They agreed to the truth of my words, but acted always only on the words of their protecting god, the great chief of the Omahas. This bad man, learning that the Poncas had not treated me so badly as he had desired, has had the maliciousness to send a last messenger to report an evil slander, which has almost occasioned me great injury with this nation.

He had warned them, as being their father and seeking only their safety, that the man named Salomon Petit passing through his camp had assured him that I sought to kill the Poncas and Sioux by some evil medicine which I threw in the fire, the first for having robbed Jacques d'Eglise, and the latter for having taken my merchandise and that Salomon had solicited him and his people to withdraw immediately from near the Poncas, fearing to be enveloped in this evil contagion which I wished to throw over the first, saying that from the books which he had seen of mine and the letters which he had seen me write this winter, he knew me to be a man of medicine.

Judge, gentlemen, to what extent this chief forces his lies and trickery against us.

This new report in the evening caused a great trouble among this people, full of false prejudice and superstitions. There can be heard in the camp the speeches and songs of death. Chiefs, old men, and head men come to demand the reason for this news. I have pursuaded them to the contrary with a thousand reasons and proofs, that it will take too long to report here. Finally their terror has vanished from their spirits at least from the principle men.

For I believe always that the majority of this credulous, superstitious, and wicked people yet believe the word of the chief of the Omahas, that I am capable of having them all killed. Also since the moment when the news was received, I have not been able to touch book, papers or pen before men so ignorant.

The First part of the journal ends abruptly as above. On June 1st following he resumes as abruptly.

Part Second.

Reprinted from Missouri Collections.

The Sr. Jacques D'Eglise departed from the village of the Ricaras on the 24th day of May, 1795. I sent with him two men, engages of the Company, to deliver the few skins which I had obtained from the Cheyennes (Chaguiennes) only; the Sr. Jacques d'Eglise, before my arrival here, during the winter and also in the spring, having traded for all of the peltry of the Ricaras. Then I sent four men, two of whom, named Quebec and Savoie, are men capable of making pirogues to search for a tree sufficiently large for the construction of a boat (voiture) in which I might transport, as soon as possible, my remaining goods to the Mandans. I hoped that the Ricaras would consent to this upon my leaving a man here with powder and other necessities, while awaiting the arrival of the pirogue which the Company is to send up during the summer.

Na Lecuyer and the Srs. Quebec and Savoie, wishing also to reach the upper Missouri for beaver hunting this autumn, would have helped me with my pirogue as far as the Mandans. They returned after fifteen days of fruitless search, having traveled through all the woods along the Missouri River for a distance of about seventy-five miles above the Ricara village. It is true, indeed, that for the distance of about one hundred and twenty-five miles below the village of the Ricaras and for the same distance above, the country is composed of hills and prairies, with an occasional patch of woods, the trees being willows and short and slender cottonwoods. For fuel and the

building of their cabins these nations use only the drift wood which is piled up by the rising waters of the Missouri. Because of this lack of timber it would be most difficult for us to construct either houses or forts in this locality; we would need many people and much time to succeed.

I remained here without a pirogue, as it is absolutely necessary that I stay until the arrival of the boat which is due here this summer. Besides, my presence here is needed in case of emergency as much to preserve peace and union between these nations and those situated on the upper Missouri, as to prevent their going to war with those who wander through the country west of the river, who are very numerous.

A war party of the Ricaras arrived on the fifth of June with the scalp of a man of the Crow nation, a people who live near the Rocky Mountains.

The eighth of the same month another party which had gone to avenge the death of three of their people whom the Sioux had killed last winter, returned after having killed a man of the Sioux village called Ysanty,[50] the people of which are sworn enemies of the Ricaras.

A few days later two men from another Sioux village called ta Coropa[51] brought the news that three villages belonging to that nation had assembled and formed an army of five hundred warriors, intending to attack the village of the Ricaras.

The Ricaras have fortified their village by placing palisades five feet high which they have reinforced with earth. The fort is constructed in the following manner: All around their village they drive into the ground heavy forked stakes, standing from four to five feet high and from fifteen to twenty feet apart. Upon these are placed cross-pieces as thick as one's thigh; next they place poles of willow or cottonwood, as thick as one's leg, resting on the cross-pieces and very close together. Against these poles which are five feet high they pile fascines of brush which they cover with an embankment of earth two feet thick; in this way, the height of the poles would

[50]Isanti, meaning knife. From this word is derived the word Sante the generic name applied to all of the Sioux of the Mississippi.

[51]Coropa Ta. I have not been able to identify this band. It is pretty certainly a sub-tribe. Mr. E. Jacobson is unable to analyze the word. Evidently it signified the head of some animal or creature. Ta, animal; pa, head.

prevent the scaling of the fort by the enemy, while the well-packed earth protects those within from their balls and arrows.

The Sioux nations are feared and dreaded by all of these others on account of the fire arms with which they are always well provided; their very name causes terror, they having so often ravaged and carried off the wives and children of the Ricaras. Our being here gives them great assurance, consequently they every day await the coming of the Sioux with courage, and with the resolve to make a strong fight.

It is apropos, for the lucidity of this Journal is to make known to you the Character of the Ricara nation, their number, they way in which they are divided, the position of their villages, as well as those of the neighboring nations; for they hold, so to speak, the key to the passages which we must traverse to reach all of the nations higher up the Missouri, where lie their villages which are in great number.

Character.

The Panis Ricaras are of a rather gentle nature; they respect and defer to the White Men. (I will hereafter make use of these words in the continuation of these memoires to designate civilized people; as the Indians of this country do not know any distinction between the French, Spanish, English, etc., calling them all indifferently White Men or Spirits.)

It is said that formerly the Ricara nation held us in such great veneration that they gave us a sort of worship, having certain festivals at which they offered us the choicest morsels, and even threw into the river robes which had been dyed, and dressed skins decorated with feathers, as a sacrifice to the White Man.[52]

I have been assured that the Cheyennes and other more distant nations still practice this custom; while the Ricaras, through having for so many years associated with the Sioux and the Panis Mahas have changed the ideas which they had inherited from their ancestors in regard to the White Men whom they regarded as divinities. Now they consider us only so far as we supply them with the merchandise which we bring, and which is so necessary to them, particularly ammunition

[52] "Several old men of this tribe have told me this is a fact." Marginal note on original journal.

which they obtain from us and which protects them from the onslaught of so many formidable enemies who so often carry off their children.

I have never discovered in them any malice towards us. Up to the present time we have been able to freely enjoy our possessions without fear that there are any who will harm, molest or tyrannize over us. He who is not satisfied with what is offered him in exchange for his peltries carries them away without a murmur or a threat. Indeed, I will say that having frequented all of the Indian nations living East and West of the Mississippi as well as those living on the lower Missouri, I have found none who approach these in gentleness and kindness towards us. There is as much difference between these and the others as there is between day and night. But, according to some French hunters who are here and who have seen much of the Cheyennes, Mandans and Gros Ventres, they far surpass these, in goodness, kindness, and in reverence for the White Man.

The French who came to trade with Ricaras nation two years before me described them very unfavorably; they accused them of being thieves, slanderers, liars, cheats, and capable of all sorts of wickedness; giving nothing for nothing, refusing to render any service to the French without pay, and even willing to let them die of hunger if found empty handed.

I believe them, but——

From stealing, slander, lying and cheating, I say that one can easily protect himself and avoid being duped, by being careful of his acts, moderate in his conversation, especially with young people (in which the French are too commonly at fault). As to any actual malice I have, up to the present time, experienced none. It is true that they are sour towards the French in the matter of food, giving nothing for nothing, and never doing us a service without reward, but they have these faults in common with all savage nations who have intercourse with civilized ones and become infected with their peculiar faults and vices. Those Indians who have had little or no intercourse with us are more civil, kinder, and more humane than those whom we habitually visit, for they observe in their manner of life the laws dictated only by reason, nature and hu-

manity. Certain it is that if these people whom we call barbarians and savages knew the disposition of the White Men whom they class with divinities, if they knew their manners and customs, their ways of living and their lack of charity for one another; if they could witness all the vile and contemptible deeds done by them for the sake of money, the worries and torments of body and mind imposed upon them by the sword, the gown and the counting house; if they knew these tricks, the frauds, the crimes even which they practice against the rights of nature, of blood and of humanity in order to satisfy their ambition and to accumulate riches they might justly apply to us the designation of savages and barbarians which we have given to them.

Those same Frenchmen (Garraut[53] and his companions) who, as I say, had come among the Ricaras two years before me, have contributed largely by their bad conduct to diminish the favorable opinion and good will which they formerly had towards us.

Instead of finding these white men, as they had believed incapable of folly or unreason, they found them dissolute, prodigal and wicked. They quarreled among themselves to such an extent that some counselled, begged and even paid the Indians to maltreat, to rob and to kill the others. The Indians, more reasonable than the Whites, without performing the evil deeds to which they were urged, profited by the liberality and the discord of the Whites, and took their merchandise whether it was spent for women, or for other follies and excesses which they gloried in committing. Instead of bringing peace among the Indian nations which should be the first aim of the White Man, when he goes among them, these people were the cause of quarrels and dissentions among the chiefs and families with whom they lived, and even embroiled them with their allies. Far from upholding these people in their former simplicity and in their estimation of the value of our merchandise, they made them believe that we considered it no more than grass growing on the prairie, and that we preferred to use it for bad purposes rather than to trade it for peltries. They also paid the Indians three prices for food, a habit and rule which took such deep root in

[53]Joseph Garreau. See note 4. Trudeau always calls him Garraut.

the minds of these people that had I not taken the precaution to provide myself with dried meats from the Cheyennes and the Sioux, who sell them more cheaply, I should have run great risk of fasting; having abandoned, on my arrival here, the pernicious custom of paying at each meal for each dish, be it soup, corn or cooked meats, as it was served, which had been followed by my predecessors.

The Sr. Jacques d'Eglise failed to reform this way of living, which must involve any one who finds himself obliged to remain for any length of time with this nation in very heavy expense.

I will say, however, to the credit of Sr. Jacques d'Eglise, that he regulated thoroughly the fur trade with the Indians; having established a very high price for merchandise, and having held to it with firmness. But, since I am impartial, I will say of him that he did not search out ways of attracting strange nations to him, nor of maintaining this nation in union and accord with its allies by speaking or sending proper words (quelques paroles) to that end.. I will say, further, that he neglected to encourage the hunting of beaver and other good furs, being too much bent upon trading for robes, leggings (mittasses), moccasins, women's garments, dry cow hides, etc., which sufficed to meet the needs of the Indians. They find it extraordinary that I refuse to trade for this sort of articles, as well as to submit to their method of selling us food.

It will be easily seen from what I have reported that we often contribute to the wickedness and depravity of the heart of the Indian nations. It would only require a second Garaut and like companions to make these nations like all the others living on the lower Missouri, which is to say crafty and bad. There is no gainsaying that there are some Indians of a gentler and kinder nature than others. The Ricaras nation, which I consider as having a good character, is said by some to be less docile and more wicked than any of the nations living beyond them; that the young people do not heed the old ones; that the remonstrances of the elders, urging peace and harmony with their neighbors, are listened to without contradiction, but the young men continue to act as their own whims and caprices prompt them.

Numbers and Divisions.

The many families or tribes of which these villages are composed, each having its own Chief, proves a great obstacle to keeping harmony amongst them.

In ancient times the Ricara nation was very large; it counted thirty-two populous villages, now depopulated and almost entirely destroyed by the smallpox which broke out among them at three different times. A few families only, from each of the villages, escaped; these united and formed the two villages now here, which are situated about half a mile apart upon the same land occupied by their ancestors. The differences of opinion and the wrangles for authority which arise among the Chiefs, although the Indians live independently and without subordination, cause discord and misunderstandings among them and give to the young men occasion to make trouble and attack nations, which otherwise would wish for peace and union. This nation formerly so numerous, and which, according to their reports, could turn out four thousand warriors, is now reduced to about five hundred fighting men,[54] as I have said, and what is more the lack of harmony which exists among the Chiefs has caused the nations to be divided into four parts. Two of the Chiefs, jealous no doubt of the kind of superiority and consideration acquired by the two Chiefs who now dominate in these villages, as well with us as with the other nations, seceded last spring with their bands; one is gone to make his residence with the Pani-Mahas, the other with the Mandans.

Jealousy among the heads of this nation is the sole cause of their discord and their divisions, for they know no interest and are without ambition to accumulate riches; they live in a sort of equality conformable to the dictates of nature, in such a manner that it might be said that what belongs to one belongs to another, each priding himself on helping his neighbor, whether it be with food or other necessaries. They are far removed from the sentiments prevailing amongst civilized nations, where a man is esteemed and respected only according to his wealth; with them, to be a man and honored it is necessary to be dignified, courageous, generous, charitable, and wise in

[54] See vol. 1. Original journals of Lewis and Clark, (Thwaites) p. 188.

counsel; therefore they have no quarrels or feuds caused by theft, slander or cheating. If any one among them is discovered to have been guilty of such conduct they content themselves with telling him that he has no sense, or that he has a wicked heart, and usually in a case of theft, they say that the thief must have been in sore need, and do not carry the matter further.

It is perhaps surprising[55] that these people who have no knowledge of the written law, whether human or divine, and are therefore fearless of the punishment which God has destined for the wicked in the next world and of the corporal punishment in this, should not be more addicted to stealing and other crimes so common to the civilized nations. But one rarely hears of robbery among them, and never of assassination or murder; although their cabins are open all night as well as by day, and every one goes in and out freely. And besides, several families live together in one house; a thing which we Europeans could never do without a multitude of laws, a throng of judges, lawyers, notaries, and a train of police, who, while they should be the foundation and support of our societies, are often leeches and tyrants because of the wrong use they make of their power. We must ask of the free thinkers (esprits forts) of the century, who are more familiar with the systems of morals than I am, the reason for so great a diversity of manners and sentiments between animals of the same species (men) who have equally at birth the germs of justice and equity at the bottom of their souls.

The women never cause battles among them, for not having that kind of blind frenzy which we call love, they are not susceptible to jealousy, and do not know that passion.[56] When a man dies, they say, he has not even his wives with him in the land of the dead, so that those who fight and kill each other for women are fools and mad men.

The girls and young women who seem to be common property among them, living in full liberty, are so dissolute and debauched that according to the reports of those who have studied them, there is not one whose modesty is proof against a bit of

[55]A marginal note on the copy at Washington says this paragraph is misplaced and should come in later on.

[56]Marginal note by Trudeau.—I except the Sioux and Cheyennes who are jealous to the last degree.

vermillion or a few strands of blue glass beads; what is more, the fathers, brothers and even the husbands offer and take the youngest and most beautiful daughters, sisters and wives to the White Men for their diversion, in exchange for a few trifles which they receive.

Our young Canadians and Creoles who come here are seen everywhere running at full speed, like escaped horses, into Venus' country, from which they rarely emerge without being afflicted with the ills which are almost inseparably connected with it, for the foul distemper is more common here than the small pox is in the northern countries of Canada. The Indians cure themselves of it very easily. They showed me some who six months ago were rotting away who are now perfectly cured.

The two villages belonging to the Panis-Ricaras are situated near the Missouri; the first one at a distance of eight hundred paces from the river, and the other about one hundred paces further on; both are at a distance of nearly four hundred and thirty leagues from the Illinois.[57] South of them on a fork of the Platte River live the Padoo (Comanches), a great nation living at a distance which the Ricara warriors would cover in a seven days' march, which would mean about eighty of our leagues.

On the Southwest and to the West, on the branches of a large river (which I name the river of the Cheyennes) which empties into the Missouri about three miles above the second Ricara village,[58] are situated several nations called the Cayoguas, the Caminabiches, the Pitapahotas, etc., all of different speech.[59] The Cheyennes wander over the country along the river; a little below those first named (plus bas que les premiers). The vast country, not far from here, over which these different nations roam, abounds in beaver and otter, since they have never hunted these animals, not having had any intercourse with the white men. It would be easy, by means of the Cheyennes who are their friends, to extend our commerce with those nations and obtain from

[57]"The Illinois,' signifies Saint Louis. The mouth of Grand River is 1316 miles from the Mississippi. In placing the distance at 430 leagues Trudeau was surprisingly accurate. His estimate would equal 1290 miles, while Lewis and Clark with studied effort made it 1425.

[58]This is a strong evidence that the Rees at this date were at the villages on the east side of the Missouri between Evarts and Mobridge. The river referred to cannot be other than the Grand.

[59]What is here called Cayoguas is meant Kiowas and the Caminabiches are the Arapahoes. The Pitapahotas were perhaps the Noisey Pawnees.

them fine furs. To this end, however, some expenditure would be necessary to get horses and people to transport the kind of merchandise that would attract them most; for this river, of which I have just spoken, though sufficiently wide, is so very shallow that one cannot venture on it in a pirogue; it could be traveled only in the spring, when the snow melts, or after abundant rainfalls, and then only with boats made of buffalo skin, such as are used on the Platte river. To attempt to have them come by way of the Missouri to the place where the merchandise depots are established would be an impossibility; not that the Ricaras or Mandans would offer any opposition, but owing to the fear which they have of the Sioux, their sworn enemies, and whose very name causes all of the people of this continent to tremble.

The northern part of the Missouri is inhabited by the great Sioux nation, almost all of whom are enemies of the Mandans, the Gros Ventres and the Ricaras, and other nations also. The Sioux nation are of those who hunt beaver; and almost every spring they obtain great quantities from here, which they trade with those Sioux who frequent the St. Peter's River and that neighborhood.

The high price held here on merchandise (is the cause of this);and above all the amount of powder which we give for beaver; which until now, has been only ten pounds for each pack,[60] and some trifle for lagniappe; now they demand a double handful for each beaver and each otter, and unless we yield they will never consent to trade their furs with us.[61]

As for me, my orders being to maintain very high prices on merchandise, though I see with much regret so many fine skins being taken out of our territory to strangers, I cannot, without a new order from the Company, better the price.

One thing is certain; if the English merchants, who are unquestionably much more enterprising than those of Illinois and Louisiana, were in possession of this river (the Missouri) on which from its mouth to its source navigation is so easy for

[60]Dix louis les chacque, in original.

[61]At that time each skin had an established value well understood to the Indians. Perrin de Lac says: "They called plu the equivalent of one piastre; two skins of an antelope or a kid made 1 plu; one deer skin or one beaver skin make 1 plu; one otter skin makes two plu, etc. Since the prices are made in plus, there is not the least difficulty in trading."

the largest pirogues, having no cataracts or portages, they would establish a large trade with all the nations, those which are known to us as well as those which are still unknown, and obtain from them a great quantity of fine peltry; a thing which these gentlemen, the merchants of the Illinois, have never dared and may, perhaps, never undertake, because of the reluctance they have always had and still have of making expenditures, and because of their fear of failure, they being too easily disheartened by the first obstacles and losses which are encountered; things which have never stopped the English in their commercial ventures.

It will doubtless be said that the company formed in St. Louis for the pupose of doing business on the upper Missouri has for its aim and object, in establishing a store house at the Mandans, the discovery of distant nations with whom it might open a fur trade. Such is, indeed, the the intention of the Company; and I have been instructed to send out the engages of the Company on voyages of discovery North, South, East and West. But will these engages, who, for the most part, come from Canada, and who have been chosen because of the small wages they are willing to accept, and who are unfamiliar with the Indians and with the routes, will they, I say, make discoveries without leaders and without guides? Will the guides and leaders cost nothing?. Will they be able to pass from nation to nation, unsophisticated as they are, without some cost for little presents to the Chiefs? It is required, however, that I execute all of these projects without expense, according to my instructions.

The director has enjoined upon me to retain only (word blotted) men with me, and to send the other engages, after the winter season is done, back to the Illinois. These two men, will they be ubiquitous? Will they be able to render the needed service at the post, and explore the country from sunrise to sunset and from South to North? Such a thing does not stand to reason.

The greatest obstacle to the voyager on the upper Missouri is the pass at the Mahas and at the Poncas. Will the Company make the necessary effort to free these passes? There is little risk of meeting the Sioux. They are easily evaded by proper precaution in passing the places where they frequent. Above

all it is necessary to know how to choose the time to make the passage when they are away, which is in the early spring.

I conclude by saying that if the ways were once opened, and if Messieurs, the merchants of the Illinois would employ the necessary forces to reach the many different nations who live on the upper Missouri and in the neighboring country, and the means to prevent the people North of the river from carrying their furs to the English merchants, it would double and treble the value of their own trade. The capable men among the Indians, and the young men who are accustomed to remain inactive, would have a better chance to earn a livelihood and pay their debts, and in consequence this country which can barely support itself by its fur trade and its hunting, would be much better off than at present. (In the copy at Washington there is a page following this which has been so carefully erased as to be illegible.)

Continuation of My Journal.

On the twelfth of June, several horses were stolen during the night from the second village of the Ricaras. This horse robbery caused a great tumult in the village, as it was realized that it had been committed by the Nations of the Upper Missouri. They accused the Mandans and the Gros Ventres, and were much inclined to go to war against these nations. I begged the Chiefs to calm their young men, and made them understand that it were far better to hold them back than to allow them recklessly to make war. I urged them to send some of their own people among the Ricaras who are harboured by the Mandans to find out exactly who was the author of this theft; that I myself would write on this subject to the Frenchmen living among the Mandans, and that I would send some tobacco to the Chiefs of those Nations, entreating them to have the horses returned if they had been stolen by any of their young men. They consented to do this, and on the seventeenth of the month, three Indians started out on this errand. They returned the following day and reported having seen a great number of men on horseback, who seemed to be coming on, ready for war, either with them or the Sioux who are their allies, which statement proved to be false.

On the twenty-fourth of the same month, two Frenchmen

named Quebec and Chorette started out on the same trip; they returned on the third day, saying that they had seen a warlike party, whom they thought might be Sioux, by whom they were not discovered, as they left under the cover of night.

On the second day of July, six other Indians started out on the same errand carrying the words of the village from which the horses had been stolen, and three pieces of tobacco which I was sending to the chiefs of the Mandans and Gros Ventres and the band of Ricaras who had taken refuge with the first.

These words were to this effect: that being friends and allies and having given no cause for having had their horses stolen they were sending their own people to ask for them and they believed that the Chiefs, be they Mandans or Gros Ventres would have them returned, owing to the regard in which they held the White Men and in consideration of the words of their Spanish Father who advised them to live in peace and harmony, he who had made them restrain their young men who lacked neither courage nor legs to avenge this robbery.

I sent a letter by them to Menard and Jussaume[62] who were living among the Mandans, in which I impressed them with the fact that the intention of the Lieutenant governor of the Illinois was to provide all the necessaries of life, to all the Nations situated along the upper Missouri, and for this reason had formed a Company, composed of several merchants of St. Louis, for whom I was agent, to establish a trading post among the Mandans for several years; that unfortunate and unforseen events had prevented my reaching there last Fall, that I would certainly reach there during the coming Summer after the arrival of a pirogue laden with merchandise which I was expecting during the coming months of July or August. I assured them that the Company of the Missouri was ready to favor and help them, that it was hoped that they on their part would contribute with enthusiasm to the success of the proposed undertaking; and that they must stop trading with the English on the Red river. I begged them to spare no pains in maintaining peace and harmony among all nations, particularly those of the Mandans, Gros Ven-

[62]Rene Jusseaume, some times called St. Pierre, the interpreter at the Mandans to Lewis and Clark. He was long an independent trader at the Mandan villages.

tres and Ricaras; to make the Mandans understand that the route which the French must take to reach them depended entirely on the Ricaras. I implored them to have returned to these last, the horses recently stolen from them and to assure the Chiefs of the Mandans and Gros Ventres, to whom the Great Chief of the Spanish, and the universal Father of the Red Skins, was sending by me medals, flags and swords with which to bind their friendship and to insure benefits to all their villages; that, I say, should they insist upon keeping the horses, they will infallibly light the torch of war between them and the Ricaras and ultimately prevent our reaching them despite our desires to do so. Above all, I pleaded with the Sr. Menard who has the reputation among the Indians of being a man to be depended upon, frank and honest, to distribute in person the tobacco which I was sending to the Chiefs of the Mandans and Gros Ventres, until I myself could deliver to them the words of their Spanish Father. These new ambassadors promised me to be back by the thirteenth day, taking five days walking to reach there, three days to remain and five in which to return.

On the sixth day of the month three men of the Cheyenne Nation, from a village called Ouify (Ouisay),[63] which has not yet come here, arrived, having heard the news that among the Ricaras, had come some strange White Men bringing with them much powder and merchandise; their Chief had sent these here to find out if the truth had been told to them; they reported that the Cayoguas, the Caminanbiches, the Pitapahotos of whom I spoke above, had drawn near, and were camped just beyond them, that on the reports they had received concerning the arrival and residence of the White Men among the Ricaras, they wished to form an alliance with these last in order to obtain from them ammunition and knives, of which they were so much in need, but that the dread they felt, either of the Sioux or the Ricaras, who often killed them without provocation, prevented their approaching.

In the meantime some young men, belonging to the Ricaras, formed a war party, in order to attack the Nations on the upper Missouri, among whom were possibly those just mentioned. I reproached the Chiefs and the old men, that they should

[63]Ouisay. I cannot identify the place of this village. It must have been in the Black Hills region.

allow their young men to become so unmanageable and show such hostile feelings, wishing to do harm and to make war on the neighboring nations who were seeking only peace and harmony.

I proved to them their poor policy in antagonizing every one, retaining no allies or friends; that if on the contrary they would but form closer ties with the nations west of them and who are well supplied with horses, they would derive great benefit from them and acquire many things which were lacking to them; that we White men would trade with them in beaver and other furs, which were so plentiful in the country.

The Chiefs and the old men approved all that I said but seeing their young men obstinate and determined to go to war, the Chief of the first village of the Ricaras, named Crazy Bear, in whose cabin I lived, became angry and remonstrated with them sharply, telling them to go an and make war and so drive back the White Men to their own villages with all of their powder and other merchandise, while he and his family would withdraw with the Cheyennes. In order to reduce these turbulent young men to tranquility I proposed to this Chief that we should ourselves go with the Calumet to the nations who were making instant demands for peace. He applauded my plan, but he said he must first call a meeting of the principal men of the Nation, to impart to them our plan and obtain their approval.

The following day on the 7th of the month he bade all of the Chiefs and consideres to his cabin, he placed a flag before the door and placed his medal around his neck. At the furtherest end of the hut, exposed on a mat, the letter patent which his Spanish Father had sent him by me, having had placed before it some live coals on which was burned a certain kind of dried grass the smoke of which produces a very strong odor, and which they use as we use incense. They hold such things as medals, flags, and letters in such deep veneration that whenever these are taken from their wrappings, they are smoked and hold the most important place at their feasts.

To this assembly, he recalled the desires and advice of the great Chief of the White Men (of which they saw the evidence), which was to make peace and not war on the neighboring nations. I repeated to them what I have already said on page——

about acquiring horses from the Western people: for in order to win over all sorts of Nations to our views, it is well to mix in their own interests and clearly show them their own advantage to be gained.

The whole assembly applauded our speeches and approved the plan which the Crazy Bear and I had formed, of going to the nations which I have named, bearing the Calumet. They summoned the war chief of the party, who was preparing to go: they induced him to smoke and he consented to remain quiet. They called the three men of the Cheyenne Nation who had just arrived and, having found out through them, just where these strange Nations had stopped, decided that they were still too far away to go to them at once, and that it would be more suitable to send them tobacco to make them smoke to the White men and to the Ricaras Pawnees, urging them to approach without fear and assuring them that the white men desired to see them and that the Ricaras unanimously wished to make an aliance with them, that here they would find guns, powder, knives, etc., in exchange for their horses to the Ricaras and their furs with the White men, who advised them to hunt beaver during the Fall, Winter and Spring.

That as soon as it should be learned that they were near here, the Chief "Crazy Bear" with a few consideres among the Ricaras, and myself would go to them with the calumet to form a sincere alliance with them, and if instead of approaching, they withdrew, it would prove that they cared little for the White men or for peace with the Ricaras.

All of these words were repeated to the Cheyennes by an interpreter, for their language is entirely differnt from that of the Pawnees. I gave them three pieces of tobacco, to be delivered to the three Nations which I mentioned above, and after having given to each one a knife, a bit of Vermillion and a piece of tobacco, which they might show in their village, to prove the good faith of the White men, they left on the morning of the eighth.

On the tenth of July, I unfortunately lost one of my Frenchmen, named Joseph Chorette, who was drowned, while bathing alone at dusk, in the Missouri.

Two little Indians aged about ten and twelve years old,

came running to us to say, that they had seen a white man, who was washing his body on the bank of the Missouri, and while playing had wandered a little farther away from him; a few moments later, they looked towards the spot where he had been and had seen him no more; then going to the spot where he had gone into the water, they found his clothes, which were still there.

Accompanied by the other Frenchmen and several Indians, I ran to the edge of the river; we found his clothes, just as these children had told us.

The Indians jumped into the river just at this spot, also some distance below, to make a search, but without avail. For the last few days this man had taken the habit of going to bathe in the Missouri, in spite of all we could say, telling him that the bed of the river being uneven, full of holes and precipices and he being unable to swim, he would undoubtedly be drowned; but incredulous to the last, he obstinately continued his bathing and unfortunately was drowned. I was most unhappy over this misfortune. During the twenty-six years and over, in which I have been making my trips, neither I, nor any one of my companions, has met with a serious accident. I had him searched for, during several days, but without success.

On the fourteenth of the month, the six Indians whom we had sent to the Mandans, returned; they brought me two letters from Messrs. Jussome and Menard, assuring me that the Mandan and Gros Ventre Nations had received and smoked the tobacco which I had sent to them with inexpressible joy, incessantly raising their hands toward their Father, the Chief of the White men, in thanksgiving for his benevolence, and that they had promised to do nothing against the will of the White men. They tell me that all of the Indians and the French who make their residence there are impatiently awaiting my arrival, being disposed to do all in their power to serve the Company; that so far as the stolen horses are concerned, which I and the Ricaras claim, there would be no difficulty whatever in returning them had they been stolen by the Mandans or Gros Ventres, but that the robbery had been committed by some young men of the Ricaras Nation who had taken refuge among the Mandans and they would not consent to return them, saying that the stealing of these horses had been done in revenge for some other

horses, which had been withheld by those from below, at the time of their separation, and that besides, these discussions and controversies between those belonging to the same Nation was no business of the French or the Mandans, and that they scorned the threats of their own kind.

So our so-called ambassadors returned without horses. The discontent of the second Ricaras Village may be easily imagined.

On the sixteenth of July, one of the great chiefs of the village from which were taken the larger number of the stolen horses, and who since my arrival here, had always shown us much consideration, came to visit me; he said that he was leaving with many young men, to war on the Nations above; that since my arrival they had consented to all for which I had asked, for the sake of peace, but since the Indians above us had not heeded my words, nor theirs, they intended to avenge the stealing of their horses; that he being Chief and not being in sympathy with the movement of these young men of no sense and no ears, had not wanted to leave, without warning me, and to find out from me my views on the subject.

I easily understood the object of his discourse, which was, to be retained by me or to get my consent to make war on the nations farther up.

I was undecided as to how I should answer this man. Stop him? That would be expensive, for you will notice that among all savage people the most wise words and discourses, whether for peace, whether for war, or in regard to the reception of strangers, are not fruitful, if unaccompanied by feasts and by presents of horses, of guns or other merchandise given at the end.

After so many losses and expenses due to unfortunate events, since my departure from the Illinois, by which the Company finds itself much aggrieved, and those which I have made and am obliged to make since my arrival here, whether it be to maintain peace with the Cheyennes and the village of the Sioux settled here, who are at variance with one another and whom it is necessary to keep on friendly terms, they being the ones who can best furnish us with good furs.

What with food and small gifts which I cannot refuse, now and then, to the two Chiefs decorated with the Ricaras medal,

when they ask me. It being wise to propitiate and not offend them too much, by unnecessary refusals while not seeming to grant them to readily. So I take good care to not only avoid heavy expenses, but also not to give to these newly bemedaled Chiefs, the bad habit of exacting from traders a quantity of merchandise as due their positions of Chiefs, a custom which the French have unfortunately introduced among all the Nations situated along the lower Missouri. I try to yield to their demands only on necessary occasions, where it is a question of giving a few trifles to strangers, who come to visit them, or when it is to appease some mutinous or discontented ones of their own nation, who would insult or maltreat their allies. To refuse them under such circumstances, would be to cause them great displeasure and change their kindly sentiments, with which we wish to inspire them, such as peace amongst themselves and kindly feelings toward strangers and, above all, not to alienate us in their minds.

All of these losses and expenses made me hesitate as to how I should act this time towards this Chief. To recall to him all the advice of his Father, the Chief of the White Men, and to repeat my usual arguments for maintaining peace and free passage among the Nations of the upper Missouri, without at the same time giving him anything, was to throw my words to the winds, especially to a man who had just lost all of his horses, by which he counted his wealth, and who would not have failed to reply as he had already done, that these Nations from above had been the first to disturb the peace and harmony which I was anxious to maintain.

To tell him that he should do as he pleased, was to countenance all of the evil which he intended doing, besides trying to check all the youths of this Nation without being able, when the time came, to hold them back. I therefore thought fit to make a few more sacrifices, although burdensome, by giving out some more merchandise to stop this war party, rather than to allow it to proceed, for one thing is certain, that should war break out between these Nations and those farther up, all passages leading to the latter would be closed to us, which would only bring great harm to the Company, by putting obstacles in the way of Commerce which it had planned and which was to extend to all

the Nations on the upper Missouri. I summoned the Chief "Crazy Bear" and some consideres of the Ricaras, who made him smoke with me in order to divert him from his purpose. I gave him a present and bade him to make known to the others of his village who had lost horses by robbery.

In order to displease no one, he accepted the Calumet and the gift, saying that it was not on account of the booty which I gave and which was but small in comparison to the loss of his horses, if he agreed to remain quiet, but in consideration of the White Men, whom he did not wish to displease, that he would forget them and would make every effort to appease those who like himself, had lost their horses.

This Chief did at once all that he had promised me, and there was no more talk of war with the Nations higher up.

On the eighteenth of the same month ten men of the Cheyenne Nation arrived; they reported that their entire village was approaching, traveling by slow stages, being too heavily laden to move faster. That the young men of their Nation had started off carrying tobacco to the three Nations which I had named, the Cayoguas, the Caminanbiches, and the Pitapahotos, and that they had not yet returned.

They also told me of a most wretched accident which had happened to them recently; I would not repeat it to you, if the cause of it were not attributed to us, on account of the high opinion they have of us and all that belongs to us.

When I had summoned the most important ones from both Cheyenne villages on my arrival here last Spring, to announce to them the words of their Spanish Father and to deliver to them the medal, the flag, the letter patent and the present which he sent them, I asked them to choose from among their number, the one whom they deemed most worthy to wear the medal and to be made the great Chief of their Nation. They had me to give it to a young man who they called "The Lance," who accepted it and promised to do all the good which had been recommended to him, in the letter which his Father, the Chief of the White Men, had sent him.

These newly arrived Cheyennes youths reported to me, that this young Chief, far from having followed my advice after taking possession of the medal, flag and letter which

came from the great Chief of the White Men, had continued with a wicked heart for strangers, and even for his own people, getting angry and treating them badly on every occasion; that he was the author of a recent murder committed in their village, that of a Sioux, his wife and three children, who were living among them, in spite of the fact that he had promised me to live in peace with those of the Sioux village who lived there, and to which belonged this man and his family. They had even eaten and smoked together.

Instead of maintaining peace with the Mandans and Gros Ventres, he had had their horses stolen. That without doubt the medal, the flag and the letter, who were great spirits, had become angry, for three of his children had died, and what is more, lightning had struck the hut of his own brother who, with his wives, children, dogs and horses tied before the door, had been reduced to ashes.

This accident happening to befall this man, above all others, known to have broken his promise to the White Men, and not having behaved in the manner imposed upon him, in the presence of all the esteemed ones of his Nation, had a terrible effect on the minds of all these Nations and confirmed anew their belief that the White Men were great spirits and all powerful.

Most of the old men of the Cheyennes, according to reports, openly denounced the conduct of this young Chief, reproached him for his wicked heart, his lack of attention and submission to the words of the White Men by whom they were now visibly punished by the Master of Life, just as I had predicted.

The Ricaras Nation, as I have said, is a little more enlightened than those farther away and yet this occurrence gave them much to think about.

On the 20th of the month, a Sioux village which they call "Ta Coropa," numbering eighty huts, came to join the Sioux village, which has settled here, and who are really the only friends of the Ricaras, having the same sentiments and character; these newly arrived Sioux, as well as another band called Chahony,[64] who are soon to come here, usually wander over

[64]Cha-hoy. I cannot identify these people with any known band of Sioux.

the country North East of the Missouri, but not finding any wild oxen or cows thereabouts, are forced to the West of this river, where these animals are found in great numbers.

The Ricaras and this Sioux Nation live together peacefully. The former receive them in order to obtain guns, clothes, hats, kettles, cloths, etc., which are given them in exchange for their horses. They humor them through fear and to avoid making too many enemies among the Sioux, who would inevitably overpower them.

The last frequent the Ricaras and make them great promises to live with them in peace and harmony, in order that they may smoke their tobacco, eat their Indian wheat and hunt freely wild oxen and beaver, on their lands during the Fall and Winter. In the Spring they withdraw to the other shore, from whence they usually return to steal their horses and sometimes to kill them.

It is their custom every Spring to meet the other Sioux villages, situated on the St. Pierre and Des Moines rivers, with whom they trade their furs for merchandise.[65]

Journal kept by J. B. Truteaux, Agent for the Company of the Upper Missouri, addressed to Messrs. Clamorgan and Reihle, Directors of the Company.

Commenced the first of June, 1795.

[65]Following this are three lines carefully erased and illegible.

TWELFTH ANNUAL REVIEW OF PROGRESS OF SOUTH DAKOTA 1912.

The year 1912 in South Dakota has been distinguished chiefly as a year of politics. The campaign opened at the very beginning of the year in spirited contests for the nomination for United States senator for the republican party bettween Robert J. Gamble the incumbent, Richard O. Richards and Thomas Sterling, and for the governorship on the republican ticket between Frank M. Byrne, Loomis S. Cull and George W. Egan, and on the democratic ticket between Edwin S. Johnson and Patrick F. Wickhem. At the same time there was a determined contest between the supporters of president William H. Taft and Theodore Roosevelt in the republican party and between the supporters of Champ Clark and those of Woodrow Wilson in the democratic party. The primary election was held on June 4th and resulted in the nomination of the following tickets:

Republican: Presidential delegates for Roosevelt; U. S. Senator Thomas Sterling; Congress, Charles H. Dillon, Charles H. Burke, Eben W. Martin; Governor, Frank M. Byrne; Lieutenant Governor, E. L. Abel; Secretary of State, Frank P. Glasner; Auditor, Henry B. Anderson; Treasurer,Adolph W. Ewert; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Carl G. Lawrence; Commissioner of School and Public Lands, Frank F. Brinker; Attorney General, Royal Johnson; Railroad Commissioner, John J. Murphy, Supreme Judges, John Howard Gates, Samuel C. Polley, Charles Sumner Whiting.

Democratic: Presidential delegates for Woodrow Wilson; U. S. Senator, Richard F. Pettigrew; Congressman, Robert E. Dowdell, C. Boyd Barrett, Harry Gandy; Governor, Edwin S. Johnson; Lieutenant Governor, O. D. Anderson; Secretary of State, N. F. Stewart; Auditor J. P. Croal; Treasurer, F. B. Gannon; Superintendent of Public Instruction, L. M.Powers; Commissioner of School and Public Lands, John J. Halligan; Attorney General, W. A. Lynch; Railroad Commissioner, L. C. Campbell.

There were also tickets placed in nomination by the prohibition and socialist parties.

After the national conventions of the leading parties had been held the state convention for the nomination of presidential electors and the adoption of party platforms were held July 3. The dominant element in the republican party of South Dakota was not satisfied with the methods which resulted in the renomination of President Taft and refused to pledge the electoral ticket of the state to his support, but later in the campaign the candidates for electors did agree

to cast their ballots in the electoral college for either Roosevelt or Taft, if by that means either could be elected. However the action in the state convention estranged a considerable element of the republicans who gave their support to the democratic ticket. The November election resulted in the choice of the entire republican ticket as nominated at the June primary and of the presidential electors nominated in July.

A QUIET YEAR. Aside from politics it has been a quiet year; no great enterprises of moment having occupied the attention of the people. There have been no railroad extension. Several notable county court houses have been constructed, dedicated or provided for, as in Clay, Brookings, Hyde, Walworth and Sully counties. Aberdeen and Sioux Falls have made great and expensive additions to their sewer systems; Sulzberger & Sons have opened an extensive packing house at Sioux Falls; The Lincoln Hotel at Watertown, the Carpenter at Sioux Falls and The Navin at Mitchell are notable hotels just dedicated. Government buildings are in progress at Huron, Brookings, Rapid City; the Sioux Falls building has been rebuilt and doubled in capacity. Several important high school buildings have been erected, the Rapid City building of $100,000 under way being the most costly. Mitchell has made most notable civic improvements, especially in the reinforced concrete paving of her business streets.

The new buildings authorized by the last legislature at the several institutions are completed or well along. The good road law of 1911 is in effect in most counties and is beginnning to bear fruit in better highways. Several cross-state automobile roads are in contemplation or under construction. Pennington county has built two steel bridges across the Cheyenne river to promote these cross-state roads. Only a moderate amount of farm building was done, except in the Rosebud region southwest of the Missouri where the farmers have enjoyed exceptional prosperity.

POPULATION. The growth of population has been ordinary, but there has been no notable movement in any direction. Basing the calculation upon the school census the population of the state as of January 1, 1913, is 633,518 as against 583,888 by the federal census of 1910.

IRRIGATION. One of the interesting developments of the year has been the increase of irrigation plants in the central and western portions of the state, which are quite rapidly being extended to cover the irrigable portions of the land along all of the streams; while the great national project at Belle Fourche covering approximately 100,000 acres is completed and this year for the first time was pre-

pared to supply water to the farmers under the ditch, and some other large gravity projects are in contemplation, most of the developments of the year has been in the way of small pumping plants.

THE WEATHER. The earlier portion of the season following a moderate winter which left the earth in fine condition for agriculture, continued satisfactory and after July first was ideal. A few days near the end of June and at the beginning of July caused some apprehension which was soon allayed by temperate weather and abundant rains. The autumn and winter to this date have been mild and delightful. The rainfall for the growing season at various points in the state is shown in the subjoined table:

Place	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Total
Aberdeen	6.85	3.34	2.73	3.81		*
Brookings	3.36	6.98		2.52	4.68	*
Deadwod	4.60	1.95	2.00	3.10	3.95	15.60
Eureka	1.29	3.37	1.50	2.19	3.27	11.62
Greenwood	3.35	2.29	1.86	4.53	4.08	16.11
Highmore	1.05	2.20	1.31	1.44	3.39	9.39
Huron	3.76	2.49	1.68	3.71	2.41	14.05
Milbank	4.40	3.62	1.94	5.58	3.09	18.63
Mitchell	3.96	1.56	1.53	4.94	5.49	17.48
Murdo	3.55	1.60	1.30	4.13	3.15	13.73
Pierre	0.89	1.67	0.91	3.22	3.85	10.54
Rapid City	1.61	2.25	.93	6.64	2.86	14.29
Sioux Falls	2.89	3.26	.85	7.65	4.30	18.95
Watertown	5.16	4.30	2.55	5.01	2.29	19.31
Yankton	3.19	4.55	.69	4.84	2.36	15.63

*Returns not complete.

ASSESSED VALUATION. Growth in the total of the assessment rolls of the state continues to be satisfactory. The following table gives the assessed valuation of all property for 1912.

	Total Real Personal Railroad and Telephone Property
Aurora	$ 5,009,831.00
Beadle	10,144,482.00
Bennett	326,518.00
Bon Homme	7,022,418.00
Brookings	8,357,611.00
Brown	18,090,963.00
Brule	4,990,971.00
Buffalo	1,089,248.00
Butte	3,071,267.00

Campbell	3,090,075.00
Charles Mix	7,768,112.00
Clark	7,370,716.00
Clay	5,193,750.00
Codington	8,583,226.00
Corson	2,166,569.00
Custer	1,863,893.00
Davison	6,390,618.00
Day	7,642,109.00
Deuel	5,102,781.00
Dewey	1,124,962.00
Douglas	3,835,465.00
Edmunds	5,833,794.00
Fall River	3,292,081.00
Faulk	5,854,066.00
Grant	5,033,298.00
Gregory	5,196,842.00
Hamlin	4,748,205.00
Hand	7,416,463.00
Hanson	4,157,266.00
Harding	1,760,319.00
Hughes	4,926,436.00
Hutchinson	8,793,321.00
Hyde	3,376,347.00
Jerauld	3,542,[illegible]00
Kingsbury	7,566,403.00
Lake	6,793,079.00
Lawrence	8,929,679.00
Lincoln	7,617,961.00
Lyman	8,575,173.00
McCook	6,291,625.00
McPherson	4,942,534.00
Marshall	4,659,748.00
Meade	5,188,006.00
Mellette	540,465.00
Miner	4,894,133.00
Minnehaha	16,448,078.00
Moody	5,880,241.00
Pennington	6,898,352.00
Perkins	5,285,144.00
Potter	3,513,910.00
Roberts	6,801,748.00
Sanborn	4,465,574.00
Spink	12,949,240.00
Stanley	9,025,421.00
Sully	3,802,013.00
Tripp	3,297,203.00
Turner	8,071,295.00
Union	5,550,994.00
Walworth	3,999,907.00
Yankton	7,213,984.00
Ziebach	412,881.00
Unorganized	866,762.00
Total, 1912	$353,228,056.00
Total, 1911	348,582,525.00
Increase	$4,645,531.00

FINANCIAL CONDITIONS. The financial conditions of the people of the community is perhaps better exhibited in the bank deposits than otherwise. In view of the reduced returns of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912, due to the short crop of 1911 the increase in bank deposits is very remarkable and indicates an exceedingly thrifty sentiment. The table herewith shows the deposits in all the banks of this state upon September 1st, 1912 and compares with the deposits of the same date in 1911:

	Bank Deposits	Individual Dep.	Total
National Banks	$5,292,141.63	$28,120,529.95	$33,412,671.58
State Banks	2,842,248.03	48,250,754.40	51,093,002.43
Total 1912	8,134,389.66	76,371,284.35	84,505,674.01
Total 1911	6,244,506.80	73,061,477.34	79,305,984.14
Increase	$1,889,882.86	$ 3,309,807.01	$ 5,199,689.87

The greatest deposits ever before reported were the combined deposits of September 1, 1910, when there were on hand $87,783,697.78. Despite the bad crop of last year the deposits at the present time approximate the high water mark.

THE STATE FINANCES. For a half dozen years this department has secured and published a statement of the state debt as of November 12th in each year. These statements prepared by the State Treasurer's office are official and indicate a consistent debt reduction from year to year. The statement for November 12, 1912, is as follows:

Debt	Nov.12,'11	Nov.12'12
Revenue Warrants	$500,000	$500,000
Borrowed from Twine Fund	69,383	
Capitol Warrants	48,242	70,491
Registered Warrants	368,495	21,544
Total Debt	$986,120	$592,035
Less Cash in General Fund	112,256	16,264
Net Debt	$873,864	$575,771
Decrease for Year		298,093

The net debt on Nov. 12 for several years past has been as follows:

1909 ..... $1,081,342
1910 1,073,575

1911	$73,864
1912	575,771

PRODUCTIONS. As far as possible we have again adopted the figures of the United States Department of Agriculture upon the productions of the year. Where the department's figures are not available we have studiously endeavored to make the most reliable estimates.

For the cereal crops and potatoes the table herewith carries the official estimates of the Department of Agriculture:

Wheat, 52,185,000 bushels	$36,008,000	
Corn, 76,347,000 bushels	29,248,000	
Barley, 23,062,000 bushels	9,686,000	
Rye, 312,000 bushels	162,000	
Oats, 52,390,000 bushels	13,098,000	
Flax Seed, 5,323,000	6,015,000	
Potatoes, 6,510,000 bushels	2,344,000	
Other Grains and Seeds	1,000,000	
Total government estimates on crops		$96,561,000

Our estimates on other products—

Vegetables and fruits	$ 2,500,000	
Hay, 3,450,000 tons	17,250,000	
Dairy Products	7,700,000	
Poultry and Eggs	7,000,000	
Livestock	51,026,000	
Wool and Hides	1,000,000	
Minerals and Stone	9,200,000	
		$95,676,000
Total products of the earth		$192,237,000

For convenience in comparison of the products of the earth for a number of years past are inserted:

1908	$185,434,000
1909	202,362,000
1910	181,188,000
1911	139,281,000
1912	192,237,000

Approximating the present population of the state at 633,518 and we find the year has given us a capita production of $303 which all will concede is a most satisfactory return.

MARKETINGS. In accordance with a long established custom all of the railroads operating within the state have again made a return to this department of the actual amounts of the products of the state which they have carried to markets in other states from South Dakota and the aggregated results are as follows for the year ending June 30, 1912:

Wheat, 12,929,000 bushels, worth	$12,411,000
Corn, 9,003,000 bushels, worth	4,681,000
Oats, 5,841,000 bushels, worth	2,278,000

Barley, 979,000 bushels, worth	744,000
Flax seed, 2, 353,000 bushels, worth	4,495,000
Other seeds, worth	750,000
Livestock—	
Horses, 38,363,000 pounds, worth	3,836,000
Cattle, 218,676,000 pounds, worth	14,673,000
Hogs, 290,453,000 pounds, worth	19,750,000
Sheep, 82,055,000 pounds, worth	4,767,000
All other products, (approx.)	12,000,000
Total marketings, 1912	$ 80,385,000
Total marketings, 1911	124,167,000
Decrease for year	$ 43,782,000

Compared with other years the marketings are satisfactory as shown in this table.

1908	$ 98,083,000
1909	123,706,000
1910	118,402,000
1911	124,167,000
1912	80,385,000

It will be borne in mind that the marketings shown for any year are from the products of the crop of the previous year, the decrease in the marketing of the crop of the previous year, the decrease in the marketings for the fiscal year 1912 is therefore due to the very short yields of 1911.

PUBLIC MORALS. There has been nothing of note to disturb the peace of the state. No unusual crimes have been reported. A conspiracy to defraud the state treasurer through the medium of false wolf bounty claims was traced by the auditor's office and the miscreants brought to justice.

NEW LAWS. At the November election the people approved a novel primary election law initiated through the efforts of Richard O. Richards, of Huron. The law contemplates very radical changes in the methods of nominating candidates for public office, both elective and appointive. An important amendment to the Constitution was also approved providing that the value of corporate franchises may be taxed.

PUBLIC HEALTH. The public health has been excellent. No epidemic of consequence has appeared in the state and the death rate continues the lowest of any of the states.

NECROLOGY. Among the deaths of well known citizens during 1912 the following are noted:

James Conzette, pioneer and writer upon politics and sociology, Jan. 24.

A. E. Cherrington, legislator from Moody county, Feb. 22, aged 81.

Cassius M. Cannon, pioneer of Brown and Codington counties, Feb. 28. Aged 63.

John T. Gold, Bigstone, Banker, March 3. Aged 49.

James V. Wells, Gary, Pioneer merchant, March 24. Aged 81.

Ephriam Miner, Yankton, pioneer miller. Aged 78.

John H. Williamson, Madison, lawyer and state senator, May 31.

Frank Kennicut, Sioux Falls, pioneer traveling salesman, May 24.

Clark L. Downey, Ashton, pioneer, May 29.

W. H. Lanphere, Rapid City, pioneer stockman and lumberman, May 29.

Belle L. Pettigrew, Sioux Falls, temperance worker, July 14.

Dr. F. A. Brecht, Yankton, pioneer druggist, Sept. 13.

A. E. Boyd, Aberdeen, capitalist, Aug. 6.

Charles X. Seward, Judge 3rd circuit, Watertown, Oct. 12.

Selden J. Lewis, Vermillion, lawyer, Nov. 6.

H. A. Pike, Tyndall, Editor, Nov. 11.

Emil Brouch, Hurley, former oil inspector, Nov. 24.

A GOOD YEAR. The closing year goes into history as an excellent one in the long list of splendid seasons vouchsafed by Providence to the northwest. Climate, crops, health and morals combine to shower blessings upon a grateful people.

DOANE ROBINSON,
Secretary

Pierre, December 31, 1912.

ANNUAL REVIEW OF PROGRESS OF SOUTH DAKOTA 1913.

The year 1913 in South Dakota was ushered in by the assembling of the Twelfth legislature and the inauguration of the officers elected in 1912, as follows: Frank M. Byrne, governor; E. L. Abel, lieutenant governor; Frank P. Glasner, secretary of state; Adolph W. Ewert, treasurer; Henry B. Anderson, auditor; F. F. Brinker, land commissioner; Carl G. Lawrence, superintendent of pubic instruction; Royal C. Johnson, attorney general; J. J. Murphy, railroad commissioner; Charles S. Whiting, John Howard Gates, and Samuel C. Polley, judges of the supreme court; Charles H. Dillon, Charles H. Burke, and Eben W. Martin, congressmen. In February some irregularities having been detected in the management of the office of commissioner of school and public lands, the commissioner resigned, and Fred Hepperle was appointed to the position. The legislature elected Peter J. Tscharner, speaker, and Thomas Sterling, United States senator. No very notable legislation was enacted except the creation of a tax commission of three members, to whom the whole question of assessment and tax levy was referred. Governor Byrne promptly appointed H. C. Preston, Hugh Smith, and C. M. Henry, commissioners, and the board determined to enforce a constitutional and legal assessment at the full value of the property, quite revolutionizing the basis of assessment in the state, which has hitherto been at about one fourth value. The new assessment was made at rather low "full value" of the property, upon which a one mill levy was deemed sufficient to provide state revenue. This drastic action caused some criticism, and resulted in two actions in court to test the powers of the commission, but generally it has been submitted to in good spirit.

ASSESSMENT. The following table shows the total assessment of all property, by counties upon the new basis of 1913 compared with the assesment of 1912 upon the old basis:

	1913	1912
Aurora	$17,224,769.00	$ 5,009,831.00
Bennett	970,883.00	326,518.00
Beadle	35,528,871.00	10,114,485.00

Bon Homme	28,045,771.00	7,022,418.00
Brookings	30,836,331.00	8,357,611.00
Brown	57,667,949.00	18,090,968.00
Brule	16,469,187.00	4,990,971.00
Buffalo	2,746,189.00	1,089,248.00
Butte	7,440,499.00	3,071,267.00
Campbell	9,455,103,00	3,090,075.00
Charles Mix	28,073,447.00	7,768,112.00
Clark	25,903,062.00	7,370,716.00
Clay	19,932,201.00	5,193,750.00
Codington	29,515,564.00	8,583,226.00
Corson	7,596,636.00	2,166,569.00
Custer	5,265,672.00	1,863,893.00
Davison	24,428,977.00	6,390,618.00
Day	27,196,704.00	7,642,109.00
Deuel	17,471,672.00	5,102,781.00
Dewey	4,186,534.00	1,124,962.00
Douglas	14,629,409.00	3,835,465.00
Edmunds	17,544,752.00	5,833,794.00
Fall River	9,416,318.00	3,292,681.00
Faulk	15,840,157.00	5,854,066.00
Grant	23,825,270.00	5,733,298.00
Gregory	19,687,976.00	5,196,842.00
Hamlin	16,202,673.00	4,748,205.00
Hand	22,206,532.00	7,416,463.00
Hanson	16,559,635.00	4,157,266.00
Harding	4,191,189.00	1,760,319.00
Hughes	11,425,042.00	4,926,436 00
Hutchinson	34,370,758.00	8,793,321.00
Hyde	9,450,266.00	3,376,317.00
Jerauld	11,415,383.00	3,542,475.00
Kingsbury	28,844,400.00	7,566,403 00
Lake	23,716,371.00	6,793,079.00
Lawrence	35,426,230.00	8,929,679.00
Lincoln	29,702,358.00	7,617,961.00
Lyman	18,253,230.00	8,575,173.00
McCook	23,586,104.00	6,201,625.00
McPherson	13,224,343.00	4,942,534.00
Marshall	16,931,029.00	4,659,748.00
Meade	12,324,208.00	5,188,006.00
Mellette	1,452,152.00	540,465.00
Miner	19,391,789.00	4,894,133.00
Minnehaha	62,237,482.00	16,448,078.00
Moody	22,981,067.00	5,880,241.00
Pennington	18,323,981.00	6,898,352.00
Perkins	11,890,831.00	5,285,144.00
Potter	10,800,532.00	3,513,610.00
Roberts	24,588,514.00	6,801,748.00
Sanborn	15,919,175.00	4,465,574.00
Spink	41,774,227.00	12,949,240.00
Stanley	20,985,548.00	9,025,421.00
Sully	11,075,441.00	3,802,013.00
Tripp	12,254,925.00	3,297,203.00
Turner	30,756,326.00	8,071,295.00
Union	22,631,672.00	5,550,994.00
Walworth	12,222,338.00	3,999,907.00
Yankton	27,632,552.00	7,213,984.00

Ziebach	1,617,353.00	412,881.00
Unorganized	2,189,684.00	866,762.00
Total	$1,195,455,243.00	$354,278,413.00
Increase	841,176,830.00	

APPROPRIATIONS. The total appropriations made by the session for the expenses of the state government and institutions, for deficiencies of former years, and for grounds and buildings were as follows:

General appropriations		$2,467,984.00
Special		
Indemnity fund against fires	$150,000.00	
Public Printing	75,000.00	
Legislative expenses	74,608.00	
Protecting school lands	41,000.00	
Alfalfa culture	25,000.00	
Game preserve	15,000.00	
Investigation public officials	12,617.96	
State Fair premiums	10,000.00	
Gettysburg celebration	10,000.00	
Free Library commission	6,000.00	
Auditors and Assessors (Unorg.)	5,500.00	
Hog cholera serum	5,000.00	
Tax Commission	4,500.00	
Land office fees	3,000.00	
Food and Drug commission	3,000.00	
Drainage School lands	2,975.25	
Criminal prosecutions (Unorg.)	2,500.00	
Rent refunds (School lands)	1,627.02	
James Vyscocel (Pen. guard)	1,000.00	
Dairymen's Association	800.00	
Presidential electors	240.50	
Sewer Tax (Mitchell)	117.00	
N. E. Howard	55.00	
Burial soldiers	22.50	$ 449,455.23
Deficiencies—		
Public printing	$ 47,475.31	
National guard	9,482.80	
State House Maintenance	8,500.00	
Yankton Hospital	7,532.00	
Northern Hospital	5,976.09	
Farmers' Institutes	4,906.21	
E. E. Howell Est.	2,020.23	
Executive Accountant	1,500.00	
Organizing New Counties	1,500.00	
Northern Normal Building	1,000.00	
Land Office Fees	778.52	
Live Stock Board	671.66	
Insurance Commissioner	350.00	
Game Fund	292.00	
Bee Inspector	234.40	
Burial Soldiers	230.00	

Treasurer	200.00	
Glandered Horses	149.50	
Conveyance of Convicts	133.37	
Capitol Building	60.00	
Legislative Expense, 1911	50.00	
Scale Inspector	32.15	
Comissioner S. and P. Lands	24.39	
Superintendent Schools	23.95	
Secretary of State	23.37	$ 93,145.98

Buildings and Grounds—

Yankton Hospital	$93,325.00	
University	75,000.00	
Penitentiary	70,000.00	
State Fair	50,000.00	
Northern Hospital	33,000.00	
Training school	26,600.00	
Spearfish Normal	26,500.00	
School for Deaf	16,500.00	
Capitol Grounds	15,000.00	
State College	14,000.00	
Madison Normal	12,500.00	
Vivian Experimental Farm	11,000.00	
Northern Normal	9,500.00	
Springfield Normal	6,500.00	
Soldiers' Home	5,500.00	
Live Stock Pavilion	800.00	$ 465,725.00

Standing Appropriations—

Glandered Horses	$30,000.00	
Wolf Bounty	26,000.00	
Live Stock Board	20,000.00	
Custer Sanitarium	10,000.00	
Farmers' Institutes	10,000.00	
State Treasurer's Bond Premium	6,000.00	
Firemen's Tournament	4,000.00	
Carey Land Act	1,000.00	
State College Fair Exhibit	100.00	$ 107,100.00

Grand total 1913 session	$3,583,410.21
Grand total 1911 session	$3,001,323.01

The fund of $150,000 for indemnity against fires is to be created by an annual appropriation of $25,000, consequently but $50,000 should be counted against the appropriations for 1913 and 1914, leaving the net appropriations of the 1913 session at $3,483,410.21, an increase of $482,087.20 over the appropriations for the previous biennium.

One or two other minor items are simply transfers of funds previously appropriated, but do not materially change the total.

POPULATION. The school census, the only safe basis upon which to approximate population at a period so far remote from an actual enumeration of the people shows a slight decrease over the

census of 1912. This is perhaps due to re-adjustments in the newer regions recently settled by homesteaders, many of whom have not become permanent settlers, but removed from the state upon securing title to their lands. Comparing the school census with the federal census of 1910 would indicate a present population of 615,178.

STATE FINANCES. Beginning with 1909 the state treasurer has annually made to this department a statement of the condition of the treasury as of November 12. The condition for the current year as compared with one year ago, is as follows:

Debt	Nov. 12, 1912	Nov. 12, 1913
Revenue warrants	$ 500,000.00	$ 490,000.00
Capitol warrants	70,491.00	32,361.75
Registered Warrants	21,544.00	
Total Debt	$ 592,035.00	$ 522,361.75
Less Cash in General Fund	16,264.00	38,879.35
Net Debt	$ 575,771.00	$ 483,482.40
Decrease for year		92,288.60

It should be noted that the sum of $394,552.56, being a portion of the cost of erecting the state capitol, has been paid from the general fund and will be repaid to the general fund when the capitol lands are sold.

The net debt on November 12th of each year since this record has been kept has been as follows:

1909	$1,081,000.00
1910	1,073,000.00
1911	873,864.00
1912	575,771.00
1913	483,482.40

FINANCIAL CONDITION. The reports of the State and National banks show a fine increase in deposits during the year. The following table shows the deposits for October 21, 1913, compared with September 4, 1912:

	Bank Deposits	Individual Dep.	Total
National Banks	$ 1,863,000.46	$31,692,751.56	$33,555,752.00
State Banks	$ 3,884,902.45	55,901,280.71	59,786,183.16
Total 1913	$ 5,747,902.91	$87,594,032.27	$93,341,935.18
Total 1912	8,134,389.66	76,371,284.35	84,505,674.01
Increase	*$ 2,386,476.75	$11,222,747.92	$ 8,236,261.17

*Decrease

The total deposits at this time exceed the deposits of any previous date in the history of the state.

THE WEATHER. A mild dry winter was followed by a notable snow storm on March 13, which destroyed some livestock and the lives of several persons. The precipitation of the growing season was in the average below the normal, although some sections secured an abundance and others much less than the normal. Owing to the unprecedented drouth in Kansas and other sections to the south, unusual, intensely hot weather was experienced here during July and August. The rainfall for the growing season at representative points was as follows:

Place	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Total
Aberdeen	2.35	4.05	3.90	4.52		*
Brookings	2.24	3.50	1.98	2.99	1.33	12.04
Deadwood	1.00	3.10	2.45	.45	3.51	10.51
Eureka	.68	1.97	2.91	2.16	1.53	9.25
Greenwood	2.58	3.38	3.58	1.94	2.59	14.07
Highmore	1.27	4.56	.97	1.79	1.20	9.79
Huron	1.81	4.53	1.06	3.82	2.35	13.57
Milbank	2.52	3.97	.89	3.11	3.41	13.90
Mitchell	3.39	4.45	1.92	3.12	2.16	15.04
Murdo	2.25	3.00	2.25	2.55	T	10.05
Pierre	1.17	3.75	.32	2.12	1.37	8.73
Rapid City	.39	3.24	3.50	.62	1.12	8.87
Sioux Falls	4.72	5.75	5.14	3.18	1.44	20.23
Watertown	3.04	3.86	4.30	3.77	1.39	16.36
Yankton	4.39	5.87	4.58	1.82	3.03	19.67

*Returns incomplete. T. Trace.

CROPS. The crops of the year were variable in proportion to the rainfall. On the whole a good crop was harvested. The promotion of alfalfa culture in the central and western sections is beginning to bring practical results. The demand for South Dakota grown alfalfa seed is constantly increasing and a stable market at a remunerative price is established for this product.

ALFALFA INTEREST. The legislature made two appropriations looking to the propagation of hardy alfalfas in this state, one of ten thousand dollars to be expended by Prof. Neils E. Hansen is procuring seed from Russia and Siberia, and one of fifteen thousand dollars for the propagation of such seed within the state in the years 1913 and 1914 under the direction of Professor Hansen. Under the provisions of the first of these bills Professor Hansen has this season visited northern Siberia where he obtained a considerable quantity

of seed. Under the second act he planted a large number of experimental fields in different portions of the state in the spring before leaving for Siberia.

PRODUCTIONS. The following table of the productions are so far as given by the government based upon the estimates of the Department of Agriculture. The others upon the estimates of the Department of History:

Wheat, 33,075,000 bushels	$24,045,000	
Corn, 66,810,000 bushels	38,750,000	
Oats, 42,294,000 bushels	14,380,000	
Barley, 16,062,000 bushels	8,513,000	
Rye, 300,000 bushels	120,000	
Flaxseed, 3,564,000 bushels	4,206,000	
Potatoes, 4,602,000 bushels	2,853,000	
Alfalfa and Grass seeds	1,000,000	
Government total		$ 93,867,000
Vegetables and Fruits	$ 2,100,000	
Hay, 2,879,000 tons	17,274,000	
Dairy products	7,250,000	
Poultry products	7,100,000	
Live Stock	53,900,000	
Wool and Hides	1,000,000	
Minerals and stone	8,500,000	
Department total		$ 97,124,000
Grand total 1913		$190,991,000
Grand total 1912		192,237,000
Decrease		$ 1,246,000

The value of the products of the earth in this state for several years past has been as follows:

1908	$185,,434,000
1909	202,362,000
1910	181,188,000
1911	139,281,000
1912	192,237,000
1913	190,991,000

MARKETINGS. All of the railroads operating in South Dakota have reported to this department, showing the following shipments of the products of this state, to markets outside of the state, for the year ending June 30, 1913.

Wheat, 53,939,000 bushels	$42,071,000
Corn, 11,561,000 bushels	5,454,000
Oats, 8,566,000 bushels	2,576,000
Barley 8,279,000 bushels	3,708,000
Flax, 3,600,000 bushels	4,500,000
Rye, 314,000 bushels	164,000
Cattle, 393,997,000 pounds	24,328,000
Hogs, 257,965,000 pounds	18,314,000

Horses, 41,179,000 pounds	4,179,000
Sheep, 48,208,000 pounds	2.410,000
Other products—dairy, poultry, eggs, vegetables, fruit, seeds, hay, wool, stone and minerals	22,250,000
Total marketings 1913	$129,934,000
Total marketings 1912	80,385,000
Increase	$ 49,549,000

The total for the past year exceeds the output of any previous year by $5,767,000.

TERRIBLE CRIME. Though public morals have been ordinarily good, a terrible crime was committed in Perkins county August 28th, when Mrs. Fox and her daughter were murdered and their house burned in the hope to hide the crime. The murderer, Joseph Richman, was apprehended, tried in the circuit court, convicted and hanged on December 3rd.

GENERAL AFFAIRS. No event of unusual moment has occurred to distinguish the year. Very little railroad buidling has occurred, the Milwaukee railroad having double tracked a portion of its line east from Aberdeen, and a new line constructed from Ligerwood, North Dakota to Veblen, in Marshall county, comprising the total. The latter line opens a market for a fine region hitherto very remote from shipping privileges.

Generally there has been but little building and the people have been exceedingly conservative, perhaps awaiting the effect of federal legislation. Some of the larger cities, however, have notably expanded.

PUBLIC HEALTH. The health of the people has continued good, no epidemic has occurred, and the death rate continues remarkably low.

NECROLOGY. The following are among the notable deaths of the year:

C. S. Carr, pioneer, Sioux Falls, aged 62, died March 15.

James W. Cone, state senator, Sioux Falls, died October 10, aged 62.

Mrs. Winona Cook, wife president Cook, State Normal, Spearfish, aged 51, died March 22.

Hugh Fred Denton, editor, aged 44, died at Webster, March 2.

Joel Fry, pioneer, aged 80, died Sioux Falls, September 17.

Oscar S. Gifford, former congressman, aged 70, died Canton, January 16.

Hans Gunderson, pioneer, Vermillion, died September 20, aged 81 years.

Darius M. Inman, pioneer banker of Vermillion, state senator, died in New York, January.

David B. Jeffries, business man, Huron, died July 5, aged 53.

Arthur S. Mitchell, pioneer business man, Volga, died March 10,, aged 72.

Harry McLaughlin, merchant, son of Maj. James McLaughlin, Wakpala, died March 16, aged 45.

Walter McKay, former mine inspector, Lead, died September 19, aged 54.

Anthony H. Olwin, merchant, Aberdeen, died August 6, aged 57.

Kirk G. Phillips, former state treasurer, Deadwood, died August 7, aged 62.

Catharine Peemiller, Pioneer, died Yankton, October 3, aged 73.

Jared Runyan, pioneer lawyer, Vermillion, died January 11, aged 70.

Dr. F. P. Smith, physician, died Lemmon, April 19.

George J. Schellenger, educator, former deputy superintendent of public instruction, died Selby, October 3.

George S. Tussey, business man, died Aberdeen, August 2, aged 59.

Curtis H. Winsor, notable pioneer lawyer, died Sioux Falls, April 30, aged 65.

John Westdahl, formerly of Huron, died Michigan, April 7.

Frank D. Wyman, died at Yankton December 13, aged 74.

Andrew C. Brink, died Pierre, December 16, aged 56.

HOG CHOLERA. In common with other western states an epizootic of cholera has devastated the swine herds of the state during the present autumn, the losses running from 25 to 100 per cent., though some localities have been immune. While the loss has been heavy farmers have reserved their corn crops which otherwise would have been converted into pork and the prevailing high price of the cereal in some degree compensates the loss.

THE AVERAGE. Everything considered the year has been an average one. The total of the productions is slightly below some other years but the advanced markets have practically covered the decrease and returned about the same as last year in available cash. Every year a growing conservatism is noted among South Dakotans, and the people are in some degree settling into the thrifty and staid

methods of older states. The adventurous young men and women, who pioneered into South Dakota are reaching the afternoon of life and many have passed beyond. Their children have not felt the demand for the struggle that confronted their elders. South Dakota is passing, if she has not already passed into the estate of Average Americans.

DOANE ROBINSON
Secretary and Superintendent

Pierre,, December 15, 1913.

GENERAL TODD.

From some papers preserved by the family of Gen. John Blair Smith Todd, the most distinguished citizen of the primitive days of Dakota Territory a few have been selected that tend to illuminate his career and illustrate his qualities and ability.

So far as possible the source of each is indicated but upon some of them there was no mark to indicate its authority.



Gen. John Blair Smith Todd.

Personal Reminescences.

From Yankton Press and Dakotan, 1875.

In presenting facts and pictures connected with Yankton's pioneer days, the writer aims to give only what is truthful, though mistakes as to exact dates and other immaterial points may be made. In his personal sketches he cannot give complete biographies; hence the reader must be content with brief visions of the prominent characters of the receding past.

Capt. J. B. S. Todd first appeared in Yankton in 1857. He was a member of the firm of Frost, Todd & Co., and caused the first house to be built within the present limits of Yankton. In person he was tall, standing over six feet in height, slender and straight as an Indian. Beneath a high and intellectual forehead gleamed lustrous but penetrating blue eyes. In his entire make-up, it must be said he was a type of the dignified and accomplished gentleman. Courteous, generous, genial, polite, and brave; these words express his leading characteristics. In addition he was scholarly, cultured and possessed an exhaustless store of literary knowledge. He was proud of his polite accomplishments and literary attainments as he was of the lineage of his family. He was the founder or father of Yankton, and his previous adventurous life fitted him to be the projector and originator of a fearless frontier town.

Gen. Todd had served as a Captain in the 6th U. S. Infantry for many years—had participated in the Florida and Mexican wars, and had finally resigned his commission prior to the outbreak of the rebellion. He was a relative of President Lincoln's wife, and espoused the union cause at the commencement of the war. President Lincoln appointed him Brigadier General of Volunteers. His interests in Dakota however prevented him from taking an active part in military affairs. In the fall of 1861, at the first general election held in Dakota Territory, he was elected Dakota's first Delegate in Congress over his competitors, A. J. Bell, of Vermillion, and Charles P. Booge, of Yankton. Subsequently, at the second general election, he was awarded a seat in

Congress, having successfully contested the seat claimed by Governor William Jayne.[1] At the next general election in the fall of 1864 he was again a candidate for Delegate to Congress, but was defeated by Dr. W. A. Burleigh—the vote standing Todd 220; Burleigh 389—only 606 votes in a Territory that now has a population of 600,000 souls.

Gen. Todd subsequently served in the lower house of the Territorial Legislature in 1866-7, being speaker of the house. In 1868 he was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention held in New York City. The same year he again ran for Congress, being one of the Democratic standard bearers; the other one being D. J. Toohey of Wyoming—now attached to Dakota. S. L. Spink was the Republican candidate, J. P. Kidder was supported by the Peoples' party and Dr. W. A. Burleigh ran as an Independent candidate. After one of the most exciting political campaigns ever held in the Territory, Hon. S. L. Spink came out victorious. Many incidents, some serious, some amusing, might be related of this campaign, but at present want of space prevents. General Todd was a native of Lexington, Kentucky. He died in Yankton on the 6th day of January 1872, aged 63 years. As soldier, legislator, lawyer, scholar and business man he achieved eminence. His generous deeds, and laudable works are the best heritage of his children.

[1]Gen. Todd was given the certificate and he was duly quliafied and sitting as delegate until January 16th, 1864, when by a resolution in the house offered by Dawes of Massachusetts, he was ousted, and Gov. Jayne sworn in. The case was finally settled upon its merits on June 13th, when Todd was finally seated and Jayne retired.

Obituary.

From Yankton Press.

At 7 o'clock on last Friday morning, this honored and respected citizen breathed his last, passing into eternity without a struggle and at peace with the world. This event was not unlooked for by those who had any knowledge of his condition and disease—inflamation of the stomach.

John Blair Smith Todd was born on the 4th of April 1814, at Lexington, Ky., where he resided for a number of years. His father removed to Springfield, Illinois where his son John received his appointment to West Point on July 1st 1832. He graduated in 1837, standing 39 in a class of 50. Among his

classmates we find the following Union Generals: Benham, Dyer, Townsend, Vogdes, French, Sedgwick and Hooker. In this class also were Generals Bragg, Early and Pemberton of the Rebel army. He entered upon active duty July 1st 1837, as 2nd Lieutenant in the 6th Infantry, then engaged in Florida war. He served with honor and distinction and was promoted to First Lieutenant 6th Infantry Dec. 25, 1837. He served in the Florida War against the Indians to 1839 when he was sent on recruiting service for two years. He returned to Florida in 1841 and took part in the war then raging, and in 1842 he was sent on frontier duty to Fort Towson, I. T., where he remained a short time. He was sent to Fort Smith, Ark., in 1842, and in 1843 he was sent to Fort Gibson, I. T. where he remained until 1846 when he was again sent on recruiting service. He was promoted to Captain 6th Infantry, Nov. 22nd 1843. He served in the war with Mexico, and participated in the siege of Vera Cruz, from March 9th to the 29th, 1847; took an active part in the battle of Cerro Gordo, April 17th and 18th of the same year, and participated in a fight at Amazoque on the 14th of May. In 1848 he was doing garrison duty at Jefferson Barracks, Mo., and in the same year he was sent on frontier duty to Fort Snelling, Minn. where he remained till '49 when he was transferred to Fort Gaines, Minn., where he served until 1850. From Fort Gaines he went to Fort Ripley where he served until 1854, when he was again ordered to Jefferson Barracks. The Sioux Indian troubles in 1855 called him into active duty again. He participated in the bloody battle of Blue Water, Sept. 3rd 1855, where he distinguished himself. He was always in the thickest of the fight, where his tall and commanding figure would give his men courage to face death in any shape. After this terrible fight with the Indians he was stationed at Fort Pierre, Dakota, until the 16th of Sept. 1856, when he resigned his commission as Captain and received the appointment of Post Sutler at Fort Randall, where he resided until 1861, when he entered the political field in Dakota as a candidate for Territorial Delegate in Congress against Booge and Bell. He was elected. The Territorial Legislature fixed the time for holding the regular election in October. He became a can-

didate for Congress again and had Gov. Jayne for his opponent. Jayne received the certificate of election, but Gen. Todd knowing how unjust it was, contested Jayne's seat and was successful.

He was appointed a Brigadier General of Volunteers on Sept. 19th, 1861, and commanded the North Missouri District from October 15, to Dec. 1st 1861, when he was given a leave of absence until the next May to attend the meeting of Congress as Delegate from Dakota. After Congress adjourned he returned to the army and was placed in command of the 6th Division of the Army of the Tennessee, from June 3rd to July 17, 1862. His commission as General was not confirmed and he returned to Dakota where he was elected to congress in the fall.

In 1857 the Government sent a special agent out to Dakota to collect together the head men of the Yankton Indians and take them to Washington to make a treaty. The agent failed completely in his project. Gen. Todd said that he could get the Indians together and take them to Washington. He was then appointed a special agent and set to work to get the Yankton Sioux Chiefs together. The task required discretion, care and cunning, and he succeeded in every particular. The important results of his labors was a treaty with the Indians, by which Dakota Territory was ceded to the Government on the 19th of April, 1885. He then labored zealously to get the Territory organized, which important result he accomplished in March 1861. He was elected to Congress in the fall, and re-elected the succeeding year.

In 1864 he was a candidate for Congress on the Democratic ticket, opposed by Dr. Burleigh as the Republican standard bearer. The contest resulted in the election of Dr. Burleigh.

Gen. Todd was elected to the Dakota Legislature in 1867 and was chosen Speaker of the House, which position he filled with honor and ability. In 1868 he was a candidate for Congress in the great five-cornered contest, and was one of the defeated. Hon. S. L. Spink was the gentleman chosen to represent the Territory. From that time up to his death he was engaged in civil pursuits, with the exception of a lively aid in the election of Dr. Burleigh in 1870.

The General had a very severe spell of sickness about a year ago but he weathered the storm. He was confined to his bed about two months ago, and gradually declined in health and strength until

"His sufferings ended with the day,
Yet lived he at its close;
And breathed the long, long night away
In statue-like repose.
But when the sun, in all his state,
Illumed the eastern skies,
He passed through glory's morning gate,
And walked in paradise."

The news of his death spread rapidly, and was received everywhere with profound feelings of sorrow. The funeral took place last Sunday at one o'clock and was attended by a large number of friends and acquaintances. It was by far the largest funeral ever witnessed in Dakota. The Congregational Church was literally packed to hear the funeral services by Rev. Joseph Ward, who preached a very touching sermon from the text "Be still and know that I am the Lord." Many persons were affected to tears as the minister proceeded to relate some of the sick room scenes. The remains were taken from the church to the cemetery where they were interred. Judge Congleton and Major F. J. Dewitt acted as chiefs of the ceremonies, while Judge Kidder, U. S. Attorney Cowles, from Vermillion, Hon. James McHenry of Bloomingdale, Hon. Hugh Fraley of BonHomme, J. R. Sanborn, H. C. Ash, Hon. M. K. Armstrong, Hon. John Stannage, Mr. L. D. Parmer and Gen. Wm. Tripp of Yankton, acted as pall bearers. We do not recollect of ever attending a funeral where we observed more general sorrow than was manifested by those who followed the remains to their last resting place.

The City Council met and passed resolutions of condolence and resolved to attend the funeral in a body. Immediately following the remains were the members of the General's family, next came the City Council, Mayor Faulk, Aldermen Hanson, McIntyre, Eiseman, Wilcox and Edmunds and the Clerk, Mr. E. T. White. Following the Council came a line of carriages and sleighs nearly a third of a mile in length The

day was cold and disagreeable which prevented many more from attending who desired to do so.

The members of the Bar and the Judges of the Supreme Court passed resolutions of condolence at a special meeting for that purpose in the Supreme Court Room on last Saturday. Gen. Tripp was selected to deliver the eulogy and right well did he fulfill the important trust. He, as a firm and steadfast friend of Gen. Todd's, was familiar with his history and knowing too his many noble traits of character.

A correspondent of the St. Louis Republic in 1856 speaking of the army resignations says:

"I perceive the name of Captain J. B. S. Todd, of the 6th Regiment of Infantry of the United States Army, among these resignations.. I regret to see it, and yet can not blame him for the act. He has spent some twenty years in the army with great credit to himself and honor to his country. Always in the midst of the fight, where his tall commanding figure and bold step caused his men to feel enthusiasm in the cause and who boldly and resolutely marched onward to the conflict fearless of danger. As a scholar few surpassed Captain Todd, as a gentleman, no one exceeded him in courtesy, as a soldier every one was proud to imitate his example. One of Kentucky's noblest sons; Missouri's pride; educated in the school of a soldier; raised among men who knew their rights and dared to maintain them; never at a loss but always ready to afford relief and good counsel; the tried friend of the poor; a father to the orphan and comfort and solace to the widow. Such a man was Captain Todd. I have witnessed him in the camp and supped with him away on the boundaries of the frontiers, where he was the commander of troops and forts, surrounded by thousands of hostile Indians, acting the pacificator and arbiter between them, giving counsel and receiving their blessings. The country loses much when it loses the services of such a man in the army:"

Politically, General Todd was a staunch Union Democrat, who believed in the maintenance of the American Union at all hazards.

Personally, he was a remarkable man. He stood 6 feet 2 1-2 inches, and as straight as an arrow. His mien was that

of a thorough soldier and "old school" gentleman. Socially, he was the peer of any man in the Territory. He was kind gentle, sociable, and if a friend, a friend to a fault of extreme kindness. He leaves a wife and seven of a family to mourn his loss.

In the death of General Todd, Yankton and the Territory have lost one of their noblest citizens, a man who has done more for Yankton and her people than any other man, a pioneer citizen who, through his own efforts accomplished the organization of our Territory, and has worked faithfully for its advancement on every occasion.

Council Meeting.

Council met pursuant to call, at the office of E. T. White. Roll called by clerk. Present, His Honor the Mayor and Aldermen Hanson, Edmunds, Eiseman, McIntyre and Wilcox. On motion of Alderman Edmunds, a committee of three, consisting of Ald. Edmunds, McIntyre and Wilcox, was appointed by the Mayor, to report resolutions of condolence on the death of Gen. J. B. S. Todd. After being out for some little time, said committee reported, through its chairman, the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, An eminent and distinguished citizen hitherto intimately associated and thoroughly identified with the history of the Territory, from its organization to the present time, has, by a dispensation of an all wise and overruling Providence, been called from earth and the sphere of his usefulness; therefore,

RESOLVED, By the City Council of the City of Yankton, that, in common with our fellow citizens, we deeply mourn the death of Gen. J. B. S. Todd;

RESOLVED, That we tender to the afflicted and bereaved family our sincere condolence and heartfelt sympathy in the death of a loving husband and father;

RESOLVED, That as a testimonial of our appreciation of his distinguished services to this Territory and respect to him as a citizen, neighbor and friend we will attend the funeral in a body;

RESOLVED, That a copy of the resolutions, duly certified by the Mayor and Clerk, be transmitted to his family;

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions, together with the proceedings of the Council relating thereto be published in both of the city papers and spread at length on the records of the City Council.

Bar Meeting.

At a meeting of the members of the Bar of Dakota Territory, held in the Court Room, in the City of Yankton, on the 5th day of January, 1872.

Col. G. C. Moody, Vice President of the association called the meeting to order, Geo. H. Hand acting as Secretary.

Col. Moody having stated the object of the meeting, Gen. Wm. Tripp moved that a committee of seven be appointed to draft resolutions expressive of their sorrow, at the death of Gen. J. B. S. Todd, which motion was carried, and the following named gentlemen were appointed as such committee: Wm. Tripp, Ara Bartlett, S. L. Spink, of Yankton county; Warren Cowles, Nelson Miner, of Clay county; Geo. Stickney, of Union county, and James A. Hand of Minnehaha county. The committee retired, and after a brief absence, returned and reported the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, It hath pleased Almighty God, in his wisdom which none may question, to remove from our midst, by the hand of death, our honored friend and brother, Gen. J. B. S. Todd; therefore,

RESOLVED, That in the decease of Gen. Todd, our Bar has lost one of its oldest and most courteous members; society one of its scholarly and brilliant ornaments; the nation a gallant soldier and patriotic citizen, and the Territory of Dakota, its earliest pioneer and greatest benefactor;

RESOLVED, That his early and successful efforts to procure the organization of Dakota Territory, and his zealous labor to promote the prosperity of the infant community he had so greatly aided to create, have won him the grateful remembrances of the bar, and the gratitude of the people of Dakota; and they give him a title to a bright place in the annals of the present Territory and future commonwealth;

RESOLVED, That his many great virtues shining not less in domestic and private life than in public councils and amidst embattled hosts when a nation's life was at stake; his kindness

of heart, his proverbial generosity, his warm and genial temperament endeared him to his brethern of the bar and whilst our loss and sorrow cannot compare with those of his family and relations, we ask leave to mingle our tears with theirs, and to tender to them our warm and heartfelt sympathy in this their great bereavement;

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions, together with the proceedings of the meeting, be handed to the family of the deceased and forwarded to all the newspapers published in Dakota Territory, and that a copy of these resolutions be presented to the Supreme Court now in session with a request that they may be spread upon the records of said court.

On motion, the report of the committee, together with the resolutions, was unanimously adopted.

On motion, Hon Ara Bartlett and Gen. Wm. Tripp were appointed on behalf of the bar to present the resolutions to the Supreme Court of the Territory, now in session.

On motion of Hon. S. L. Spink, Hon. Ara Bartlett was appointed to move the Supreme Court to adjourn out of respect to the memory of Gen. Todd.

On motion, the meeting adjourned.

Geo. H. Hand, Secretary. G. C. Moody, Vice President.

Delegate in Congress From Dakota Territory.

Unidentified Editorial.

We learn from a late number of the Sioux City "Register" that Capt. J. B. S. Todd is a candidate for Delegate in Congress from Dakota Territory. Capt. Todd is a man well known upon the frontier and only known to be respected. He served twenty years in the United States Army, and resigned a Captain's commission when he left it. He is a man of means, and to his exertions Dakota Territory will owe much of her future prosperity as she already owes her present condition. Capt. Todd spent the greater portion of last winter in Washington, and by his untiring energy and well directed exertions secured the passage of the bill organizing that Territory, and for this service alone is entitled to the position of Delegate, even if he had no other claims upon it. Capt. Todd has spent years

within the present limits of Dakota Territory, is thoroughly conversant with the geography of the country, acquainted with the necessities of her people, and possesses the qualifications, as well as the personal relations and influence necessary to secure her claims.—Warmly interested in the future prosperity of the Territory, personally as well as pecuniarily, he will never fail to demand and secure her rights, and if the residents of Dakota desire a Delegate who will look after the material interests of the Territory—and not sacrifice them, as has been the case in Nebraska, upon the altar of personal and pecuniary interests, they cannot do better than confide them to Capt. Todd.

An Address.

Manuscript found among General Todds' papers.

"Westward the Star of the Empire takes its way."

This celebrated line of Bishop Berkley's has passed into an aphorism, the truth of which is not more clear than the magnitude and extent of interests it involves—nowhere does it apply with more force than with us, and nowhere should there be a more realizing and feeling sense of its vast importance than here, standing as we do centerwise on this great western continent. The march of Empire has been westward since the morning star sang for joy, and the foundation of government laid by giving to man the control of all created things.

In the far off depths of Asia, along the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, man first planted the seat of Empire;—whence as succeeding ages rolled their slow course the rise and fall of states and kingdoms succeeded each other, until in their progress toward the setting sun they found their limit in the billows of the Atlantic.

The genius of civilization and Christianity warring with the ignorance and infidelity and barbarism of the Dark Ages dispelled the gloomy cloud that hung over the face of the whole earth as a great pall and lighted up the way for the foundation of those great empires in Europe that have so long governed and controled the destinies of the whole world.

Queen amongst them all, sets, in all the splendor of her power and wealth, her science, art and enterprise, that wondrous Anglo-Saxon state, our mother country. From her island seat, amidst the foam of ceaseless waves that dash against her rocky cliffs, she stretched her mighty arms with one to grapple the heathen mysticism of an effete and withered civilization amid the crumbling ruins of the ancient seats of empires, and with the other to plant upon these happy shores the seeds of a new civilization and a new birth and to found an empire worthy of her great renown.

A little more than three centuries ago the American continent, a new world far away toward the western horizon, was discovered by Columbus, a fitting reward for the steady faith and perserverance he displayed from the first inception of his grand idea, until its final successful and triumphant culmination.

The intelligence of this wonderful discovery soon spread through Europe upon his return, and awakened a spirit of enterprise that lead to those marvelous adventures that eclipse in their reality the fanciful tales of the Arabian Knights or Eastern romance. Prescott has told these stories in language as beautiful and attractive as they are wonderful—without doubt all have paid him the tribute of their admiration.

The strange tales of early discoverers, confirmed by reports of every succeeding expedition, of the strange inhabitants of the new world, the fertility of its virgin soil the richness of its minerals, the variety of its fruits and flowers, the novelty of its productions and beauty of its forests, streams and mountains led to the establishment of colonies. In time the Mayflower, laden with her precious cargo, lit the beacon fire of civilization and liberty upon Plymouth Rock, and the colonists of Jamestown, Charleston, and St. Augustine planted those settlements which have arisen, the fabric of a great commonwealth.

It is not proposed to follow, step by step, the growth of these feeble colonies, to relate the dangers they encountered, the suffering and trials they endured and the fortitude that enabled them to overcome every obstacle. It is sufficient that they wearied not nor fainted by the way.

From these feeble seedlings sprang the colonies, that in time ripened into states and commonwealths and from which is born the greatest State in all times, the United States. Less than a century has elapsed since a new people have demanded admittance among the nations of the earth. Marvellous and wondrous has been its growth indeed, clothed in the panoply of a people's will, guided by the wisdom, patriotism and fidelity of her sages, no faltering step has marked her progress but with a giant stride she marches onward to her destiny. Her limits are the oceans, and her boundaries her people's will. Her cities, towns, and villages have arisen as by magic, until they rival those of older lands, her commerce whitens every sea, her manufactures compete with those of every nation, her productions of every kind are of the most varied and plentious description, her minerals of every character scattered throughout her vast domain, with a prodigality unknown. The arts and sciences are fostered and encouraged, colleges endowed and maintained with generous liberality, common schools established in almost every township in the older states and their value everywhere recognized as of the most vital importance, public works engage the attention of the people, internal improvements add wealth and character to all parts of the country, capital is plenty and seeks investment, and industry and labor find abundant reward. The laws are wholesome and well administered, society fostered and protected, and the liberty of the citizen guaranteed and enjoyed without a parallel among any poeple.

With all these elements of growth and strength and wealth and prosperity within her own territory, she constitutes a state among the powers equalled by few and surpassed by none.

"What constitutes a State?
Not high raised battlement of labor'd mound,
Thick wall or moated gate;
Not cities proud with spires and turrets crown'd,
Not bays and broad-armed ports,
Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride,
Not starr'd and spangled courts,
Where low-browed business wafts perfume to pride.
No!—Men, high-minded men,

With powers as far above dull brutes endued
In forest, brake or den,
As beasts excel cold rocks and bramble rude;
Men, who their duties know,
But know their rights, and, knowing dare maintain;
Prevent the long-aimed blow,
And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain;
These constitute a State,
And sovereign law, that State's collected will,
O'er thrones and globes elate
Sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill;
Smit by her sacred frown
The fiend, Dissension, like a vapor sinks,
And e'en the all-dazzling crown
Hides its faint rays, and at her bidding shrinks.
Such was this heaven-loved isle,
Than Lesbos fairer and the Creton shore!
No more shall freedom smile?
Shall Britons languish and be men no more?
Since all must life resign,
Those sweet rewards, which decorate the brave,
'Tis folly to decline,
And steal inglorious to the silent grave."

"Thou too sail on, Oh ship of State!
Sail on, oh Union, strong and great,
Humanity, with all its fears,
With all its hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate.

Fear not each sudden sound and shock,
'Tis of the wave, and not the rock
'Tis but the flapping of the sail,
And not a rent made by the gale.

In spite of rock and tempest roar,
In spite of false lights on the shore,
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea—

Our hearts, our hopes are all with thee.
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears
Are all with thee, are all with thee."

An Address.

Manuscript in Gen. Todd's Papers.

Where there are grave and important interests to subserve of a general and public character, it is incumbent on those having the general good at heart to foster and promote them by every legitimate means at their command, and to call to their assistance every aid and alliance to further the end to be advanced.

Starting out with this dogma, it is proposed to inquire into the feasibility of connecting the system of railways adopted in northern Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota to combine them at some suitable point beyond their present termini into one grand trunk road stretching through the fertile plains of Dakota into rich, but as yet only partially developed, gold fields of Montana, Idaho and Wyoming and to suggest a few of the reasons why a subject so interesting and important to us as this should attract early attention, favorable consideration and speedy action. Capitalists and Congress are alike interested in an enterprise of this character and magnitude, both from motives of private interest and public utility and policy.

Are we of Dakota to rest supinely, with folded arms, while such vast interests await our action and urge us to quicken our steps? Our neighbors are fully alive to their duty on this subject and neglect no means to effect their desires. Let us arise and by early attention and earnest work continue what they have so earnestly begun.

The railroads of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Ohio closely affiliate with those of northern Illinois, Iowa, and Minnesota in their western tendencies while these latter stretch far away through these superb states, seeking a temporary "point d'appui" upon the banks of the Missouri, there to be consolidated into three great highways leading to the shores of

the Pacific, thus pouring the wealth of Asia and Europe into the broad lands of the American continent.

These were the ultimate ends proposed at the inauguration of these stupendous works of art and enterprise, which, in these later days, have wrought such wondrous changes throughout the land, opened the interior of the continent, brought to light and usefulness the hidden resources of the vast plains of the west, created town and cities with their eager, earnest, enterprising population, gathered from the four quarters of the globe, developing the arts and manufacturies and agriculture to a degree hitherto unknown among the nations of the earth. These have all been done within the period of a single life time. But while these gigantic enterprises were thus developing the resources of a vast extent of our country, itself an empire, and transporting its immnese products, with easy facility, to more profitable markets, awakening new interest wherever their influence was made real and tangible, another element entered into the Combination and calculated to quicken their energies and urge them on to new fields of activity and usefulness.

This was nothing less than the accidental discovery of the precious metals upon the far off shores of the Pacific, and at once with magical effect and instinct with life, bounded into existence with a single leap the states of that distant shore.

It is not our intention to pause and comment upon the results attendant upon this discovery: Such have been their magnitude that the bare allusion to them is sufficient to suggest, even to the most unthinking and unreflecting mind, the mighty influences they have been, and are still, exerting everywhere, not only at home but abroad.

The discoveries alluded to in California, excited and stirred the public mind to a degree before unknown, and called into existence a body of explorers, restless and insatiate, who are destined to delve and mine until the caves and mountains, streams, and even deserts shall unveil their secret to their hopes and yield up their long hidden treasures. Such has been their eagerness and earnestness that the reflex tide of exploration has leaped the barriers of the mountain chain separating the two great oceans, and opened at the very portals

of the Atlantic States fields as rich as those that first invited them to cross the Rocky Mountains and found an empire at their western base, the wonder and admiration of the age. These new auriferous fields are embraced in the territories Montana, Idaho, and Wyoming and are without question destined to play a conspicuous and important part in the destinies of the Republic. The access to these inviting fields is both difficult and dangerous, for vast distances are to be traversed to reach them, and numerous warlike and savage tribes of Indians beset the highways.

These obstacles, however, have never yet deterred the enterprise and daring of the hardy pioneers. Stimulated by golden hopes, the aspirations of ambition, or the visions of abundant reward. Wherever these allurements invite, there they will be found, and no labor, toil or danger can impede or stay their onward progress. With fixedness of purpose resolution to endure and fortitude to brave every trial, they turn from the allurements of kindred and home to seek in the wilderness and on the plains the golden realization of awakened hope, and amid their loneliness and desolation to lay foundations of civilization and a new society.

Five years have not lapsed since these discoveries were made, and already these new territories number a population of more than a quarter of a million people.

The yields of the products of their mines amounts to over two and one half millions per annum.

The overland routes from St. Joseph and Omaha witness daily the departure of hundreds across the plains by the way of Great Salt Lake City to the mines of Idaho and Montana: while we who are living on the Missouri River, the great artery which connects the mountains with the Gulf of Mexico are startled by the restless steamers, loaded with their human freight and merchandise, plying these turbid waters to the same destination. A glance at any good map will show that both of these routes are circuitous and attended with privations, delay, toil and danger, and at once suggests others more expeditious and direct, having the same object in view, and at the same time opening up and developing new avenues of enterprise and wealth along their course not less

worthy of our attention or generally beneficial. Where then are the routes and how shall they be made practicable and available? The answer suggests itself at once: by means of railways and by routes too obvious to the intelligent observer to be more than pointed out. It will require time to project and complete them, but in time, and that speedily, they will be projected and perfected, should wise councils prevail and a liberal policy be adopted toward them. By a glance at the map it will be perceived that the roads referred to converge to three principle centers, soon, we trust, to be reduced to two, namely Sioux City, Yankton and the junction of the Bois de Sioux river with the Red River of the North. From these they point the way with unerring certainty toward and into the golden regions occupying the northern portion of the continent. In following these marked highways, now undefined, it is not proposed to notice those lying south of Sioux City, for the reason that they have already been provided for by the liberality of Congress in the Pacific Railroad Bill. Sioux City is the terminus of the great northern Iowa road from Dubuque, and also from Chicago via Clinton, thus linking the Mississippi River to the Missouri by double arms, offering the opportunity and providing the means of developing one of the fairest and most fertile regions to be found in the wide range of the whole continent.

From this point it is proposed to extend this road through southern and central Dakota, passing through the capital of that territory to a point at the mouth of the Niobrara River, and thence diverging, following to the southward the valley of that river and finding an easy and practical junction with the Central Pacific Railroad in Wyoming, thence onward via Salt Lake City and Nevada to the Pacific; while the northern branch, pursuing the valley of the Missouri terminates at the mouth of the great Cheyenne River. This proposed road extending from Sioux City to Cheyenne, passes through the heart of Dakota, touching its towns and settlements and interests, enkindling its spirit, quickening its energies, renewing its drooping animation and inspiring its hopeful aspirations. With this auxiliary so long and ardently desired, she may look hopefully to the future, holding out her allurements to the East while casting her eager gaze, with

wistful expectations toward the golden sunset lingering upon her western borders.

In close sympathy with this road and of like importance is that of the Minnesota and Missouri road from St. Paul. We desire it to deflect at the Minnesota line and find its terminus at Yankton. Here pause a moment and look backward, contemplate the vast extent of country, with all its capabilities, included within the embraces of these great roads, awaiting the completion of these enterprises. The man does not live who can foresee the future of this field. The past history of Illinois, Iowa and Minnesota furnishes the data of prediction and gives presage of the reality. Henceforth the function of these two roads swells into one grand diapason, their united interests sweep with resistless force along the valley of the Cheyenne, navigable for 60 miles, follows its northern branch, turns the Black Hills, themselves rich in pines and minerals, and onward to the Big Horn and Powder Rivers to the valley of the Yellowstone, stretches away to the fall line and Jefferson Forks of the Great Missouri, and arresting its course only by plunging into the Arcuna of Idaho and Montana.

The third and last of these roads to be examined is the one familiarily known as the North Pacific and in the main follows the explorations of the late Gov. Stevens, distinguished alike in the walks of science and in the fields of military life and who so gloriously fell in defense of his country.

It taps the heart of the northern Minnesota and the Red River of the North with its interests stretching into the British Settlements of the Selkirk and Fort Garry, thence to Hudson Bay, and passing on sweeps through Dakota, Montana, Idaho and Washington Territories, opening up and developing therein vast resources and hidden wealth that at no distant day will add so much to the future wealth and grandeur of our country. These are elements of progress and national success that should not be suffered to languish for the want of material aid from the National Congress and it is confidently expected that this aid will be given during the present session. Then like a giant set free the great west with her allies will renew her efforts and soon will be seen the rush of the engine from ocean to ocean.

Political economy teaches that capital seeks investment and that wealth of a nation consists in the development of its resources and the increase of its population. These elements are allies and when judiciously combined lead to the happiest results. Fortunately this conjuncture is at hand and can be attained by applying necessary attention to effect objects so laudable and praiseworthy. Capital stands ready to embark on these enterprises and only awaits the action of Congress to begin the work. The friends of the measure are anxiously desirous for their prosecution. The people whose moral and material status is to be greatly promoted by these useful works await with eager expectations the time when their representatives will fulfill their reasonable hopes.

The favorable time is now to begin
Frought with so much good to the States and
Territories
The sooner this is done the better.



Marcus P. Beebe

MARCUS P. BEEBE.

By J. W. Parmley.

Marcus P. Beebe was born in Sandusky, New York, June 23rd, 1854 and at ten minutes after five o'clock the afternoon of April 11th, 1914 his spirit returned to God who gave it. A loving wife, five children, seven grandchildren, a brother and a sister mourn what seems to us untimely departure but rejoice in a life partnership so happy and a parentage so grand.

In the less than three score years of an active life there was crowded more of the larger equation than is allotted to the ordinary mortal man. His was the larger view of life. When a youth the Great West beckoned to him and in 1881 he came to Dakota Territory and decided that this was to be his home. In 1882 he came to the state permanently and since that year has been one of its foremost citizens. He was a pioneer in every advanced movement.

I speak of him familiarly for there is not now in the state a man with whom I was as intimately acquainted for as great a number of years. We may well pause to make an estimate of a man who lived such an eventful life and who impressed himself so indelibly upon his town, county, state and the Northwest. I will speak of him first as a man—a mere human being. Anything that I may must not be construed into an estimate of him as a perfect man. Nothing could be more offensive to him than fulsome flattery.

As a man among men many things stand out in bold relief in his character. He possessed great energy and industry—steady, persistent and forceful. There was in him the greatest contempt for the idle, lazy man. He was patient with the man of mediocre ability but after a reasonable effort wasted no time on the indolent. Genuineness and simplicity marked his whole career. He could truthfully say, "I am what I am," and he wished to be nothing else. There was nothing hidden in him, no equivocating, no dodging the question. One say and that ended it.

His countenance was a blending of the stronger masculine and feminine elements of manhood and expressed the executive, the true gentleman and something of the artistic and poetic. His love for the beautiful, the clean, the noble made for those fine feelings which go to make up the larger life and his from ever becoming metalic. The well rounded man, the comfortable man with whom we like to live and associate, thoroly wholesome in all his relations must have a good sense of humor—not the frivolous, frothy, trivial, but wholesome and elevating. Mr. Beebe loved jokes but his never had a sting and he appreciated one upon himself as well or better than on another. There was about him a marked reserve which made him at times misunderstood by those of slight acquaintance. From thirty years almost daily contact I can truthfully say that he was one of the most democratic men. When sorrow, distress or financial disaster came he was one of the first to speak words of sympathy or to profer aid. Space forbids speaking at length of his largeness of heart, kindness of disposition, but I can not forbear repeating one or two among hundreds of instances that came under my observation. They are minor occurences—little things—but life is made up of such.

Some ten years ago over Two Thousand Dollars in gold was purloined from the vault of our County Treasury. The guilty sought to fix the theft on a former employee of the office whose reputation had always been the best and occurrences were such that it would have been easily possible to convict him on circumstantial evidence. Under the cloud and the mental strain the suspected youth inexperienced in life's battle almost broke down and had officers and attorneys persisted in their course it is probable he would have fathered the crime as his own. At this juncture Mr. Beebe sent him word that no matter how the case came out when it was all over there was a position awaiting him in the Bank of Ipswich, the bank of which Mr. Beebe was President and the principal stock holder. This gave the youth courage and hope. Light came back into his life. The guilty has since that day been a fugitive in Canada while the accused innocent is one of South Dakota's highly respected citizens filling many positions

of honor and trust and helping to solve many of the problems that daily confront us in our march into the future.

Some two or three weeks after we had borne the mortal remains to its last resting place a farmer came into my office and was in broken English stating his business. In the midst of a sentence he looked up and saw the picture of Mr. Beebe on my desk. He stopped talking and while his eyes filled with tears he said, "Mine friend, Mr. Beebe!" He could not finish his business and went away. I knew that several years ago a great change had come into the man's life and that in a few weeks he was transformed from an habitual drunken brute to an honorable, temperate, useful citizen. On inquiry I learned that Mr. Beebe took hold of him, sent him away to a Keeley Cure and made of him a useful member of society. In the early eighties a competing bank failed. The President was arrested and it was either bonds or jail. Without being asked, Mr. Beebe volunteered to sign the bonds. The man was saved from a long incarceration in prison prior to the trial, which cleared him.

Such kindnesses as these could be recounted without number but I forbear. There are no greater deeds than these done anywheres under the stars.

As a citizen I know of no one more public spirited. His private affairs were always managed to the end that the community, the state and the Northwest might be benefited. Whether in hotel lobby, on the train or in assembly these needed a champion he was there and ready. When a moral question was up no one asked how he stood. He never wanted his town, county or state to profit by what he thot was evil. He spent much time and money in combating every form of public vice. He was a leading spirit in civic life. He was one of six who had the courage to first vote against issuing a saloon license in the town of Ipswich. He saw that number steadily increase forging to the front every time and making gain from the day the six votes were cast against license to the last time the question was submitted to the electorate. He left the world better than he found it and his life and memory will ever prove an inspiration and a benediction to those with whom he was associated, whether in the home, business world or the

public. He never sought political preferment. Had he desired such it is probable the highest office in the state would have been his for assenting to accept. In those years of drouth and disappointment that tried men's souls and shook the faith of communities he retained his never failing composure, able to see farther into the pregnant future and to believe that a wise Creator placed here a soil unsurpassed in fertility, a healthful climate, a wonderful underflow of water for man in the highest type of civilization. He demonstrated the wisdom of his theories by practice and his efforts were rewarded with unerring success.

All that was mortal and physical now peacefully reposes under the green sod of the prairie he loved so well. His higher life grafted onto the infinite returned to God who gave it and lives on with the ages. When we remember that this life is transient as an evening cloud and fleeting as a morning mist and that in a few short years these bodies must be resolved to earth again but that the deathless something that is within which I call I myself which feels and thinks and remembers and forgets will leap from a crumbling world and mount to God, then I count that my higher life belongs not to this world but to the world about me and conclude that after all I possess only what I have given away. The true size of a man is not the measurement of his waist line or around his possessions but his soul girth—his humanity. Mr. Beebe held in trust large possessions and many broad acres but these did not own him. His investments were in his brain, his heart, his character, and when the summons came to join the innumerable caravan he silently wrapped the drapery of his couch about him and said to the Great Father, "Here am I and all that thou hast given me."

There is little doubt as to the place that will be assigned him by the historian who weighs, measures and analyzes the characters who build homes and states. In the pantheon of pioneers who have blazed the trails of the Great Northwest a cunning hand will engrave the name Marcus Pliny Beebe.

The evening after the funeral an impromptu meeting of the citizens of Ipswich and of Edmunds County was held at the

Baptist church for the purpose of paying tribute to the memory of the loved, noted, departed citizen. The following account taken from the "Ipswich Tribune" states plainly how the citizens, neighbors and friends of Mr. Beebe felt concerning his untimely departure:

"On Wednesday evening, April 15th, there was held an informal memorial service at the Baptist church wherein the citizens and friends of the late Marcus P. Beebe paid tribute to his memory and availed themselves of the opportunity to speak freely and familiarly of their love and appreciation of him as a friend, a neighbor, a social brother and a brother in the church. The service was commenced with the singing of familiar hymns. Prayer was offered by the Pastor, Rev. L. L. Mann. Dr. Earl V. Pierce, Pastor of the Central Baptist Church at Minneapolis, a former Pastor of the Baptist church at Ipswich and a man who grew from boyhood to manhood on a farm south of Ipswich and who was a life long friend of Mr. Beebe, led the testimonial service. Speaking to the words "A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches." Dr. Pierce declared that, while Mr. Beebe gained riches, there was never a moment in his experience that he did count a good name above all riches. He spoke of him also as a typical member of the church, one who notwithstanding his contributions which were larger than those of others, nevertheless he never sought to dominate policies or plans above that which his own personal opinion and single vote would carry. He always believed in the majority ruling and acquiesced cordially in plans even where his personal wishes did not seem wise to the majority. Dr. Pierce spoke of having had a conversation with Captain S. V. Arnold on the street that afternoon wherein the Captain declared there was never a business relation which he had had with Mr. Beebe that was not conducted amicably. There was never a good work in the town of which Mr. Beebe was not either a prime promotor or strong helper. He was reconed in the state as its chief financial figure; his judgment ranking above that of any other man who was known, not only through the state, but far beyond the state, making Ipswich a spot well known among financiers.

Mr. H. T. Dailey, a Deacon of the Baptist church spoke

of Mr. Beebe's unfailing interest and loyalty to the church and his readiness at all times to stand in any breach and help thru any crisis. He spoke of his unfailing interest in the Sunday School, considering it not second to any important interest. His devotion to the temperance cause was strongly marked, he having been one of six who in the early days and from that time forward, steadily voted against the saloon both in the city and in the state. The liquor element had no love for him and threatened more than once to burn his property. Mr. Beebe stood by his guns however, to the very last.

Hon. M. T. Lightner of Roscoe spoke with great earnestness concerning his happy business and delightful social associations with Mr. Beebe and his family and gave a strong testimony as to his religious faith and his simple and humble trust in the merits of Christ.

Hon. C. H. Barron spoke as a neighbor of twenty-seven years and an intimate business associate of twenty years in the warmest and most feeling terms. He declared that no man had ever had a profounder influence for good upon his life than had Mr. Beebe and he suffered in his going an irreparable loss.

Mr. E. L. Cochrane gave testimony as to the soundness of Mr. Beebe's judgment and related how he recommended him for a position as grain buyer in the early days when he had no experience. So great confidence had the company for which Mr. Cochrane was working in Mr. Beebe's judgment that they employed him and kept him thru early mistakes until he had learned the business thoroly.

Mrs. F. J. Tracy said that she never went to Mr. Beebe on an errand of charity but that she received from him that for which she went. She also spoke in terms of great gratitude for the bell which Mr. Beebe had given to the Catholic church of which she was a member.

Mrs. C. E. White and his daughter, Lilla White, both spoke of their deep appreciation of Mr. Beebe as a man and cordial helpfulness to them in the problems which had come up in their family life.

Hon. J. W. Parmley spoke with great feeling of how in-

timate and brotherly had been his business relations with Mr. Beebe, how in team work they had labored together, how free from harshness was Mr. Beebe even when work was delayed and how impossible it had been for him that day in his office as he looked up to Mr. Beebe's picture for him to continue work. The light of the town seemed to have gone out and it could never be the same here again.

Mr. C. L. Jackson, editor of the Ipswich Tribune, spoke of the loss which the newspapers would sustain in the going of Mr. Beebe. So interested was he in publicity—that of the right kind—that he was constantly furnishing valuable items, and was ready in his commendation of all the good work which the newspapers did.

Mr. Charles W. Christen, Banker of Roscoe, spoke of when as a young man he had come to Roscoe to take up banking, and was told in cases where he needed advice to go to Mr. Beebe and he had gone to him time and again and Mr. Beebe had been to him a father and brother in his banking business.

Mr. R. F. Finch declared that the title "gentleman" suited Mr. Beebe to a degree seldom met with in his business courtesy, fineness of spirit, social regard and personal character.

Mr. W. P. Tate referred to Mr. Beebe as a splendid man to work for and declared his confidence in the right of Mr. Beebe to the blessings of heaven.

Mr. E. G. Jackson spoke with great feeling of the personal loss which he felt that he had sustained in the passing of Mr. Beebe for there had never come up a business problem but that he felt free to go to Mr. Beebe for consultation, who always had time to give and his advice was invaluable.

Norman T. Mears of St. Paul, son-in-law of Mr. Beebe, said that heaven seemed very real to him now with his father and mother both gone and now with Mr. Beebe who has been more than a father to him. He appealed to men to lead the same life and to trust in the same God in which Mr. Beebe trusted.

At the close of the service the large audience with bowed heads sang softly "Nearer my God to Thee" after which prayer and benediction was offered by the pastor.

Thruout the entire service the sense of a personal loss

and of a great community loss was evidenced and one that could not be again filled; but thru all there was a feeling of gratitude for having had a man in our community of Mr. Beebe's type as a citizen, a friend and a neighbor."

The Board of Regents, various college societies, civic bodies and associations passed resolutins in commendation of his great public service, high ideals of citizenship and deploring the loss to the state. Space precludes quoting more than the following

The Social Science Club of Aberdeen, one of the most progressive for investigating and studying all economic questions that there is in the state, held its annual banquet the night after Mr. Beebe died. The following from the American of the next morning shows the high regard in which he was held by the club.

"After various addresses were made President Nash read the following message from Hon. J. W. Parmley expressing regret for absence on account of the death of his friend and neighbor, Hon. M. P. Beebe. 'Duty born of thirty years association and friendship demands my presence at the home of him who in the vigor of mature manhood was with us a year ago, but who now lies dead upon his shield as true a warrior as ever marched or fought under the banner of progressive civilization.' President Nash suggested the fitness at this time of having resolutions spread upon the minutes portraying the club's sentiments towards the departed member and he named such a committee who later reported resolutions as follows

'The Aberdeen Social Science Club deplores the loss to the club, the community, and the commonwealth in the untimely death of Honorable Marcus P. Beebe. The club felt itself honored in his membership for he was a man of deep insight and broad sympathies, of noble aspirations and generous impulses.

His sterling character and pure life were a constant source of uplift in the community and state, and while the club can no longer receive the touch of his inspiring presence, the memory of him is a lasting possession in the hearts, lives and ideals of the members.

The bereaved relatives have the deepest sympathy of the club and are commended for consolation to Him whose ways we may not always know but who doeth all things well."

Willis E. Johnson,
H. C. Jewett,
R. F. Williamson,
E. M. Hall,
Charles N. Herreid,
Committee.

The press of the State contained many leading editorials eulogistic of the exemplary life led and the great good wrought thru his efforts. The following are quoted at random from a large number

Sioux Falls Press.

"To fill the position in South Dakota's scheme of progress just vacated by the death of M. P. Beebe will be no easy task. Men who give of their time and influence as freely and unselfishly as did the late Ipswich banker are rare indeed.

Mr. Beebe came to Northern South Dakota at a time when that section was little better than a barren waste. His sturdy, persistent faith in the future and the example he set prevented scores of fellow pioneers from giving up and deserting that part of the state. His leadership has been a powerful factor in the progress that has been made in bettering the public highways. His energy has been a mighty propelling force behind the better farming movement in South Dakota. His ideas and his organizing ability have brought the bankers of the state into a close community of interest not alone with respect to their own welfare but for the general advancement of South Dakota. For the last year, Mr. Beebe's personality has been a valuable influence in the growth of the state educational institutions. He was chosen for a post on the state board of regents in recognition of his broad fitness. He accepted appointment because of the opportunity it provided for increased service to the state to which he has been so loyal all during his long residence here.

Mr. Beebe's death, therefore, is a misfortune in the minds of many thousands of people outside his immediate circle of

acquaintance. Future historians of South Dakota must record the Ipswich banker high among the men who have had a really compelling influence in the state's progress."

Bowdle Pioneer.

"In the death of Marcus P. Beebe of Ipswich, the state of South Dakota has lost one of her citizens of whom she was most proud. Mr. Beebe has filled a place in the little city, that he has honored with his residence, the county and the state that none but God's own noblemen can aspire to. He had great confidence in the future of South Dakota, in this section of it in particular, and his cheerful confidence that everything was moving forward for the best result ultimately was a constant inspiration to those who met him. Mr. Beebe was always foremost in any movement for the betterment of the state or those around him; ever ready with his time and money to do the lion's share of what was to be done. The state of South Dakota has suffered an irreparable loss and is bowed in mourning for her cherished son and in deepest sympathy for the sorrowing family."

Aberdeen Daily American.

"News of the death of Marcus P. Beebe, which goes to the people of the state in this issue of The American, will come as a grave shock to South Dakota. Patriot of the state, upright citizen, promoter of every good enterprise and noble gentleman. Mr. Beebe's place cannot soon be be filled.

Rarely has the impress of one man's personality been so indelibly stamped upon the state and the city of his abiding place. In all that meant advancement, betterment and progress for his city and South Dakota, Mr. Beebe was first. He was one of the men, rare in these days of hustle and bustle, who had inclination and took the time to work hard to press forward his community, his state and his fellowman. Added to his generous nature was an ample wealth from which he freely met every demand of public enterprise and private benevolence generated within the noble impulses of his heart."

Ipswich Tribune.

"In the short span of life between the "cradle and the grave," our opportunities are much abused. Some men grasp

them readily, and improve them; others, doubtless possessed of equal acumen permit them to default, and attach blame to luck for failure.

Marcus P. Beebe was of those few men who believed in thoroughness in detail. His ability to see ahead was not all that contributed to make him the successful man he was. He believed that the least of us were entitled to success, and that that success could only be attained by a process of study, consistent economy and strict integrity. To these attributes most of the successful men owe all they gain in worldly goods, and Mr. Beebe was a shining example of the truth of the statement.

The fact that one of the foremost citizens has been taken, means very much to our little city. The thousands of dollars that he has spent in improvements stand, of course, as living monuments of an enterprising spirit. But this is not all. He will be missed in the church. His advice and counsel will be missed on matters of general interest to the community. His genial personality will be always remembered, but sorely missed by those accustomed to meet him in the daily walks of life. Surely a life such as has been lived by Marcus P. Beebe should be pointed out to our children as an example worthy of emulation."

Capitol Journal.

"The flags at the State Capitol were at half mast yesterday and today, for Marcus P. Beebe, of the state board of regents, who died at his home in Ipswich yesterday forenoon from leakage of the heart.

Mr. Beebe has been a resident of South Dakota since the fall of 1882, and during his long and helpful life in this state, he has become known throughout all its breadth and length as one of the most public spirited men in this part of the United States. He has seldom held public offices, but has been prominent in every move that was for the best of the state or the people of it.

He has often been urged to run for the highest offices the people of the state could offer, with a certainty of successful administration, but except for being the second county treasurer of Edmunds County and member of the board of

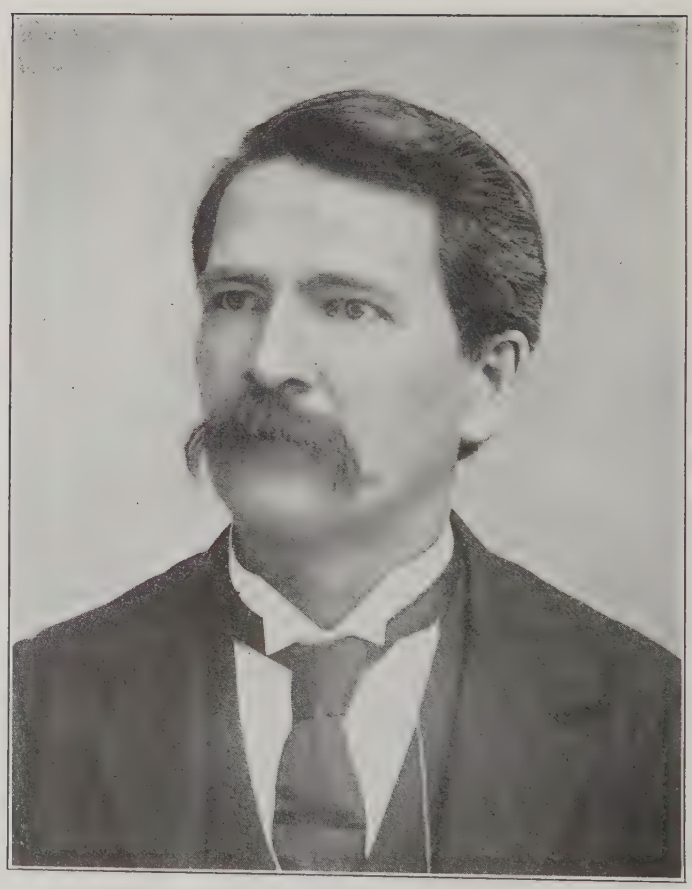
regents for one year, an office to which he was appointed during his absence in California, he has accepted none of them. He was one of the founders of the South Dakota Bankers Association, and was president of that organization at the time of his death."

The Columbian.

"Marcus P. Beebe was one of the first men with whom the writer became acquainted on his arrival in the territory twenty nine years ago. Mr. Beebe, altho one of the very early pioneers, was not one of the itinerant adventurers who infest new settlements, remaining just as long as the boom is on then leaving for new fields. He came to South Dakota comparatively a young man and after working in a store in Aberdeen two years, during which time he studied conditions in the territory, he decided that it held out opportunities to those who build on substantial foundations and that this was to be his permanent home. Mr. Beebe entered the banking business at Ipswich, the county seat of Edmunds County and since 1883 Ipswich has been his home and its development his ambition. He has been deeply interested in everything that would help in the material and moral uplift of South Dakota. Altho a very wealthy man he has educated his children in the higher institutions of the state and has thrown all his influence to the upbuilding of a great state."

GEORGE J. SCHELLENGER

By Prof. Charles H. Lugg



George J. Schellenger.

GEORGE J. SCHELLENGER.

Prof. Charles H. Lugg.[1]

In the death of George J. Schellenger South Dakota has lost one of those rare souls whose worth is not realized until their hands have been folded from the activities of life and the burden of responsibility which they have borne has been laid upon other shoulders. Prof. Schellenger was a quiet man who met Duty as a friend and discharged the obligations of life cheerfully and unostentatiously. He was a man of indefatigable energy but never self-seeking. His was a rugged strength that never hesitated to grapple with difficulties when they were met in the line of his work. He loved righteousness and he hated shams. He followed his convictions whether his course brought popular approval or popular censure. The satisfaction of feeling that he had done his duty was all the reward he sought.

He was essentially a pioneer. He loved to blaze new trails and to develop new fields. There was something in a difficult problem that always attracted him. Whether the problem were educational, civic, commercial, or social mattered little so long as there were principles to apply and results to achive for the good of humanity. Of such are the empire-builders on whom have rested the destines of the Middle West.

This man was not the product of city life with its dissipations and its enervating influences. He was born on a farm near Mineral Point, Wisconsin, November 19, 1847. His father was not rich and the family was large. While lack of financial means cut the young George off from some privileges and opportunities that are dear to the heart of youth and delayed and restricted his educational preparation for life, the

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[1]Prof. Charles H. Lugg, born in Geneva, Freeborn county,, Minnesota, October 21, 1862, son of Edward H. and Almira (Williams) Lugg, educated in the common schools. Albert Lea high school, and Valparaiso University. Has devoted his life to educational work. Has resided in South Dakota since 1892. Has been county superintendent of Hutchinson county and at this writing, (May, 1914), has been nominated republican candidate for State Superintendent of Public Instruction. He married Mary A. Parrott, Dubuque, Iowa, December 25th, 1894.

necessity that compelled him to work his way in the world conferred upon him many advantages that are often wholly missed by young men in more fortunate circumstances. He acquired the habit of industry and learned to economize both time and money. He learned to accept responsibility and to discharge its obligations. He learned to know an opportunity when it presented itself and to make the most of it. As he grew up he helped on the farm summers when the work was pressing and attended school winters as he found opportunity to do so until he had mastered the elementary branches sufficiently to undertake to teach them. This is not ideal training for a young teacher, but it is the sort of experience that has been the starting point in the career of some of our best educators. But those educators did not stop with this training, neither was George J. Schellenger willing to stop with it. The teaching instinct was strong in him and forced him to realize the narrow limitations which his meager training placed upon his efficiency as an instructor. He taught several terms of country school satisfactorily to the people whom he served, but not satisfactorily to himself. He utilized all of his spare time in study and planned to utilize the means derived from his work in further preparation for teaching. At the age of twenty-two he entered the Platteville Normal School at Platteville, Wisconsin. He graduated from this institution in 1872 and immediately began his work as a professional teacher. He was principal of a ward school in Platteville for four years. In 1874 he married Mary E. Henderson who proved an efficient helper to him in his career, inspiring and encouraging him as only a good wife can. Two sons and a daughter blessed this union. From Platteville he moved to LaCrosse, Wisconsin, where he served as principal of one of the ward schools for seven years. In both of these positions he achieved marked success and built up schools that were noted for their efficiency.

We have said that Prof. Schellenger was essentially a pioneer. After seven years' service in the LaCrosse school the call of the developing West lured him to Dakota Territory, then a wilderness waiting for broad-minded, energetic, far-sighted men to come and build states whose institutions should be the pride of their people and whose resources should aston-

ish the world. There was but little call for teachers in the Territory then, so he established a general store at LeBeau and set to work to assist in the development of the community, being one of the pioneers of Walworth County. The settlement grew and other settlements developed and crystallized into Walworth County. With the development of the county came the need of schools and an educational system. He felt the spirit of teaching strong upon him again and became a leader in the development of a school system for the county, and largely influential in the development of the educational system of the entire Territory. From that time his principal effort was devoted to education in the Territory, and after the division of the Territory and the admission of South Dakota as a state he was identified with all the developments of our state educational system. He was principal of the schools of Bowdle, Carthage, Selby and Mobridge in turn, organizing and developing in each place a thoroughly graded system that could expand as the town grew, and laying broad and deep foundations for the future development of the educational institutions of the county.

In 1887 he was elected superintendent of schools for Walworth County. Two years later he was re-elected for a second term and served till January, 1891. As a county superintendent he was prominent in the educational councils of the state and was known as a man of eminently good judgment and clear, hard-headed common-sense. He did not always agree with his colleagues, and he was not diffident about defending his position when he felt that the question at issue was one of importance to the school interests of the state. He had endured much privation for the sake of his education, and the sacrifice by which he had obtained it made him prize it and prize the opportunities it opened to him. He had the deepest sympathy with every young student struggling against odds for the training that would enable him to fill a useful place in the world's work. No such student ever applied in vain to him for help. No personal inconvenience was too great for him to endure if by enduring it he could help some young man or woman in the struggle for an education. His experience led him to place great emphasis upon the "practical"

phases of education. This does not mean that he was committed wholly to the "bread and butter theory of education." He appreciated the cultural advantages of scholarship, but he felt that the seeking of scholarship for cultural purposes solely was good deal like gilding bric-a-brac. He measured the degree of one's education by what he could **do** and what he could **be** as the result of it. He felt that one whose efficiency in life was not increased by his schooling was not educated in any real sense, so he made efficiency the prime object of education, while he regarded culture as a complement of efficiency. He had an unconquerable antipathy to fads in education. He regarded much of the matter and method usually taught in our institutes under the head of "primary work" as fadism when applied to the country school. He believed that many devices and methods that were of value in the graded school where a teacher had charge of but one grade would be of very doubtful utility in the country school with its short class periods and crowded program. The result was that he and the "Primary Teachers" were often at the outs in institute work. He insisted that so far as the country school was concerned the principal demand for primary work was in the teaching of reading, writing, spelling and numbers together with morals and manners, and that anything in the way of method or device that promoted the success of this teaching was legitimate in the country school, but things that did not contribute to this end were of doubtful value. He told his teachers to teach the children to read and write first, and then if they had any time unoccupied it might be well to introduce some sloyd work. Some people who did not know Supt. Schellenger well thought that he was opposed to all the modern primary methods. This was not at all true. He was as quick as anyone to recognize the educational value of most of the primary devices. His contention was that they were often carried so far that they were unduly emphasized and became mere fads with little or no value in themselves, while they at the same time crowded out of the school other things more effective in their educational results. His plea was really for the temperate use of the "busy work" and sloyd work so that they might remain in their proper place as

a means to an end and not be unduly magnified into the chief object of school work.

He exercised a marked influence over the teachers under his supervision, instilling into them something of his own tireless energy and love of thoroughness. He impressed upon them the moral obligation of more than earning their salaries. They were made to feel that their duty was not merely to earn so many dollars per month, but to give the very best there was in them to the education of the boys and girls entrusted to their care. The careless or indifferent teacher did not usually teach a second term under his supervision. There was either a reformation or an emigration.

In 1899 Supt. Schellenger was appointed Deputy Superintendent of Public Instruction by State Superintendent Collins and held this position four years. He carried into the state department of education the same earnest, conscientious devotion to duty that characterized his work everywhere else. He proved his fitness for leadership by loyalty to his chief and his ability to receive and execute the orders of the head of his department. No detail of official business submitted to his care was too trivial to receive his personal attention and when he finally disposed of it the matter was closed to stay closed. During this period he did much to shape the educational policies of the state through the part he took in meetings of county superintendents and the meetings of the State Educational Association of which he was an active member.

Supt. Schellenger was a habitual student. During the period of his active educational work he had undertaken the study of law and had been admitted to the bar, but he always felt that education was his work as nothing else was and he could not bring himself to give it up for the practice of law although the latter would have provided him a far greater income than his school work ever did. In 1907 he was again elected county superintendent of school for Walworth County and was re-elected for a second term, retiring from the office in January, 1911. During these four years he began to suffer from failing health, but he abated nothing of his zeal for his chosen work. Though often struggling with severe physical indisposition he would go through inclement weather

to the uttermost part of the county if he thought his trip would help some struggling teacher to get her work better in hand or would enable the people of a district to straighten out their entanglements and provide better school privileges for their children. He gave himself without stint to the cause of education in Walworth County, and the seed which he planted will bear fruit in that county long after its people have forgotten the planter.

After the close of his fourth term as superintendent of Walworth County he returned to the work of teaching, but his failing health became a serious detriment to his work. He was no longer able to command the physical energy to carry into effect what his big heart and consecrated intellect planned for those under his direction. He at last went to a hospital for treatment and after a time seemed on the road to the recovery of his health. In the fall of 1913 he was appointed to fill a vacancy in the office of county superintendent of schools for Walworth County and entered upon his fifth term in that position. The end of his work and the end of his life came suddenly. Those who knew him intimately will feel that this is as he would have wished it. He was at work in his office on the evening of October 9. About nine o'clock he was stricken with apoplexy, dying at one o'clock the next morning, October 10, 1913.

In reviewing this life we are struck with the devotion of the man to humanity. He was a member of the Christian Church and he loved the message of the Gospel which the Church proclaims. It was because he loved it that he was so merciless in his denunciations of the shame and hypocrasies that so often creep into the Church and into the lives of its members. He was for forty years a consistent member of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows and found its doctrine of fraternity in full accord with the instincts of his own soul. He stood for a "square deal" in every human relation, and never asked for himself what he was unwilling to see granted in equal measure to his neighbor.

In conclusion it seems fitting to quote from Lowell's beautiful tribute to Agassiz:

"We have not lost him all; he is not gone
To the dumb herd of them that wholly die;
The beauty of his better self lives on
In minds he touched with fire, in many an eye
He trained to Truth's exact severity."



Emiel Brauch.

EMIEL BRAUCH.

Christen J. Bach.[1]

Hon. Emiel Brauch was born in the city of St. Louis, Missouri August 25, 1854. His father, Jacob Brauch was a native of Switzerland and came to America when a young man. In 1858 he moved from St. Louis to St. Helena, Nebraska and in 1862 removed with his family of wife and seven sons, to a farm near Yankton, Dakota Territory. Here Emiel lived, attended the Yankton public schools, assisted his father and brothers in the farm work and in his father's saw mill on the banks of the Missouri river, until he grew to manhood. From 1873 to 1878 he was employed by several of the retail stores of Yankton and was always a very popular and faithful assistant. In 1878 he moved to Swan Lake, then the county seat of Turner County, where on June 3, 1879, he married Sarah Allen, the eldest daughter of Joseph Allen of that place. In 1881 he opened a drug store at Swan Lake which he conducted there, until the spring of 1883, when he moved his store and other belongings to the new town of Hurley, then just started on the C. & N. W. Ry. Here he lived and was closely identified with the business interests of Hurley until he passed to the great beyond.

He was always active and prominent in county and state politics and was a staunch, uncompromising Republican. He was several years chairman of the county central committee of his party and was a delegate to the National convention which nominated McKinley and Hobart in 1896 and later served on the committee of notification to Vice President Roosevelt. In 1900 he disposed of his drug business at Hurley, which had then grown to large proportions, and accepted the appointment of State Oil Inspector from Governor Herried, which position he held for four years, conducting the affairs of the office with credit to the state and himself.

In 1904, at the close of his term of office as State Oil Inspec-

[1]Christen J. Bach, universally known as "Gus" Bach, was born in Denmark, Nov. 10, 1858; immigrated to Dakota Territory in 1873, locating in Turner county where, at Hurley, he still (1914) resides. October 4, 1878, he married Carrie Franson. Mr. Bach served the state as commissioner of school and public lands, 1903-1907.

tor he built a beautiful and commodious residence in Hurley and planned to spend his remaining days in peace and comfort. "Man proposes, but God disposes." He took great delight in his home which receieved his almost undivided attention, except a part of each year which he spent in travel, in company with his devoted wife. A few years of this happy, enjoyable life were all that were to be allowed him, however. On March 10th, 1910, his wife passed away after a lingering illness, and soon thereafter his own health, which had always been good, began to show signs of breaking. He spent most of the next year in travel and on Sept. 25th, 1911, he married Miss Helen Braschler, of Cherrydale, Kansas, and re-established his home in Hurley. He never regained his health, but failed gradually, and on November 24th, 1912, he died at St. Luke's Hospital, in the City of Duluth, Minnesota, the cause of his death being cancer and aenemia.

Three of the seven brothers are still living. William, residing in California; Julius, in Yankton; and Albert, Arizona; and two half-brothers, Jacob, of North Dakota, and Charles, of Oregon; and his wife, Helen, who returned to Kansas.

Mr. Brauch was a member of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, having united with the order through Anniversary lodge No. 22, at Marion, South Dakota; later transferring his membership to Hurley lodge No. 75, at Hurley, of which lodge he was an honored member at the time of his decease. In his will he made substantial bequests to the Odd Fellows' home at Dell Rapids, and to his home lodge at Hurley.

As a business man he was a "hustler and a booster," very loyal to his home town, true to his friends, strictly honest and scrupulous in all his dealings. In business, political, and official associations he made hosts of friends throughout the state and elsewhere, which he had a happy faculty of holding close to him. Although of a blunt and hearty exterior, he was gentle and kind by nature, and did many benevolent deeds unknown to any but the recipient. His strong and vigorous personality made a deep impression on the community and will long be remembered with love and respect by all people with whom he came in contact.

"An honest man is the noblest work of God." Emiel Brauch was an honest man.

" 'Tis not the whole of life to live
Nor all of death to die.
Beyond this vale of tears
There is a life above
Unmeasured by the flight of years
And all that life is love."



John Westphal
A Civil War Veteran—1856-1913.

MORE BOULDER MOSAICS.

Under the title, "Boulder Mosaics in Dakota," in Volume VI. of these Collections, Dr. James E. Todd described the Turtle, on Turtle Peak, in Jerauld County, and the Serpent, upon Medicine Knoll, Hughes county. Some further progress has since been made in securing data pertaining to other boulder memorials which are given herewith.

Perhaps the most interesting archealogical remains found by the early white settlers in South Dakota were the images of the man and woman near Punished Woman's Lake in Codington county.

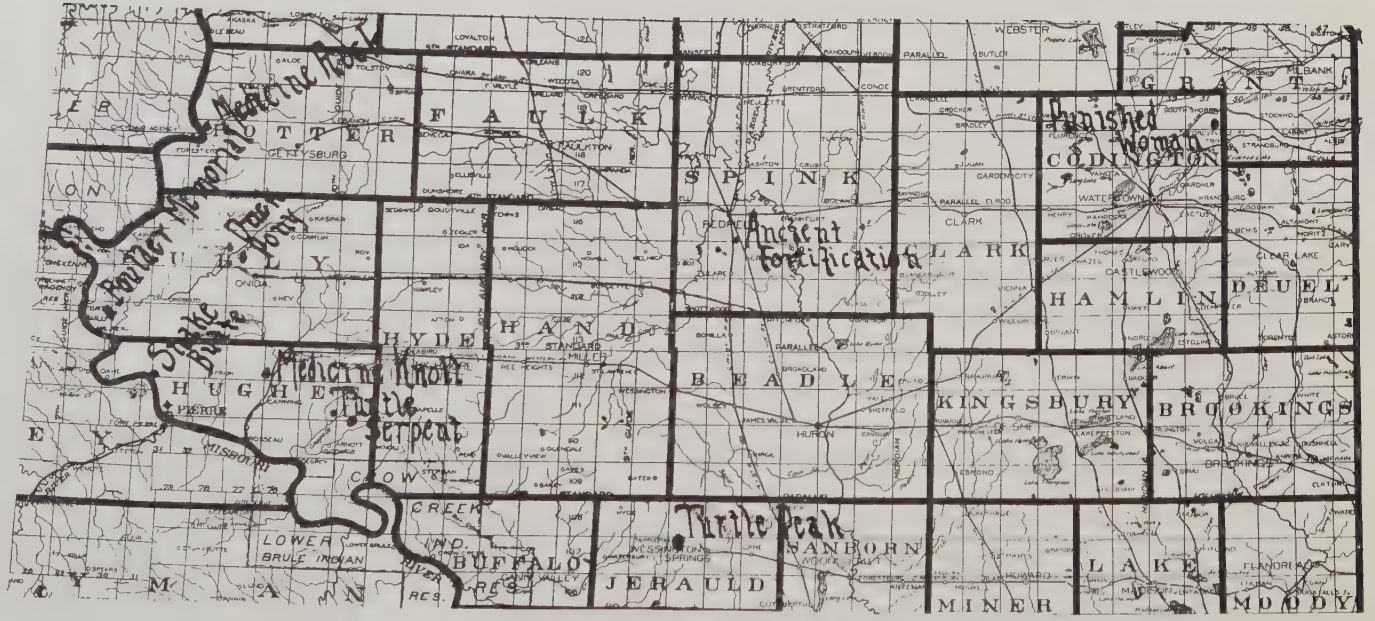
At the center of section 34 township 119, range 51, and about three miles south of Punished Woman's Lake, is a high hog-back with radiating spurs upon which the effigies were located.

The male figure was near the end of a spur which runs northward from a knoll several feet higher. The length of it from head to heels was 13 ft. 6 in. It was the representation of a man's body lying upon its back with uplifted arms. There were one hundred four boulders used in constructing the figure.

The female was upon the same spur and forty-two feet distant from it. The woman, too, was represented as lying upon her back with outstretched arms, and the length from head to feet was 8 feet, and the figure was composed of ninety-two boulders.

Commencing at the feet of the man and running in a southerly direction past the woman, was a trail 102 feet long, formed by placing boulders at irregular intervals. It ends at the foot of a slope 31 feet from a cairn some four feet high. On this knoll with the cairn there were two small, shallow excavations, one four feet in diameter, and the other four by six feet. Nearly south of this knoll at the end of a small spur there is another small cairn. Seventy feet west from the first cairn begins another trail of boulders running nearly west along a hog-back for 285 feet to within 15 feet of a third cairn. This is upon a knoll of about the same height as the first knoll, the hog-back

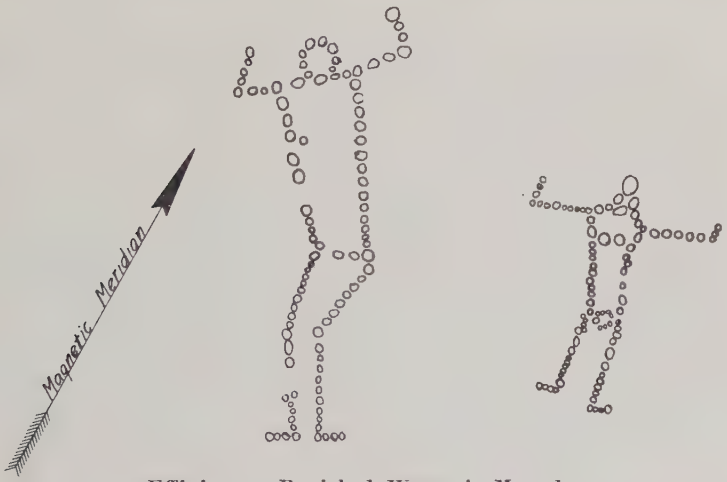
[1]Dr. James E. Todd, former State Geologist. For sketch see Vol. 6, p. 207.



Location of Some Archaelogy.

between being somewhat lower. There were two cairns on this; one of large, heavy boulders was six feet high; the other as massive, was only five feet high. Near the smaller cairn was an excavation having the appearance of a sunken grave. On the south side of the trail was another figure, but vandals had defaced it prior to 1883.

In March, 1914, Mr. Wright Tarbell,[2] of Watertown, visited Punished Woman's Knoll, to discover that the effigies had been wholly destroyed, and only a trace of the boulder trails remained. Fortunately the foregoing description and measure-



Effigies on Punished Woman's Mound..

ments, and the accompanying drawings were made in 1883, by Mr. T. H. Lewis,[3] the well-known archaeologist.

The Sioux have traditions pertaining to this memorial, more or less conflicting, but agreeing substantially fundamentally. A head man upon the Minnesota compelled his daughter to give up her lover to marry a man of his choice. After the marriage the girl eloped with her first love and they made their way to the Knoll in question, where they were overtaken by the In-

[2]Wright Tarbell has been most helpful to this department in many ways and the superintendent takes pleasure in making public acknowledgement of his continued and enthusiastic helpfulness. He is a native son of the state, born in Watertown.

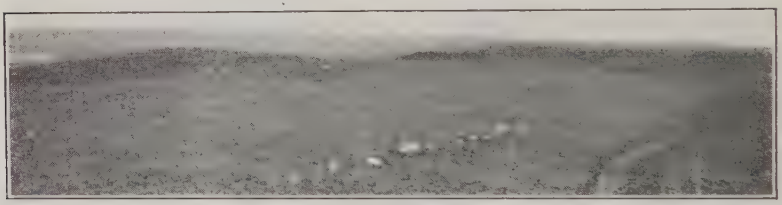
[3]Theodore Hayes Lewis, born in Richmond, Virginia, Dec. 15, 1856, and has done much valuable archealogical work in the upper Mississippi Valley.

jured husband, who, Phinehas-like, smote them as they lay in the tepee, as were smitten Zimri and Cosbi, of old,[4] and then to commemorate their shame, built the boulder effigies.

Memorial Upon Snake Butte.

At the so-called Snake Butte, three miles north of Pierre, is an interesting boulder memorial. This was described in a general way, and the legend pertaining to it related by Thomas L. Riggs, DD., L. L. D.,[5] first president of the State Historical Society, in his biennial address published in Vol. II., p. 108.

On April 25, 1914, the writer visited this butte, in company with Miss Ida Anding,[6] of this department, and carefully measured the remains of the memorial and made photographs of certain parts of it.



Chain of Boulders, Snake Butte.

Snake Butte is the most prominent land mark in the vicinity, raising its head more than 400 feet above the missouri, near the east bank of which it stands. Very close to the north side of it is a second peak almost as high and separated from the main peak by a sharp "notch." Referring to Mr. Riggs' story, the Ree Indian was approaching this notch from the north, but the Sioux, ambushed in it, shot him as he was but a few yards

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[4]See Numbers, Chap. XXV., v. 8.

[5]Dr. Thomas Lawrence Riggs, born at Lac Qui Parle, Minnesota, June 3, 1874. Son of Stephen Return Riggs, D. D., and Mary Lawrence Riggs. Served in civil war and later among the negroes of the South during reconstruction period. Came as missionary to the Teton Sioux in 1872 and is still, 1914, engaged in the work. He married, first, Cornelia Margaret Foster, of Bangor, Maine, who bore to him one son, Theodore Foster, and she died August 5th, 1878. He was married to Louise Irvine, 18..... who is the mother of his sons, Robert and Lawrence. They reside in a delightful home at Oahe, Hughes county. Graduate of Beloit College, D. D. Yankton, LL. D. South Dakota University.

[6]Ida M. Anding, legislative librarian, of the Department of History, is a native of Winona, Minnesota, born September 8, 1888; daughter of Herman and Mary Anding. She came to reside with her parents in Pierre when a child, and became stenographer in this department in 1907, since which time she has rendered efficient assistance in various capacities, and came to her present position in 1911.

distant. The Ree turned and ran almost north, through what is now the west half of section 8, township 111, range 79. His course was parallel to, and a hundred yards east of the crest of the river bluff. At something like three quarters of a mile from his starting place he fell dead. His Sioux adversary built a small cairn at the starting place, and following his course, placed a stone upon each drop of blood he found on the way, and finally built a larger cairn upon the spot where the Ree fell. Forty feet west of this line of stones, and about two hundred yards north of the south end of it the Sioux outlined



Turtle Effigy at Snake Butte.

a Turtle in boulders, to show the tribal lodge to which he belonged; in other words, he signed his name to his work.

We found both cairns gone and that the cultivation of the land at the north end had cut off a portion of the line of stones. Theodore F. Riggs, M. D.,[7] of Pierre, who has been familiar with the memorial from childhood, informs the writer that several hundred yards are gone. We measured what remains, and found the line to be 2731 feet long and to contain 1148 boulders.

The Turtle is 15 ft. 6 in., from nose to end of tail, and 14 ft.,

[7] Theodore Foster Riggs, M. D., son of Dr. Thomas Lawrence Riggs, born at Oahe, July 7, 1874. Graduate of Beloit College and Johns Hopkins, Medical School; studied in Germany and has practiced surgery in Pierre since 1909. Married Ida Rudolf Smith, January 1, 1914.

6 in., across the outstretched arms; in its body are thirty-two boulders, ten in its tail, and seven in each leg, or seventy in all.

It is a misnomer to speak of this memorial as "a snake." It has nothing in common with the "serpent forms" found elsewhere, and the name of the butte should be changed to conform to the real significance of the monument.

The Pony.

This relic is located near the south bank of Okobojo Creek, on the north-west of the south-east of section 16, township 115, range 77, being Garner township, Sully county; and it was vis-



The Pony.

ited by the writer, accompanied by Hon. R. J. Courtney,[8] of Sully county, and Messrs. C. L. Hyde,[9], and H. D. Eno,[10] of Pierre, on August 20, 1910. The pony lies with head to the west and is very perfect in form. It is fourteen feet in length and six feet high. We searched the locality carefully for the usual gens-mark, but failed to discover one, but we were informed that at a distance of about one mile to the southwest was the image of a duck which perhaps is the sign of the people who made the pony. The writer, however, is of the opinion that

[8]Robert J. Courtney, then county treasurer of Sully county, since member of the legislature, born at Greenburg, Ohio, May 16, 1855. Graduated from Baldwin University and located in Sully county, 1883.

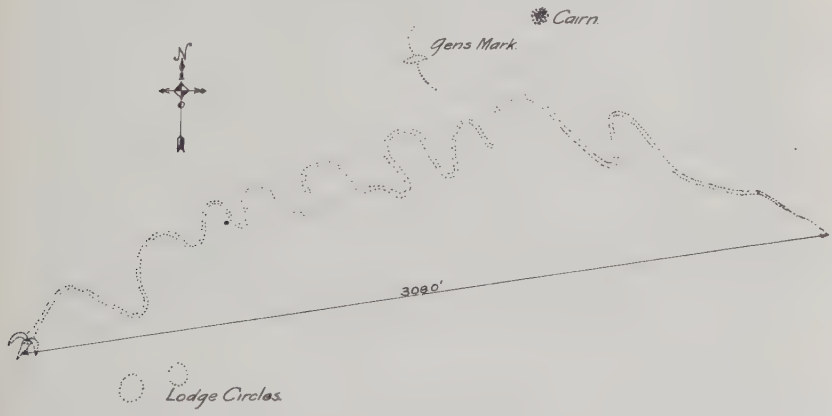
[9]Charles Leavitt Hyde, of Pierre, born in Pike County, Illinois, June 23, 1861. Educated at Cumberland College. Married Kittie Robinson, 1886, and located at Sioux Falls in 1888, and has resided in Pierre since 1889.

[10]Herbert D. Eno, florist, Pierre. Born in Monteray, Massachusetts, October 3, 1860, educated in Monteray Academy and Pierre University. Located in Sully County in 1884. Has made a study of the archaelogy and flora of the region.

the pony itself may be a gens-mark of a people who had made, somewhere in the vicinity, a larger memorial, which may have been destroyed.

The Serpent.

The writer, accompanied by Hon. Charles E. Deland[11] and Mr. Henry Smith,[12] of Dell Rapids, visited the Snake in Butte township, on October 17, 1912, and measured and surveyed the same, but were not very successful in photographing it. The relic lies on the high bluff on the south side of Chapelle Creek, and parallel with that stream, at the center of the northwest quarter of section 16, township 110, range 74. It is composed of



The Serpent. Town. 110, Range 74.

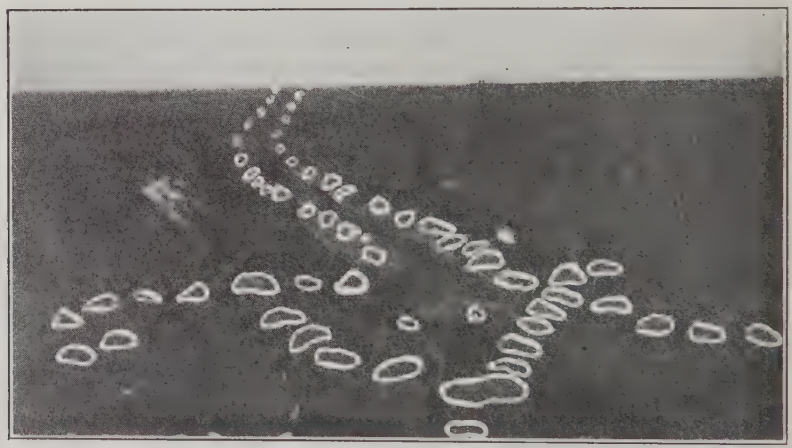
two lines of small boulders running parallel and about two feet apart. The boulders are very close together in the lines, sometimes touching. In a direct line from head to tail, the image is 309 feet, but following the convolutions of the body, it is 522 feet in length. The ears from tip to tip are 12 feet. It is perfectly preserved. On the north side of the image, between it and the creek, and twenty feet distant from the middle of the body of the "snake" is a crude image of a bird with outspread wings, undoubtedly the gens-mark of the people who constructed

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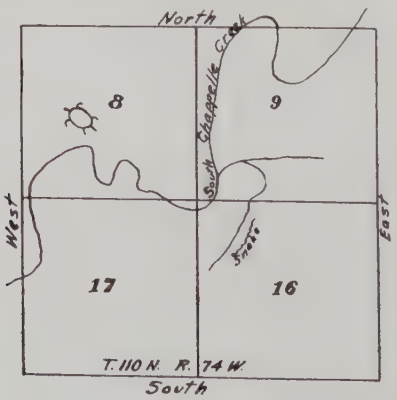
[11]Charles E. DeLand, of Pierre, former president of the State Historical Society. For sketch see Volume III., p. 269.

[12]Henry M. Smith, son of O. H. Smith; born at Dell Rapids.....; .....Educated at the South Dakota University and is cashier of the Granite City Bank of Dell Rapids, (1914.)

the main image. About one-half mile northwest from the image of the snake, in the north-west quarter of the south-west quarter of section 8, of the same township, there is a cobblestone turtle, with its head pointed directly toward "the snake." The turtle is nine feet long and six feet wide. We did not see this image but are indebted to Master Rudolph Steiner,[13] a schoolboy of the nearby school for the description and measurement of it.



Head of Serpent in Town 110, Range 74.



Turtle and Snake, Town. 110, Range 74.

[13]Rudolph Steiner, son of John Steiner, was born in Butte township, about 1900.

SOME PIONEERS OF THE UPPER SIOUX.

Will C. Robinson.[1]

In the spring of 1878 I was living upon my homestead at the present Green Valley, Lyon County, Minnesota, when one evening there appeared at my home, three of my old neighbors from Leon, Wisconsin: Alexander McIntyre,[2] William McIntyre,[3] George N. Tuthill,[4] and accompanying them was Rev. A. D. Chase,[5] of Vernon county, Wisconsin. They informed me that they were bound for Lake Kampeska, Dakota, where they proposed to enter government land, and they prevailed upon me to convey them thither. The Winona & St. Peter division of the North-western railroad had been completed through to Kampeska, in 1872-3,[6] but owing to the grasshopper scourge which had prevented settlement of the region, had not been operated, and had fallen into disrepair, and at that time was operated no further west than Marshall, though it was then under recon-

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[1]Will C. Robinson, of Marshall, Minnesota, (1914), born in Morgan township, Gallia county, Ohio, March 10, 1849. Son of George McCook and Rhozina (Grow) Robinson. Came with his parents to Sparta, Wisconsin, in 1855; educated in common schools and located upon government land at Green Valley, Minnesota, in May, 1872, and still resides in the vicinity of it.

[2]Alexander McIntyre, born of Scotch-Irish parents in Stuben county, New York, 1837; came to Wisconsin in his youth, residing in Columbia, and later in Monroe county. Served in the civil war as first lieutenant in Fifty-first Wisconsin Infantry. Came to Dakota Territory in 1878, and served in the first and second state legislatures. Was a regent of education 1892-1894. Returned to Wisconsin and died at Sparta, in 1907.

[3]William McIntyre, younger brother of Alexander, born in Stuben county, New York, in 1842; served throughout the civil war, and stood at the side of General McPherson, when he was killed at Atlanta. He was one of the most active, enterprising and public spirited pioneers of Dakota territory. Was one of the organizers of Codington county, mayor of Watertown, and foremost in every public enterprise of his time. As the Duluth, Watertown and Denver railroad, he built the present Great Northern line from Benson to Huron; also built the first section of the Winono and Southwestern railroad. He died at Arransas Pass, Texas, 1895.

[4]George N. Tuthill, a brother in law of the McIntyre's, was a native of Port Jervis, New York. He died at Watertown in 1887.

[5]Rev. Albon D. Chase, for many years a prominent minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the West Wisconsin Conference. In Dakota has been a local preacher, but devoted chiefly to farming. Was an active promoter of the Farmers' Alliance movement, 1885-1895, and was appointed railroad commissioner by Gov. Mellette, serving from 1890 to 1892. He still, (1914) lives at Watertown. Born at Unity, New Hampshire, July 25th, 1831.

[6]The railroad was built far in advance of settlement, to hold a government land grant which extended to the Sioux river. The road was built beyond the Sioux to Lake Kampeska, and the road endeavored to hold the land to the lake, but was overruled by the government.

struction and the previous autumn trains had been run through to Gary.[7]

We started on the morning of March 1, 1878, with my farm team and wagon, supplied with provisions and horsefeed for a ten days' trip, and the first day reached Gary, where we put up with Captain H. H. Herrick,[8] who was then conducting a small hotel. The town was filled with land hunters, and every one was hopeful and enthusiastic. When we went to bed there were twelve guests in the little tavern, but during the night the first train arrived and when we arose next morning every available bit of space where a man could lie down was filled. The weather had turned blustery, and the tenderfeet were all apprehensive of a blizzard, but having had several years experience with the climate I was not concerned, and Capt. Herrick, also a pioneer, shared my view. We started out, but after a couple of miles advance, at the most prayerful solicitation of Mr. Chase, who had no stomach for blizzard experiences, we turned back and remained with Herrick until after dinner, when we again started, and by nightfall reached Channonpa, or Two Wood Lake,[9] where we put up with a Mr. Goddard,[10] who was settled there in the timber. At Goddard's we found

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[7]Gary Village dates from the autumn of 1872, when the railroad was completed to that point. It was named for Major H. B. Gary, of Marshall, Minnesota, U. S. Mail Agent. The Village was county seat of Deuel county from the organization in 1878, until 1888, when the county officers were removed by a vote of the people to Clear Lake. In 1895 the state accepted the gift of the former court house there and established the state Blind School therein.

[8]Captain H. H. Herrick, a river pilot and steamboat master, born at Painsville, Ohio, December 8, 1834, died 1913. He was the pioneer settler of Deuel county and always prominent in affairs.

[9]Chanonpa, or TwoWoods lakes are located two miles southwest of Altamont, Deuel county. There are a group of four lakes and for time out of mind these lakes have been a favorite resort of the Sioux Indians. In the early part of the XIX century they were the home of Limping Devils Band; in 1840 Thunderface resided there and at the time of the Outbreak in 1862 Lean Grizzly Bear made the place his camp. It was on the main Indian thorofare from the Minnesota to the Missouri. The American Fur Company maintained a trading post at Two Woods from an early date. The well known Joseph LaFramboise was stationed there in 1835 and the next year was succeeded by Francois LaBathe who resided there for many years and was killed at the beginning of the Outbreak.

[10]Joseph C. Goddard, born in New Brunswick, Canada 1837, was educated in Boston and resided in Wisconsin and Minnesota, and in 1875 located at Channonpa, (Two Woods Lake) and resided there 38 years. He died at Clear Lake, June 3, 1913.

[11]Cincinnatus C. Wiley born in Massachusetts in 1842, served in the civil war and made settlement in Codington county, Dakota Territory, May 8, 1877. He was an enterprising citizen. He built the Kampeska Hotel at Watertown and conducted it for many years.

Cincinatus C. Wiley,[11] and Daniel B. Lovejoy,[12] who had claims at Kampeska, and the next day Lovejoy accompanied us to his homestead which was located upon the Sioux river in the western outskirts of the present city of Watertown. He had settled there in May 1876, and built a comfortable frame house for which he had hauled the lumber from Marshall, Minnesota, 75 miles distant, with an ox team. He had been absent during the winter with his family, at Evansville, Wisconsin. George N. Tuthill remained that night with Lovejoy, while the remainder of the party went on to the lake and found shelter with Oliver S. Jewell,[13] the only settler who had remained in the country during the winter. His homestead was located on the north shore, a short distance west of the outlet. The old track extended to the lake just south of the Outlet, where was a cabin belonging to a man named Montgomery,[14] and another belonging to David D. Keeler[15] around on the south side of the lake. I do not recall any other structures in the vicinity.

The next day, Sunday, a delightful spring day our party set out to locate their claims, each seeking to obtain three quarter sections,—pre-emption, homestead and timber claim. In those days the land laws were administered rather loosely and a claimant was permitted to take the three claims at the same time, prove up on the pre-emption at the end of six months and move on to the homestead. Our party chiefly selected lands lying upon the high ground between Lakes Kampeska and Pelican, but William McIntyre, with commendable astuteness, argued that there was some question as to the extent of the railroad land grant which perhaps did not extend to the lake but to the Sioux river only, and that in that case the big railroad town would be built east of the Sioux river; consequently he located his home-

[12]Daniel B. Lovejoy, was born in New York in 1835. He was a near relative of Eligah and Owen Lovejoy the famous abolitionists and he possessed many of the characteristics of his renowned relatives. He came to Codington county from Evansville, Wisconsin, in the spring of 1876 and built a substantial frame house on the bank of the Sioux river, hauling the lumber with oxen from Marshall, Minnesota, 74 miles distant. He returned to Evansville and died there.

[13]Oliver S. Jewell, had been a clerk in the Suveyor General's office at Yankton and came to Kampeska May 8, 1877 in company with C. C. Wiley, D. D. Keeler and Joseph B. Montgomery.

[14]Joseph B. Montgomery, of Yankton was one of the surveyors who made the government survey in the vicinity of Lake Kampeska and was so pleased with the section that he became the first settler in the vicinity.

[15]David D. Kellar like Montgomery was a government surveyor. He was the first postmaster at Kampeska.

stead upon the government land nearest the Sioux river on the east side. His good judgment was confirmed by the building of the city of Watertown upon his land. The men also selected additional lands for friends, and after a day or two we set out for Medary,[16] Brookings county, to make the necessary filings before the Clerk of Courts of that county. We crossed the Sioux river, just south of the present city of Watertown and finding a section line, followed it, with the assistance of a compass to Lake Poinsett,[17] where we found but one settler, Jacob Hanson,* residing upon a homestead upon the western side of the lake. From Poinsett, a wagon trail,—the first we had seen since leaving Kampeska,—ran down to Lake Oakwood,[18] and we followed it, and at Oakwood found a settlement of three or four houses, among them being Arthur S. Mitchell,[19] an old neighbor of ours at Leon, Wisconsin, who was spending his first winter there, and he gave us a hearty welcome. Among the settlers there was Byron E. Pay,[20] whom we met. The next morning a prairie fire swept down upon the settlement and made some lively work for a time and it is doubtful if, but for the assistance of our party of five men, the houses could have been saved. From Oakwood to Medary there was a fair road along which there were several settlers. At Medary we found a village of half a dozen houses and two stores. It was the county seat of Brookings county. The party made their filings, Mr. Chase's enthusiasm growing momentarily, and he would have filed declarations for the entire population of Vernon county

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[16]Medary, named for Gov. Samuel Medary of Minnesota and Kansas Territory, was founded by the Dakota land company of St. Paul, in 1857.

[17]Lake Poinsett was visited and mapped by John C. Fremont and Jean Nicolet, in the spring of 1838 and named by them for J. R. Poinsett, then secretary of war, under whose direction they were exploring the section.

*Jacob Hanson had the distinction of being the first white settler of both Kingsbury and Hamlin counties. He settled upon Lake Albert (Abert) Kingsbury county upon a pre-emption, in 1872, and after making proof removed to a homestead upon Lake Poinsett in 1877. He was one of the first county commissioners of Hamlin county and was a respected citizen.

[18]Oakwood lake, by the Sioux called Tatanka-ha, meaning Buffalo robe.

[19]Arthur S. Mitchell, born in Mexico, Maine, Sept. 17, 1840. Died at Volga, South Dakota, March 10, 1913. He was an active and useful citizen during his long residence in Dakota.

[20]Byron E. Pay, born in New York in November 1843, was one of the most notable pioneers of the Sioux Valley. He came to Sioux Falls before the organization of Dakota territory and was connected with many of the early day enterprises. He was a brother of the well known Asher F. Pay of Huron. He died at Volga, February 19, 1906.

had his money, or that he could borrow from his friends, held out. We drove back through the "Hole in the Mountain,"[21] over the old Nobles trail[22] to Lake Benton. There was not a single settler in the region. From Lake Benton home through a driving rainstorm, and the worst roads I ever traveled.

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[21]Hole in the Mountain, the depression in the Coteau des Prairie through which Lake Benton drains out to the Sioux river.

[22]Nobles Trail, the road from St. Paul to the Missouri river intended as a section of the California trail, built by Col. W. H. Nobles in 1857. For full acccount see Vol. VI., page 183.

THE BLACK HILLS EXPEDITION.

By Prof. A. B. Donaldson.[1]

Editor St. Paul Pioneer:

July, 25—On the evening of July 15th, at 8 o'clock p. m., the messengers bearing the last mail left camp at Prospect Valley.[2] Whether they reached Fort A. Lincoln[3] in safety, we know not. They were two of the Ree Indian scouts, by name, Skunk's Head[4] and Bull Neck.[5] They were selected for this duty by their Chief, Bloody Knife.[6] They were well mounted, and furnished with the best of revolvers and carbines, and plenty of ammunition and rations for four days. They carry no forage, but will graze their horses. They were enlisted for six months and have squaws and papooses at Fort Lincoln, and were glad of the opportunity to return. They were lightly accoutered to run the gauntlet of their foes. They were to travel only at night, and for that reason would return on our trail.

On the morning of July 16, the Scientific Corps and three reporters, escorted by a company of cavalry made a detour to the left, to visit the high table-land on Short Pine Hill.[7] This table-land is five or six miles long, and nowhere more than a half mile wide. Except in the geological formation it differs but slightly from the plateau at Ludlow's Cave,[8] already de-

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[1]Prof. A. B. Donaldson, born in Muskingum county, Ohio, Feb. 20, 1831. Died in Alexandria, Minnesota, Nov. 27, 1883. Graduate of Ohio Weslyan University; taught 20 years in Ohio, and at time of this expedition was a member of faculty of Minnesota State University. In 1875 purchased Alexandria Post and continued its publication until his death.

[2]Prospect Valley. This is the valley which opens down through Short Pine Hills toward the Northwest and is watered by Valley creek. The village of Harding is located very near to where the camp of July 14-16 was pitched.

[3]Fort A. Lincoln, on the west bank of the Missouri a short distance below Mandan, North Dakota. See Vol. 1, p. 140.

[4]Skunk's Head continued with Custer until his death.

[5]Bull Neck, also remained with Custer, and was at Little Horn.

[6]Bloody Knife, a notable scout and guide, remained with Custer, and continued with the army after Custer's death.

[7]Short Pine Hill in western Harding county. Now a government forest reserve.

[8]Ludlow's Cave in Cave Hills which are located in the northern central part of Harding county, extending to within two or three miles of the state line. The cave was named for William Ludlow, captain of Engineers, and chief engineer of the Department of Dakota with headquarters at St. Paul, who was the engineer officer accompanying the ex-

scribed. On the sloping sides of the ravines leading up to the plateau, there is some tolerably fine pine timber, in all 5 or 6 acres. From examinations made by Prof. Winchell,[9] it is ascertained that the whole formation belongs to the tertiary period.

1st. A base of blue clay, 150 feet thick, containing large fossil bones of turtles and saurians.

2d. Rusty sandstone, 50 ft. thick.

3d. Upper stratum, 150 ft. thick, arenaceous, indurated mail, varying to arenaceous limestone and sandstone; color, white, but weathering to a sort of pinkish hue.

From the south end of the plateau, we see, in the dim distance, Bear Butte[10] and Harney's Peak, while nearer and towards the east are Slave Butte[11] and Deer's Ears,[12] and just in front of us and distant about 45 miles the Black Hills lift their huge forms in dark, irregular outline against the sky. To the west, the turbid Little Missouri meanders through a broad valley, and its course can be traced twenty or thirty miles by its skirting of willow and brushwood. The distant bluffs which bound the valley on the west are like those described in former letters, only, if possible, these are still more jagged and serrate, notched, domed, pinnacled.

After leaving Prospect Valley, Eden Vale, a few miles

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pedition. Captain Ludlow was a New Yorker, and graduate of the West-point class of 1864. He got into the service and made a fine record before the close of the war. After the war he rose to the rank of major general, and died in 1901. Of the Cave Hills, he wrote in his report: "The ridge presents a peculiar appearance having a level cap of light friable sandstone which has washed and weathered into battlements and towers. The exterior presents the appearance of a scarp, and suggests strongly the ruins of an old fortified city fairly laid out with bastions and curtains, with sally ports guarded by towers. The tendency in places is to wear into holes large and small, which often of regular size and arrangement, gives the idea of embrasures and loopholes. The scarp varies in places from 3 to 20 feet in height against which lies the talus derived from the breaking down of the sandstone walls and the washing of the superjacent clay. . The cave is a hole washed out of the sandstone 200 or 300 feet deep horizontally, with an entrance 15 or 20 feet and proved to possess no special interest other than that imparted to it by the superstition of the Indians."

[9]Prof. Newton H. Winchell, born in Duchess county, New York, December 17, 1839. Graduated from University of Michigan, 1866. He has been state geologist of Minnesota since 1872, and is the author of many valuable reports upon the geology of Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota and the Dakotas. He is still living in Minneapolis.

[10]Bear Butte, (Matto paha), near Sturgis, Meade county south Dakota.

[11]Slave Butte, now known as Castle Rock, in town. 12 north, 6 east, in northern Butte county.

[12]Deers' Ears. Twin Buttes in town. 12 north, 7 and 8 east, in Butte county. Mentioned by many early travelers as a land mark.

marching brings us to the Little Missouri.[13] From sterility or want of rain, or both, the valley is almost utterly barren. A square mile would hardly afford grass enough to keep half a dozen sheep from starving. Here the cactus finds a congenial home, and divides supremacy only with the sagebrush and a species of sunflower, a coarse, rank weed from one to three feet high, which spreads its garish rays as if in very mockery of the prevailing desolation.

Taking in a supply of wood and water at the river, we leave this valley of disappointment, and, after 8 or 10 miles traveling find a little grass, and halt in sight of the Black Hills, at the end of a long, weary, day of 17 hours and 31 miles travel through heat and dust.

The next day of 18 miles travel over undulating country presents nothing of interest. To add to the nothingness of the vegetation, a scragly brush plant, called by the Indians "Grease weed," puts in an appearance and helps to suck up the little moisture from the heated earth and air. The better parts of this miserable region are settled by prairie-dogs and rattlesnakes. This command and a few estrayed grasshoppers are the only visitors.

Our next camp is on a bluff, overlooking a bad-land valley, which is all worn and washed into breaks and gullies. The Black Hills now loom up grandly, distant only 10 or 12 miles. During the afternoon several rain clouds formed over them and dispensed their rich treasures of moisture and coolness. The hot and naked plains below received not one drop, nor even the shadow of a passing cloud.

The last two camps were in the southwest corner of Montana; this one, on the bluff, is in the northwest corner of Wyoming. Leaving our bluff camp, 15 miles marching carries us to the Belle Fourche (Beautiful Fish,)[14] or North Fork of the Cheyenne. Some of the valleys passed over during the day look well enough at a distance, but are either barren or

[13]The main expedition passed around the north end of the main Short Pine Hill, but the reporters and scientists passed in a direct line directly across the mountains.

[14]Belle Fourche. (Beautiful Fork). The word fish is undoubtedly a printer's error. The Sioux called the stream washta, meaning beautiful, and the French adopted the name. It would be interesting to know if the predecessors of the Sioux likewise called it Beautiful. See Verendrye journal in this volume.

produce little else than worthless weeds and brush. Several irony ridges were covered with pine and scrub white oak. In the bottoms of the Belle Fourche there are a few large cottonwoods. We crossed the trail made by Captain Reynolds in his explorations of 1859.[15] Our camp on the river is abundantly supplied with wood and grass, and, the next day being a rainy Sunday, we did not move. A reconnoitering party, escorted by a company of cavelry, traveled about eighteen miles through the rain and fog, and returned to camp late in the evening, with no other result than that of being wet, weary and hungry.

Winding our way out of the valley of the Beautiful Fork, we traveled fourteen miles among the foot hills of the mountains. Some of the lands are very fine, soil rich and deep, and the grass long, thick, of excellent quality and clear of cactus and brushwoods. Groves of pine, here and there, gave to the whole country the appearance of highly cultivated and ornamental estates in the East.

The base of the Black Hills is 2,800 or 3,000 feet above the sea level. Several of the plains crossed to-day can hardly be less than 4,000 feet high. As units of comparison, it may be stated that Mount Washington, a peak of the White Mountains in New Hampshire and the highest point in New England, is less than 5,800 feet,[16] while Black Mountain in North Carolina, the highest land in the United States, east of the Mississippi, is only about 6,000 feet.[17] The Alleghanies, in New York and Pennsylvania and Virginia, are nowhere over 3,000 feet. Altamont, on the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, is only 2,800 feet.

The valleys which we have seen to-day, are from a half mile to a mile in width, of fine meadow land. From the oak-fringed margins of the streams, their grassy slopes extend gradually upward, growing steeper till they meet the border of pines on the tali at the foot of the bluffs. In some cases these wooded tali reach to the very crests and conceal the

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[15]William Floyd Reynolds, a notable soldier of the civil war, conducted a notable exploration from Fort Pierre to the Yellowstone in 1859.

[16]White Mountains. Greatest altitude is Nelson's Crag on Mount Washington, 5,615 feet.

[17]Black Mountain. The highest point is the Black Brother Peak, 6,619, while the highest point in the Black Hills, Harney Peak, is 7,242.

rocky ledges of non-fossiliferous white and brown sandstone. Most of the timber is inferior.

The sunset was of unusual splendor. The lines of stratus and each fleecy rack in the west, were tinged with orange, red and golden hues; while in the east, the purple twilight bow extended its broad arch of beauty, modest in its fainter glory; towards the south, dark mountains of cumulus were edged with brightest silver, a gorgeous pathway fit for steps of deity. But these short-lived splendors fade away.

"And comes still evening on till twilight gray,
Hath in her sober livery all things clad."

The stars come out, one by one, and troop by troop, till all the constellations burn, the "music of the spheres" begins and "all the hosts of heaven rejoice." The band plays, and thus with mingled earthly and heavenly music, terrestrial beauty and celestial glory, the first day ends and the first night is ushered in to the strangers among the Black Hills.

Moving forward the next morning, the gently sloping valleys become steep hillsides, and the spurs encroach more and more upon us, until we are almost wedged in and scarce have room to move the wagon train in a single line down the narrow ravine till it emerges suddenly into Red Water Valley, Wyoming.[18]

This valley is from one to five miles wide and about thirty miles long, with numerous lateral valleys extending up the smaller streams. Its surface is generally level, though in some places rolling and occasionally variegated by a bare, rounded knoll or bank of red marl or shale. In these knolls and banks there are inexhaustible beds of gypsum, in some cases 25 or 30 feet in thickness, perfectly pure and white except where surface stained, and in all cases easily mined. It scarce seems an exaggeration to say that there is enough gypsum in this valley to fertilize every acre of land in the United States and to supply the whole world with plaster-paris.

There is scarce any waste land in all this valley. It is an

[18]The Red Water has its head at the foot of Inyan Kara, and flows northeast to enter the Belle Fourche at Belle Fourche City. It has some notable water powers upon it. North of Spearfish there is a 5000 h. p. development which supplies power for Deadwood and Lead industries.

immense natural meadow. Under cultivation, it could not fail to produce heavy crops of corn and all the cereals; while, enclosed as it is by a great bulwark of rugged, pine-covered hills, from 3 to 8 hundred feet high, its sheltered situation would doubtless make it a suitable locality for fruit growing. The soil is of a red color, caused by the decomposition of red marle and shales. We made two camps on the Red Water and spent about three days in the valley. There are fine springs, clear, cold and strong. One of them furnished an abundance of water for all the men, horses, mules and cattle of the expedition. Its temperature was only 45 deg. (13 degrees above freezing). These are about the first good springs that we have found in our march of 325 miles.

Some of the ledges and buttes forming the rim of this valley are perfectly bare all over and so red that no painter could redden them. Their glaring color contrasts strongly with the green meadow and hills around.

During our sojourn here, the thermometer has at times risen to 117 degs. in the sun.

The Last Foe.

July 28.—Private John Cunningham, of Co. E, died at our camp in Red Water Valley on the night of July 21st. Disease, chronic diarrhea combined with acute pleurisy.

Two privates of Co. M, Joseph Turner and Wm. Roller, old comrades, who had been four years and nine months together, have often quarreled and sometimes fought each other. On the morning of the 22nd July the old enmity, and a new quarrel resulted in Roller's shooting Turner. Turner was placed in an ambulance, rode 23 miles, and died just as we entered camp in the evening. A post-mortem examination, made by Dr. Williams,[19] showed that the wound must necessarily have resulted in death, no matter what the subsequent treatment.

Roller is under arrest, and, upon the return of the expedition, will be immediately turned over to the civil authorities for trial.

Upon a little knoll, within the limits of the camp, a broad

[19]Dr. Williams, a regular army surgeon. Not in Army dictionary.

grave was dug. In the evening, at a quarter to nine o'clock, the whole regiment, by companies, was called into line to attend the burial.

1st in the procession was the band.

2d. An ambulance bearing the two dead.

3d. The companies of which the deceased were members.

4th. Other companies.

5th. Regimental and staff officers and civilians.

As the solemn cortege marched across the campus, the band played a mournful dirge. A hollow square was formed about the grave. Side by side the two bodies were lowered into the vault. By the light of a lantern the funeral service was read. A platoon of soldiers then stopped to the edge of the grave and fired three successive volleys. The dead heeded not! A trumpeter then came up, and blew loud and long. No response came! He then blew the call, "Day is closed, light put out!" The grave was then filled. As the placid moon and twinkling stars looked down upon the solemn scene, slowly and sadly we left the dead alone, "to sleep the sleep that knows no waking."

To hide the grave from the desecrating savage, who would soon come prowling around, its surface was leveled off and a fire was kept burning upon it all the next day.

A thousand thought " come crowding up for utterance," but we forbear, and leave the reader to moralize upon this painful drama of real life.

At an early hour in the morning, Gen. Custer and staff, the scientific corps, and one reporter, escorted by two companies of cavalry, left the upper camp on the Red Water, to visit Mt. Inyan Kara, in Wyoming, latitude 44 degrees 13 minutes, and distant from our line of march about five miles. Captain Warren[20] visited it in 1859. He estimated its height at 6,600 feet, which is about 1,500 feet higher than any land in the United States east of the Mississippi.

It covers about twelve square miles. Its shape is that of a horseshoe. The shoe is a sharp-backed ridge, several miles in length, and very steep on both its sides. In the centre of

[20]Gouvernor K. Warren, the well known General Warren of the Civil war. For account of Warren's trip see Vol. II., p. 227.

the shoe is the mountain peak, rising several hundred feet higher than any part of the ridge, and separated from it by a horseshoe-shaped, rocky canon, from 500 to 700 feet deep.

There is no granite or other primary rock in the mountain, neither basalt nor trap. The whole is an immense upheaval of non-fossiliferous, sedimentary, metamorphic rock. The strata are very much broken and are inclined at almost every angle.

On the west side of the mountain and about 300 feet down its rugged side, is a perpendicular, columnar wall, 250 feet high and a half mile long. Except in its composition, it resembles the palisades of the Hudson. At its foot is a talus of immense masses, extending two or three hundred feet down to the bottom of the canon. The view of the mountain from the side of the canon opposite this wall can hardly be surpassed.

The encircling, horse-shoe ridge is mostly covered with Norway pine. The inner mountain is almost bare of vegetation. As difficult and even dangerous as the ascent, Gen. Forsythe[21] led his horse to the very top, and brought him down again in safety. In the hard flinty album of the summit, engraven with a cold chisel and hammer, in large and distinct characters, Arabic and Roman, is a date and an autograph, thus,

"'74.

Custer."

If the archaeologist is puzzled over this inscription, let him consult the commandant of this expedition.

The Topographical Engineer, Col. Ludlow, measured the height of the mountain above its base, and found it to be 1,100 feet. He had no means of estimating the elevation of the base above the sea-level; but there is no reason to doubt the correctness of Captain Warren, in fixing the height at 6,600 feet.

The temperature of the summit is sensibly lower than that in the plain below, and we found it pleasant to sit on the leeward side of the crest and in the sunshine.

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[21]George Alexander Forsythe, was born at Muncie, Pennsylvania, Nov. 7th, 1837. Enlisted as lieutenant of 8th Illinois, Cavalry, 1861, and rose to Brigadier general. Entered the regular army and rendered splendid service in the Indian campaigns of the 60s and 70s. Retired in 1904. Author of "Thrilling Days in the Army," and "The Story of the Soldier." Resides, 1914, Rockport, Massachusetts.

Of the extensive and magnificent views from the summit, we can only say nothing; for, unfortunately, on the day of our visit the air was so hazy that nothing could be seen beyond ten miles. A hazy air is unusual in this country.

On account of the obscurity of the air and the difficulty in approaching the mountain, Mr. Illingworth[22] took but one view of it, and that from a distance of about two miles.

Climbing the steep banks of the Red Water, we were soon traveling over a handsome prairie, gradually rising towards a pine forest. Entering this we found it sufficiently open to give an easy passage to the train. Presently was prairie again. Thus on alternating till we reached one of the most charming little valleys in the world. It is narrow, only a few hundred yards wide, and resembles a beautiful well mown lawn, winding in endless curves and sinuosities through its pine-wooded margins. Little coves indent the timbered border. No landscape architect could design a scene of more perfect enchantment. Rocky points sometimes take the place of trees, and thus give increased beauty and corresponding interest.

Leaving this valley we climbed the pine-clad hills to forest plains. Excepting an occasional clump of popple or willow, deciduous trees have disappeared. The pine timber is good, tall and straight, and thousands of acres grow along our line of march. It never can be made available other than for home consumption, except by the building of railroads. Logging streams are too far away. But, as might be expected, the Indian has not been more fortunate than the white man in saving the forests from destruction. Thousands of square miles have been burned over, giving to the burnt districts a sort of desolate and grave-yard look. In some cases a new growth has sprung up; but a burned pine forest seldom reproduces itself. In some cases it requires great labor to open a road the through fallen timber.

Panthers have been seen, and as many as 12 deer in one herd, and venison again supplies the camp.

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[22]Mr. Illlingworth, a photographer of St. Paul, who went along upon agreement that he be furnished complete apparatus and his expenses defrayed by the government, for which he was to supply 6 complete sets of pictures taken upon the expedition. He got 63 fine photographs, but failed to supply the government. See Ludlow's report, p. 8.

Continuing an easterly course, with much delay and no little difficulty and danger, we passed down a steep ravine to Floral Valley,[23] so named by General Custer, on account of its profusion of wild flowers. We made two camps in this valley and were about two days traveling up it, a distance of twenty miles.

It is almost fac simile of the valley we passed through only a few miles back. The brook which flows through it is a fine, rapid stream of clear water, about four feet wide and one foot deep. It gurgles and ripples over its stony bed, falls in sparkling cascades down the rocks, flows beneath mossy arches, and gives joy and refreshment to all. A finer stream for trout culture could hardly be found on the continent. Its source of supply is two or three large springs, flowing from beneath the mountain's base. Their temperature is from 44 to 44 1-2 degrees. The water seems perfectly pure, and without taste, smell or color.

In this valley, every sound is echoed from the timbered borders and the mountain sides. The report of a rifle seems as loud as that of artillery on the plains. The music of the band was weird and fascinating; it seemed to come from genii, concealed in the graves and caves of the mountain's sides, and fancy suggested the haunt of the muses. No wonder that the Indians have strange superstitions in regard to such fairy dells, and think them the homes of departed spirits.

About noon of the first day in this valley it became cloudy. At first the clouds swept along the mountain tops; but they gradually lowered until they almost touched our heads; finally they filled the whole valley and shrouded us with mist and dampness. In the evening they rolled away and the sun set clear.

The elevation of our two camps here can hardly be less than 5,000 or 5,500 feet. The nights are very cool. Not a fly, gnat or mosquito can be seen. Excepting butterflies there is scarcely an insect.

This must once have been (and still may be) the favorite grazing ground of the elk. Eight pair of magnificent

[23]Floral Valley. The headwaters of Castle Creek, just west of the South Dakota line in Wyoming.

antlers were picked up. Gen. Custer intends presenting several of them to the Smithsonian Institute.

Strange to relate, sand-hill cranes visit this valley; some of them were shot, and several of them were captured alive. They will help to increase the menagerie, which already includes, hares, prairie-dogs, night-hawks, owls, one eagle, and a cage of rattlesnakes. Additions will be made.

The floral decoration is the very richest. Every order and species seem to vie with every other in giving brilliancy to the display. The gaudy sun-flower and the delicate hare-bell, the fair lily and the bright blue daisy, the coarse elecampane and the modest violet, the gay lark-spur and the fragrant peppermint, roses and pinks, asters and phlox, bell-flower and caropsis, geraniums, golden rod, purple cone-flower, are part of Flora's contributions to these lovely dells. There are about 50 species in flower, about 25 have flowered and perhaps about 25 are still to bloom. It is hardly possible to exaggerate in describing this flowery richness, and what is written above is less than the simple truth.

Many of these species are undescribed by botanists; and among them is a lily of rarest beauty. Many bulbs have been secured and will be carried home. Everybody, even muleteers, were enraptured with the flowers. Everybody was making bouquets. All sorts of interjections were used to express wonder and admiration. Some said they would give a hundred dollars just to have their wives see the floral richness for even one hour.

Following up Floral Valley, and rising rapidly, a few miles brought us to the mountain's crest, the divide between the waters of North and South Forks of the Cheyenne, at an elevation of 7,000 ft., where there is a natural depression[24]—the valley on one side interlocking with a valley on the other side. The timber margins still continue, but the tall, straight spire like balsam is sprinkled more thickly among the pines. These interlacing avenues are perfect parks in beauty. There is a net work of them all through the mountains. Trout brooks, springs of almost icy coldness, beautiful wild flowers, and abun-

[24]This is an exaggeration. The altitude is about 6,000 feet.

dant pasturage, are common to them all. In some places the timber margin recedes up the mountain side, leaving all below smooth and grassy; in other places the timber extends down to the level plat. In the lower parts of these valleys, picturesqueness is often mingled with grandeur, and rocks upon rocks are piled, in every possible form; precipices rise several hundred feet above the tops of the trees growing at their base; gigantic promontories push themselves into the foreground, and sharp-backed ridges cleave the sky; while an occasional massive column towers high above all else surrounding it, alone, silent, solemn, inaccessible.

There are two varieties of currants, black and red; two varieties of gooseberries, both large, smooth, delicious fruit; several varieties of June berries and huckleberries; strawberries, large and luscious; raspberries, black and red, both fine. All these fruits are abundant, and the whole command feasted. If nature uncultivated does all this, what might not the skilled horticulturist attain?

The sheltered vales must be favored homes for all the year. Beneath the pine-clad mountain's side, the winter storms would scarce be felt; spring would early unfold her robes of green; summer, refreshed by showers and ever flowing streams of cool, crystal water, display her lavish beauty; and autumn yield abundant fruit.

For grazing and the dairy, central New York or the Western Reserve in Ohio are not better suited.

Mr. Illingworth still continues to photograph the scenery. The views taken along Castle Creek[25] and of our camps there, are particularly fine. Castle Creek follows into French Creek,[26] a branch of the south fork of the Cheyenne. It is so named by Gen. Custer on account of the castellated appearance of the rocky ledges along its sides.

Our interpreter having misunderstood the guide, we marched from our first camp on Castle Creek, about 5 miles eastward over the rolling prairie of Elk Horn Park,[27] and there found

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[25]Castle Creek, a branched stream entering Rapid Creek from the south, above Silver City, in western Pennington county. It is noted for extensive gold placers.

[26]French Creek rises in western Custer county and flows east to the Cheyenne. The first gold discovery in the Black Hills was made upon it.

[27]Elkhorn Park, at Silver City, in the Rapid Creek valley.

that deep ravines and rocky canons prevented our further advance and forced us to return to a second encampment on Castle Creek, only two miles below the first. These camps are all that could be desired for water, pasturage, fuel and scenery. On a hill, at the further end of Elk Horn Park, is a stack of several hundred Elk horns. It is, doubtless, the Indians votive offering to some deity. It has been standing many years, and the horns are bleached perfectly white. It was probably twelve or fifteen feet high when first built, but has settled down until it is now only five or six. It was photographed by our artist; the blackground of the view is fine mountain scenery.

In the trapping season, come here to hunt the beaver! These industrious animals, skilled hydraulic engineers, have many dams across the mountain streams. They have populous colonies in all the best valleys. They have preceded the white man in discovering and settling this excellent and remarkable country.

From a mountain top, near our Castle Creek camps, a vast area of country can be seen:— thousands of square miles of dark forest; thousands of square miles of burned forest; a number of fine parks, including Elk Horn; glimpses into numerous valleys, grassy and green as well-watered lawns; many mountain peaks, including Harneys, bare, rugged rocky, distant about twenty miles E. S. E., and Crow's Nest, a similar peak, about the same distance N. E. If not mistaken in our longitude, our camps on Castle Creek are in Dakota. By our line of march, we are 395 miles from Fort A. Lincoln. We have rested four days in camp, and have marched twenty-three days, averaging a little more than seventeen miles a day. There has been but little sickness and the whole command is now well. We are passing through the centre of the Black Hills and there have been no acts of hostility. Neither gold nor silver have been found, but the miners report the indications more promising.

Indian Trails and Camps.

July 30.—For a number of days past, we have been crossing or following recently made Indian trails. The latter was the case as we came down Castle Creek. We passed several camps, lately occupied. About noon, on the 27th inst., the

advance came upon a camp where the fires were still burning. The party had evidently just gone down the valley. Gen. Custer sent scouts forward, two of whom, Black Medicine and Bare Arm, soon returned, reporting that there were five lodges (a lodge is a tepee or tent) encamped about two miles below us, and just around a point in the valley.

The General, with E Company, and Lieut. Wallace[28] with a detachment of Ree and Santee scouts immediately went down. By great caution they succeeded in approaching the camp and surrounding it without giving any alarm. The General then sent down Louis Agar,[29] a French half-breed, who speaks the Sioux language, and two Sioux scouts, with a flag of truce. He next sent in several Rees, under their chief Bears Ears, with peaceful messages. The General, with the cavalry, and Wallace with the scouts, then went in. Some of the Indians were quite self-possessed, others were greatly alarmed, and some of the women and children attempted flight.

The General, through an interpreter, had a long and peaceable interview. Some of the men who were out hunting were sent for and they came in. They were a hunting party of the Ogilalah tribe of Sioux, and have an agency with that of Red Cloud on the White River in Wyoming, about 80 miles south of here. They did not know that there were any white people in the Black Hills, and had not heard of the expedition. There were 25 or 30, all told. They were well supplied with clothing and camp furniture (well for Indians) and had a number of nice, fat ponies. They gave their visitors cool, spring water to drink and with them, "smoked the pipe of peace." Their chief men were Slow Bull,[30] One Stab,[31] and Long Bear.[32] Slow Bull has two wives, one of whom is the daughter of the renowned Chief, Red Cloud. She is the mother of four children, one at the breast.

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[28]George Daniel Wallace, of South Carolina, graduated from West Point, 1872, was killed at affair at Wounded Knee, 1890.

[29]I am unable to identify this scout.

[30]Slow Bull; this Indian's name was Slow Bull. He was living at Pine Ridge, 1912. He took for his wife Sunkaotawin (Many Dog Woman), second daughter of Red Cloud. Slow Bull was himself a warrior of note among his people.

[31]One Stab, continued for some years at Red Cloud's agency. When the treaty commission of 1875 were negotiating for the Black Hills, Fast Bear, a head man, put in a special item for "the scare given to One Stab" the previous year.

[32]Long Bear. I do not find anything about this Indian.

The General very carefully and fully explained to them the object of the visit to the Black Hills. That it was done in friendliness and good will towards the Indians; that they intended no harm but only kindness; that the Great Father (the President) only wanted to know something about the country, and that after we had spent a few days here exploring, we would all go back peaceably; that instead of injuring or molesting them he would do all in his power to show his sincere friendship; he invited them to camp by us and eat of our rations while we stayed in the country; he invited them to visit our camp, and told them not to be alarmed; he told them that if they knew the country and would go with him and show him the best roads, he would make them all presents; he invited them, under any circumstances, to come and get rations, of flour and meat, sugar, coffee and tobacco. In short, he said and did all that was possible to conciliate them and to open with them friendly intercourse.

Some of them seemed reserved and timid and showed some fear of the Rees, their bitter enemies; others seemed social and anxious for further acquaintance. The timid ones said they had been in the Hills about two months, and that their time was up, and that they must return at once to the agency to draw their annuities; the others thought there was no need of so hasty a return. Much more was said and all in the kindest manner possible, and the interview finally terminated by a promise on their part to come up in the afternoon and visit us and accept a present of rations. They further promised and contracted that, for the rations given them, they would furnish two guides to show us the best routes through the Black Hills.

Our party then all returned.

In the afternoon, four of the men came up, and were received at headquarters with every mark of attention, respect and kindness, including much hand-shaking.

However, they acted strangely, and before the commissary wagons had reached our camp, two of them slyly passed out and did not return. The other two seemed uneasy and did not want to wait for the presents, but proposed to come up in the morning and get them. The general then borrowed the ra-

tions from one of the companies, the supply train still not having come.

To make assurance doubly sure, to prevent the possibility of molestation to any of the band by the Rees or any other of command, the General sent word to Lieut. Wallace to select fifteen of his most reliable Santees and send them down with the two men carrying the rations, with orders to stay on guard at their encampment all night, to prevent molestation, and to come up with them in the morning to our camp to receive more rations.

Wallace requested the ration bearers One Stab and Long Bear, to wait a few minutes until he could select the friendly escort and guard. In the meantime, and while the detail was being chosen, the General went over to that side of the camp. But the ration bearers did not wait as Wallace requested, and he sent a Sioux scout to request their return. But to return, they refused. The General, not wishing his guard of fifteen to go down alone, but in company with the men carrying the rations, lest going down alone might cause alarm in the Ogilalah camp, directed the ration bearers to be brought back, and ordered several Santees to follow them and repeat the request, and explain the reason, and that if they still refused to, then take their ponies by the bridles and lead them back.

This order was obeyed to the letter, but Long Bear, refusing to return, one of the Santee sergeants took hold of the pony's bridle, as directed: whereupon Long Bear seized the sergeant's gun and attempted to wrest it from him. The sergeant only saved it by throwing himself from his horse; and, regarding Long Bear's act as the beginning of hostilities, he fired at him as he retreated up the hill from the valley. One or two other shots were fired at him.

One Stab returned to our camp, and is still with us. The scouts immediately hastened down to the Ogilalah camp, and found that the whole party had fled, evidently soon after the friendly interview. They had destroyed all their camp equipage, chopped up their tent poles, cut holes in their kettles, and thrown away their dried meat. Their trail was followed for a long distance; but they had been many hours on the way,

were so far ahead and traveled so fast that they could not be overtaken.

The fate of Long Bear is involved in mystery. But the next day, his saddle and blanket were found in the woods, having some blood on them. In another place his gun-cover and rations were found. Fifteen men have scoured the woods but have failed to find the pony or his rider. Whatever his misfortune may be, it is the result of his own indiscretion and double-dealing.

One Stab is treated very kindly. He knows the country and promises to guide us through it. He will only remain a captive a few days; and, if he proves true, will be well rewarded. He seems contented, though stolid; but this latter is only Indian-like.

The sincere and earnest effort made to open and maintain friendly intercourse with this band of Sioux has been frustrated by their own folly, hostility and treachery. Outside of our own command, these Ogilalahs are the only human beings with whom we have had one word of intercourse since leaving Fort Abraham Lincoln.

Building Stone.

August 2.—A large part of the rock formation is carbonate of lime (marble), of various degrees in hardness and fineness. It is sometimes all one color, white or dark, sometimes as veined and mottled as the Egyptian. Of that which is good, there is a sufficient quantity to supply the sculptors of the world and all the cemeteries, and to cover the Black Hills all over with a city of marble. A large part of the sandstone is well adapted for building purposes. There are whole mountains of mica schist; some of the harder and less shaley portions of which would probably answer for building stone. At any rate, it would make enough scythe whetstones to supply the world. There are whole mountain ranges of granite. Some of it is hard and fine and variable in color; other portions exceedingly coarse and friable, containing great sheets of mica and large crystals of tourmaline and occassionally large masses of feldspar or quartz. Besides these principal kinds of rock

there are others, more or less valuable for building or other purposes.

The direction from Castle Creek to Custer Park is nearly south; distance 28 miles.

There is the same alternation of woodland and prairie, upland and valley, as described in former letters. Some entire mountains edges are made of micaceous shades. As the sun shines upon them they glisten like mirrors, and make the whole mountain's side appear like shining silver. As the angle of reflection changes, the brightness fades away, and nothing but the dull, black rock remains. The captain of one of the cavalry companies thought he discovered a great natural wonder, a hole in the top of the mountain, through which the sky could be seen; presently he saw another, then another; finally all disappeared. They were reflections from the shales.

The day we left Castle Creek, Headquarters moved in advance and selected an encampment in a green meadow, watered by a cool, babbling brook, and sheltered by a background of pine-clad mountains. The distance was 15 miles. But, though most of the road was easy, a few bad places caused much delay. Some fallen timber had to be cleared away, a ravine had to be bridged, and up one steep grade the teams had to be doubled. The result was night came, and the train rested in a little valley three miles from headquarters. The command was divided, the greater portion being with train. The advance prepared for a bivouac. Several deer had been brought in, and over the camp fire slices of the tender venison were roasted on the ends of forked sticks. This, with "hard tack" and the icy-cold water made our evening meal. The meat was delicious; but to an eppetite sharpened by the day's ride through the cool, mountain air, almost anything is good. Beneath the deep foliage of the pines bright fires were built, and with no other mantle than the starlit heavens, we passed away the hours of night in telling stories, or in sleeping on the ground. After a while the moon rose, and its soft lambent light chased the darkness from the valley, and the paler stars faded from the sky. At length, at about half past three the lumbering train came in, and by sunrise breakfast was ready, and at seven o'clock we again moved on, through handsome

groves, along valleys green, and over prairies, rich for tillage and grazing. On our left was a high, stony, granite ridge. (Until to-day no granite has been seen.) The ridge is almost perpendicular, and in most places entirely bare of vegetation. Its sharp back seems dislocated and the vertebrae no longer united, but separated by fissures hundreds of feet in depth. A chamois might skip across these deep rents, but less agile mountaineers would need a bridge. These vertebrae are not usually sharp and angular, but have been smoothed and rounded by the action of the weather. Still there is no regularity or symmetry in their forms, and they constantly change in profile as viewed from different points. This was a busy day for the landscape photographer. Evening found us encamped in one of the most charming and lovely natural parks in the world. Gen. Custer is probably the first civilized man whose eyes beheld this scene of beauty. After much entreaty, his modesty as far gave way as reluctantly to consent to the request of the topographical engineer that the name be Custer Park.

We have spent four days in this delightful retreat, have gone up, down, and across it, and yet its graces have not been half revealed. In my attempt at describing it, there is no danger of exaggeration. Expressions of admiration are heard from all. No one ever saw anything to equal it. The Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Forests, the Yellowstone Park and the valleys of the Hudson, Mohawk and Connecticut, have grandeurs and beauties and richness in varying degrees; but here these elements are so marvelously combined as scarcely to need a single thing to give perfection to this landscape design of the Infinite Architect. One man said, "I have visited Central Park in New York City a thousand times, but its beauties will not compare with these."

The length of this park may be approximately stated at fifteen miles, and its width three miles. In places, it may not be over a mile wide, in others six or eight miles. No one can define it limits. It has no well-marked boundaries. There are mountains within and mountains all around it. There are broad avenues leading out of it in every direction, among the enclosing regions and peaks. There are endless curvatures in

these avenues, with everchanging and always new and beautiful views.

Some of the encircling ranges and peaks have smooth sides and rounded summits, and are covered all over with pine and balsam; others are perfectly bare and smooth, hundreds of feet in height, and almost inaccessible.

In several places great blocks of granite, almost as large as the Metropolitan house, lie scattered around the edges or inside the peak. Between and among these enormous masses there are narrow and angular paths, intersecting each other in a perfect net-work of intricacy. Be careful, lest in these deep, cool, shadowy clefts you lose yourself. In other places the rocks are not so large, and among them pine trees grow. There are hundreds of these rock and grove islands; besides there are many shady, timber islands without rocks. These little groves, from a clump of half a dozen trees to several acres in extent, are sometimes on a level with the green enclosing lawn; sometimes they are on smooth hillocks; but every one is a perfect gem. There are thousands of beautiful views in this park, no two of which are alike. The broad acres and the winding passages are all alike covered with thick, green grass, the product of a soil rich in all the elements of plant nutrition.

A very little labor would open carriage roads for miles and miles up the ravines and gulches of the mountains, while bridle-paths might be made to reach the grand canons and the lofty peaks.

Here is the hunter's padadise: squirrels, hares, wolves, panthers, bears, deer and elk are here. Let the disciples of Izaac Walton come here with the outfit of the "Complete Angler," and indulge in piscatorial sports and dreamy reveries along the banks of Custer Creek.

The lover of nature could here find his soul's delight; the invalid regain his health; the old, be rejuvenated; the weary, find sweet repose and invigoration; and all who could come and spend the heated season here, would find it the pleasantest summer home in America.

From our first encampment in Custer Park to Harney's Peak is eight or ten miles in a straight line, nearly east. Gen.

Custer and a small party, escorted by a part, only, of one company of cavalry, set out early in the morning to visit the peak. About half the distance, the road was good and scenery like that of the park. Then came the climbing of stony ridges, picking our way among burned and fallen timber, boring through the tangle-wood of the gorges, and occasionl flounderings through treacherous morasses. But all the way there was cool water and abundance of berries. Large and luscious service berries hung in such thick clusters that beneath their weight the branches were bending down and almost breaking. There were a few trailing blackberries or dewberries. But of raspberries there was no end. Acres and acres of the mountains' sides were covered with them. They literally reddened the ground. They were large and sweet and could be picked in clusters of from three to six. The bushes were not large, but they were loaded with the luscious fruit. They grow best where the forests had been burned, and were found all the way up to the top of Harney's Peak.

From the bottom of a deep ravine, we climbed and climbed upward, walking most of the way and leading the horses. At last we stood beneath the almost perpendicular peak which we supposed to be Harney's. Leaving the horses we had to scale the almost vertical wall for about 200 feet. Wedging ourselves into the clefts, and pushing ourselves up after the fashion of chimney sweeps, clinging to projecting points and straddling over ridges, we at last reached the top.

The view was worth infinitely more than all that it had cost us. Southeast of us, about 30 miles distant, we could distinctly see the valley of the South Fork of the Cheyenne, and beyond it for 20 miles the Bad Lands, reaching across to the White River, distant 50 miles, which could be traced by the lines of timber on its borders.

Southward the plains beyond the Black Hills went stretching away, until in the far, dim, blue distance they were indistinguishable from the sky. South and southwest we could see the mountain ranges north and west of Fort Laramie, and possibly among them, Laramie Peak.

Seven degrees east of north, true meridian, huge Bear Butte lifted its rugged form into the blue depths, distant 50 miles.

Northward we could not see beyond the Black Hills.

We could see the green meadows and paradisiacal loveliness of Custer Peak. Eastward was not Adam's Eden, but another Eden "of God's planting" in the Black Hills, diversified by lawn and grove, and silvery brooks and ever-changing vistas.

But around us, for miles and miles away, what a waste of mountains. Naked granite everywhere. Ridges, walls, pinnacles all around us. Gen. Forsythe says, "This is the Switzerland of America." All say, "We never saw the like for rugged desolation!" Some of the ridges are cloven and weathered into needle-shaped columns, and were fitly named "Organ Peaks," from their resemblance to the pipes of an organ. There are many such organ peaks all around us. In this sublime cathedral of nature, let Aeolus play in gentle summer zephyrs; and in winter let Boreas make the mountains tremble with the reverberating music from those tremendous columns.

On the top we ate our lunch, and from cool canteens we all drank to General Harney's health.

About three-quarters of a mile east of us is a peak (Harney No. 2) several hundred feet higher. We resolved to climb it. In due time we reach the top, and after a hurried glance start down again, calling to those below, "Stop! there is a higher peak beyond!" A council is held, and it is unanimously and enthusiastically resolved to visit No. 3, the true Harney's Peak, still eastward about one and a half miles, and not visible from No. 1, on account of the intervention of No. 2.

Away we go! There is no time to lose. It is already late in the afternoon. Among trees, bushes and rocks we must go down at an angle of nearly 45 degrees to the bottom of a ravine a thousand feet deep and a good deal more than a thousand up on the other side.

The escort remained behind. The rest of us somehow or other, got across and took our horses along. Gen. Custer walked and his orderly led his horse; Gen. Forsyth rode; the rest of us, by riding, walking, jumping, sliding, rolling, bumping, thumping, pulling and pushing got down and up again, and

finally stood below the peak, an almost perpendicular wall several hundred feet high, where we left our horses, and then climbed up much in the same manner as at No. 1.

The rarified air, the exertion and the excitement run Prof. Winchell's pulse up to 136 and Gen. Custer's to 112 per minute.

The view is nearly the same as from No. 1, except that the horizon is further removed. Gen. Custer fired several percussion shots from his needle-gun. They could scarcely fail to strike against rock, and the sound of the explosion reached us in 16 seconds; the distance must have been several miles. A doe and two fawns crossed the mountain just below us.

We were 1,990 feet above the bottom of the ravine, 800 feet higher than peak No. 1, and probably 7,500 feet above the ocean level. Still there was, right by us and just above us, a square rock rising up about 75 feet, which we could not climb. Prof. Winchell made the attempt and partially succeeded, but a loose rock just above him made it dangerous to climb higher. He stood above us all. The following memoranda was written and closely folded and put inside an empty copper cartridge shell. The point of the shell was beaten into a wedge shape and then driven into a seam in the rock: "Gen. G. A. Custer, Gen. G. A. Forsyth, Col. Wm. Ludlow, W. H. Wood,[33] A. B. Donaldson, N. H. Winchell, Script. July 31, 1874."

Besides this party, it is almost certain that no human beings ever before climbed these peaks. It is certain that no white man ever did; and it is well known that the noble, the royal, the genuine North American Indian is one of the laziest mortals on earth. He never climbs if he can help it, and when he happens to reach a high hill top, he always heaps up a pile of stone as a memorial of his visit. No such monuments were found on any of these peaks.

We had not time to devise a scaling ladder to reach the highest point; but after making a few observations, gathering some fern leaves and geological specimens, we started down. Private O'Toole, the General's orderly, had attempted the ascent. He only climbed up about ten feet, then despaired

[33]W. H. Wood, of Massachusetts, entered Westpoint from his native state in 1841. As a colonel he retired in 1882, and died Jan. 1, 1887.

and waited till our return. In coming down he slipped and lodged on a point and spread himself out on the rock like a letter X, and cried, "Oh! oh! oh! Lordy!" Presently he slid down the balance of the way, all unscathed, but vowing mentally to forever thereafter restrain all ambition.

It was nearly sun-down. The dark shadows nearly filled the ravines and sunlight only gilded the highest peaks. Joining the escort, away we went, Gen. Custer in front. Down, down, over rocks, logs, bushes, everything. Mazeppas ride was nothing to this. It was not a mad ride, but a brave, daring one. Spotted Tail nor Sitting Bull with all their paint-begrimmed warriors yelling at our heels could not have made us ride faster. I plunged the spurs into patient old Dobbin's sides to make him keep up, and he became desperate and plunged along and I was afraid he would fall and break his neck and mine too. I got off and tried leading him; but nothing less than a pair of mules could have pulled hard enough, to make him keep up with our rate of marching. On his back again, away we go and keep the column closed. At last we get to the bottom of the great ravine, which the biggest ridge of Alleghanies would not more than half fill. Bushes, green and dead here crossed our path; but on we went, smashing down everything except the mountains. A whole herd of stampeded buffalos could hardly have made more noise crashing through a thicket.

Darkness was not long in coming. We halted to see if all were up. The escort had fallen behind, and was out of hearing. We waited for them to come up. The order was given to keep the column closed. We still had a good many miles of marching to do through brush-wood and forest, and over several ridges, before reaching the open country of the park . We knew the direction to the camp, but there was no road or trail to follow. We must steer by stars and compass, in the deep darkness, over a route that would be considered very difficult if not impassable even by daylight. The men said they could not keep up and lead their horses. The General ordered them all to mount and stay mounted, except when he ordered them to dismount.

On we go again! through forests and thickets, along the mountain sides, and over ridges. The rocks strike fire from the horses' shoes. Scarce a word is spoken. The clatter and clank of iron hoofs, the words "Halt," "Dismount," and "Mount," and the crackling of branches, are about the only sounds. The trees grow taller, and the shades deeper. We sometimes halt to see which is the north star. At length the clouds hide that from view, and occasionally a match is struck to take our bearing by the compass.

We came to a bog, overgrown with bushes, twelve or fifteen feet high. Gen. Custer's horse had done a full share of road breaking, and to relieve him another man and horse were placed in front. The pioneer got safely through, and the dismounted column was ordered to follow. All that could be seen was a black hole in the bushes, and then all was utter darkness till we got out on the other side. In the middle of the miry bog was a ditch . I felt, or rather stumbled my way into it, and out again. Dobbin did no better than his leader. He may have seen something; I am sure I saw nothing except when the bushes switched across my eyes there were showers of falling stars. Just as he floundered through the first ditch I sloughed down in a second one, and in trying to pull out I fell and was afraid of being run over by him and the balance of the column. With more vehemence than euphony I called wo! wo! and he halted. Then woe was me. Well fertilized with a coat of black muck I crawled out from between his fore feet and paddled my way out to terra firma, soiled but sound. Those more experienced in roughing it took horses by the tails and were lead, or rather towed through.

Going on a little further we suddenly came to a jumping off place and halted. Gen. Putnam could not have gone down, and could not have gone forward if he were down. The moon was just rising. The rocky field before and below us was worse if possible than the lava beds of the Modocs. Turn about we did at a right angle (to the left,) and again marched bravely on.

We were soon on the borders of the park. The trees were tall and heavy and stood apart. The smokers lighted their

pipes and cigars, the power of speech returned and we jogged merrily on, certain of reaching camp.

Soon we struck the open avenues, followed them down to the broader meadows, and looking away of the park four or five miles ahead, we saw a beacon burning on a mountain peak near the camp, to light us home. It is no use to say that we were not glad of the sight. We had been "lone and wandering, though not lost" for hours, and had nothing now to do but go straight home on easy and safe road.

Our ride had been a long one. It was dangerous for horses and not safe for men. Yet we were all safe. We were punched and scratched a little; but none were hurt and nothing was lost.

We all felt compensated a hundred fold for the hardships of the adventure. The satisfaction and knowledge of such a day's experience and observation is worth more than dollars and cents.

We rode up the valley through the chill and damp of midnight and entered camp about one o'clock. O how glad they all were to see us back in safety and in such fine spirits. Col. Grant[34] said that he never before in his life felt so glad to see any body! They had feared that we were lost or captured and had sat up watching for us. Such cordial and hearty greetings it is a pleasure to receive.

This morning at six o'clock, two companies of cavalry with three days rations, started on an exploring expedition to the eastward, and to the Bad Lands beyond the south fork of the Cheyenne. They took no wagons, carrying their supplies and equipage on pack horses and mules. We will remain here in the park till their return.

Prof. Winchell and Mr. Grinnell[35] went along. The former to work up the geology and secure fossils, the latter for fossils only. These two, with one assistant, were the only civilians in the party.

These are busy days for Mr. Illingworth. He has no time for hunting now. From early morn till dewy eve he is fully occupied in securing views of this inimitable scenery. He will return with one of the finest collections of photographic art ever offered to the admirers of the sublime and beautiful.

Not one word additional of Indians. One Stab is still with us. No Indians are seen.

The courier, bearing our mails, will leave to-morrow morning, via Fort Laramie. He is a white man named Reynolds[36] thoroughly acquainted with Indian policy and life on the plains, and has carried out mails from other exploring expeditions. He will be attended for about a day and a half by an escort of cavalry, acting as explorers; he will then have about 80 miles to travel alone.

Up to this date, the expedition has been eminently successful. In valuable information collected, it will be second to none. If nothing untoward befalls it during the thirty days still remaining, the whole country may be thankful that it was organized and prosecuted.

It is the present expectation to commence the return march in a few days, go eastward by Bear Butte, then across into Montana, and down the Little Missouri, exploring its bad lands, and

Gold has been found, but whether or not in quantities sufficiently large to pay for the mining has not yet transpired. The indications become more promising daily, and prospecting still continues.

DAKOTA CAVALRY.

The knowledge of Company B. Dakota Cavalry is very meagre. Sergeant A. M. English left a quite full story of A. company to which he belonged but only incidentally told of Company B. Every scrap of its story is therefore interesting. The following notes are excerpt from the Saint Paul Pioneer Press for November 8, and 18, 1865.

The occasion of the mustering out of this company was taken by General Sully to confer the following flattering compliment upon Dakota troops, and also, by Captain Tripp, to express his regard for those who had served with him:

Head Quarters District of Dakota,
Sioux City, Nov. 5, 1865.

General Orders No. 6.

Company B, Dakota Cavalry, being under orders to muster out, will in a few days leave the service of the U. S.

They having been under my command for nearly three years, I take the occasion of the mustering out of the last organization of Dakota troops, to thank both officers and men for the good services they have rendered the country, and the cordial support they have rendered me. In this, I include Capt. Miner's Company A, as well as Capt. Tripp's Company B.

Although the service will be the loser by the muster out of these troops, the Territory of Dakota will be greatly the gainer by the return of such a valuable body of men.

ALF. SULLY,
Brev. Maj. General.

H'd. Qrs. Co. B, Dakota Cav. Vols.
Sioux City, Nov. 15, 1865.

General Orders, No.——

The time having arrived when this Company is mustered out, I should do violence to my own feelings and injustice to you to allow this occasion to pass without in some manner ex-

pressing the high esteem which I entertain of you as a military organization.

Although it has not been your lot to be ordered to the front, where the great struggle between freedom and oppression has strewn the blooming fields of the sunny South with the wounded, dying and dead, and left to bleach upon the hill tops and in the valleys of that war desolated country, the bones of two hundred thousand American citizens; yet you have protected the homes of helpless women and children from the raids, attacks and scalping knife of a savage foe.

You have been obedient to orders, patient upon fatiguing marches, and prompt to duty, by which you have won the respect of your superiors, and confidence of your associates.

In parting with you, I thank you for your soldierly and manly deportment in camp and field, and I also part with you as I would with old and tried friends. Wherever the waves of fortune may drift us after our separation, I most sincerely hope that peace, prosperity and happiness may crown the efforts of all, as they buffet the storms of life. And should clouds of war again gather and threaten the flag of our prosperous country, I trust you will rally to its support, and never allow one star to be dimmed, one stripe erased, nor its ample folds to draggle in the dust.

WILLIAM TRIPP.
Capt. Co. B, Dakota Cavalry Vols.

OPENING THE BLACK HILLS.

Custer's Report.[1]

Headquarters Black Hills Expedition,

Eight and one-half miles southeast of Harney's Peak, Aug. 2.[2]

(Via Fort Laramie, Wyo., 8, 1874.)[3]

Assistant Adjutant-General,

Department of Dakota, St. Paul, Minn.:

My last dispatch was dated July 15, and sent from Prospect Valley, Dakota, longitude 103 degrees and 46 minutes, latitude 45 degrees and 29 minutes. Two of my Indian scouts left as bearers of the dispatch as soon as their departure could be concealed by the darkness. After leaving that point this expedition moved in a southwesterly direction until it reached the valley of the Little Missouri River, up which we moved 21 miles. Finding this valley almost destitute of grazing along our line of march, I ordered the water kegs to be filled and a supply of wood placed in the wagons, and left the valley in search of a better campground During our passage up the valley of the Little Missouri we had entered and were about to leave the territory of Montana. Our course was nearly due south. After further march of about nine miles, we arrived before sundown at a point capable of furnishing us good grazing and water for our animals, having marched over thirty miles since breaking camp in the morning. From this point to the valley of the Belle Fourche we found the country generally barren and uninviting, save in a few isolated places. We reached the Belle Fourche on the evening of the 18th of July, encamping where good grass, wood, and water were abundant, and at a point a short distance above that marked fifteen (15) on Reynold's map, just west of the line separating Dakota from Wyoming. The following day was spent in camp.

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[1]This report was published as Executive Document 32, 43rd Congress Second session. For editorial notes consult Donaldson's report ante.

[2]Written from the camp on French Creek a short distance below Custer City.

[3]This report was carried by Charley Reynolds the scout to Fort Laramie when it was sent by wire to Saint Paul. Reynolds was killed in the battle of the Little Bighorn, June 25, 1876.

On the 20th we crossed the Belle Fourche and began, as it were, skirmishing with the Black Hills. We began by feeling our way carefully along the outlaying ranges of hills, seeking a weak point through which we might take our way to the interior. We continued from the time we ascended from the valley of the Belle Fourche to move through a very superior country, covered with the best of grazing and an abundance of timber, principally pine, poplar, and several varieties of oak. As we advanced, the country skirting the Black Hills to the southward became each day more beautiful. On the evening of the 22nd, we halted and encamped east of and within four miles of the Cave of Inyan Kara.[4] Desiring to aside,(ascend?) that peak the following day, it being the highest on the western range of the Black Hills, I did not move camp the following day, but, taking a small party with me, proceeded to the highest point of this prominent landmark, whose height is given as 6,600 feet.[5] The day was not favorable for obtaining distant views, but I decided on the following morning to move due east and attempt the passage of the hills. We experienced considerable delay from fallen timber which lay in our pathway. With this exception, and a very little digging rendered necessary in descending into a valley, the pioneers prepared the way for the train, and we reached camp by 2 o'clock, having marched eleven miles. We here found grass, water, and wood of the best quality, and in great abundance. On the following day we resumed our march up this valley, which I had explored the preceding evening, and which led us by an easy ascent almost southeast.

After marching nearly 12 miles, we encamped at an early hour in the same valley. This valley, in one respect, presented the most wonderful as well as beautiful aspect. Its equal I have have never seen; and such, too, was the testimony of all who beheld it. In no private or public park have I ever seen such a profuse display of flowers. Every step of our march that day was amid flowers of the most exquisite colors and perfume. So luxuriant in growth were they that men plucked them without dismounting from the saddle. Some belonged to new or unclassi-

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[4]Cave is evidently a misciphering of the dispatch. There is no cave of consequence at Inyan Kara. From the context it may have been "peak" Inyan Kara.

[5]According to modern measurements the peak is 6,313 feet high.

fied species. It was a strange sight to glance back at the advancing columns of cavalry and behold the men with beautiful bouquets of flowers in their hands, while the headgear of the horses was decorated with wreaths of flowers fit to crown a queen of May. Deeming it a most fitting appelation, I named this Floral Valley. General Forsyth, at one of our halting places, plucked 17 beautiful flowers belonging to different varieties, and within a space of twenty feet square. The same evening, while seated at the mess table, one of the officers called attention to the carpet of flowers strewn under our feet, and it was suggested that it be determined how many different flowers could be plucked without leaving our seat at dinner table. Seven beautiful varieties were thus gathered. Prof. Donaldson, the botanist of the expedition, estimated the number of flowers in bloom in Floral Valley at 50, while an equal number of varieties had bloomed, or were yet to bloom. The number of trees, shrubs and grasses was estimated at 25, making the total flora of the valley embrace 125 species. Through this beautiful valley meanders a stream of crystal water so cold as to render ice undesirable even at noon day. The temperature of two of the many springs found flowing into it was taken, and ascertained to be 44 and 44 1-2 degrees respectively. The next morning, although loath to leave so enchanting a locality, we continued to ascend this valley, until gradually, almost imperceptibly, we discovered that we were on the crest of the western ridge of the Black Hills, and instead of being among barren peaks, as might be supposed, we found ourselves wending our way through a little park, whose natureal beauty may well bear comparison with the lovliest portions of Central Park. Favored as we had been in having Floral Valley for our roadway to the crest of the Black Hills, we were scarcely less fortunate in the valley which seemed to rise to meet us in the interior slope. The rippling stream of clear, cold water, the counterpart of that we had ascended the day before, flowed at our feet and pointed out the way before us, while along its banks grew beautiful flowers, surpassed but little in beauty and profusion by their sisters who had greeted us the day before. After advancing down this valley about fourteen miles, our course being almost southeast, we encamped in the midst of grazing whose only fault, if any,

was the great luxuriance. Having preceded the main column, as usual, with an escort of two companies of cavalry (E and C) and Lieutenant Wallace's detachment of scouts, I came upon an Indian camp fire still burning, and which, with other indications, showed that a small party of Indians had encamped there the previous night, and had evidently left that morning in ignorance of our close proximity. Believing they would not move far, and that a collision might take place at any time unless a friendly understanding was arrived at, I sent my head scout, "Bloody Knife," and twenty of his braves to advance a few miles and reconnoiter the valley. This party had been gone but a few minutes when two of Bloody Knife's young men came galloping back and informed me that they had discovered five Indian lodges a few miles down the valley, and that Bloody Knife, as directed, had concealed his party in a wooded ravine where they awaited further orders. Taking a company with me, which was afterwards reinforced by the remainder of the scouts, and Colonel Hart's company, I proceeded to the ravine where Bloody Knife and his party lay concealed, and from the crest beyond obtained a full view of the five Indian lodges, about which a considerable number of ponies were grazing. I was enabled to place my command still nearer to the lodges undiscovered. I then dispatched a guard, the interpreter, with a flag of truce, accompanied by two of our Sioux scouts, to acquaint the occupants of the lodge that we were friendly disposed and desired to communicate with them. To prevent either treachery or flight on their part, I galloped the remaining portion of my advance and surrounded the lodges. This was accomplished almost before they were aware of our presence. I then entered the little village and shook hands with the occupants, assuring them, through the interpreter, that they had no cause to fear, as we were not there to molest them. I invited them to visit our camp, and promised presents of flour, sugar, and coffee to all who would accept. This invitation was accepted. At the same time, I entered into an agreement with the leading men they should encamp with us a few days and give us such information concerning the country as we might desire, in return for which service I was to reward them with rations. With this understanding, I left them. The entire

party numbered twenty-seven. Later in the afternoon, four of the men, including the chief, "One Stab," visited our camp and desired the promised rations, saying their entire party would move up and join us the following morning, as agreed upon. I ordered presents of sugar, coffee, and bacon to be given them, and to relieve them of their pretended anxiety for the safety of their village during the night, I ordered a party of 15 or my command to return with them and protect them during the night. But from their great disinclination to wait a few minutes, till the party could saddle up, and from the fact that two of the four had already slipped away, I was of the opinion that they were not acting in good faith. In this I was confirmed, when the two remaining ones set off at a gallop in the direction of their village. I sent a party of our scouts to overtake them and request them to return. Not complying with this request, I sent a second party with orders to repeat the request, and if not complied with, to take hold of the bridles of their ponies and lead them back, but to offer no violence. When overtaken by our scouts, one of the two Indians seized the musket of one of the scouts and endeavored to wrest it from him. Failing in this he released his hold, after the scout became dismounted in the struggle, and set off as fast as his pony would carry him, but not before the musket of the scout was discharged. From blood discovered afterward, it was very evident that either the Indian or his pony was wounded. I hope that neither was seriously hurt, although the Indians have their own bad faith as the sole ground for the collision. "One Stab," the chief, was brought back to camp. The scouts galloped down the valley to the site of the village, when it was discovered that the entire party had packed up their lodges and fled, and the visit of the four Indians to our camp was not only to obtain their rations promised them in return for future services, but to cover the flight of the lodges. I have effected arrangements by which the chief One Stab will be with us as guide three days longer, when he will take his departure and rejoin his band. He claims to belong to both Red Cloud's and Spotted Tail's agencies, but has been to neither for a long time. He has recently returned from the hostile camp on Powder River, and

represents that the Indians lost 10 killed in their fights with the Bozeman exploring party. The creek which led us down into the interior of the Black Hills is bordered by high bluffs, on the crests of which are located prominent walls of solid rock, presenting here and there the appearance of castles constructed of masonry. From their marked resemblance, I named this stream Castle Creek. The direction of Castle Creek having commenced to lead us more to the northeast than we were prepared to go, and the village having become narrow and broken, I left this water course and ascended the valley of a small tributary, which again gave us a southeasterly course. After a march of fourteen miles, encamped on a small creek furnishing us an abundance of water and grass. The direction of this creek was nearly east. On the 30th, moved in the continuation of our previous course, and through a fine open country covered with excellent grazing. After a march of over ten miles, we encamped early in the day about five miles from the western base of Harney's Peak—finding water and grass and wood abundant, with springs of clear cold water running through camp. On the following day the command remained in camp, except the exploring parties sent out in all directions. With a small party I proceeded to Harney's Peak, and after great difficulty made the ascent to its crest. We found this to be the highest point in the Black Hills. From the highest point we obtained a view of Bear Butte, in the north part of plains to the east, far beyond the Cheyenne River. Our party did not reach camp till near 1 o'clock that night, but we were amply repaid for our labor by the magnificence of the views obtained. While on the highest point, we drank the health of the veteran out of compliment to whom the peak was named. On the 1st of August we moved camp a few miles, simply to obtain fresh grass, still keeping near the base of the hills to the east of us. This a. m. I dispatched two companies, under Colonel Hart, in a southeasterly direction, to extend our exploration with the South Fork of the Cheyenne River. Tomorrow morning at 5 o'clock I will set out with five companies of cavalry and endeavor to reach the same stream in a southwesterly direction from Harney's Peak. Reynolds, the scout who is to carry this dispatch to Fort Laramie, will go with us as far as we go in

that direction, when he sets out alone to reach his destination, traveling mainly by night. The country through which we have passed since leaving the Belle Fourche River has been generally open and extremely fertile. The main portion of that passed over since entering the unexplored portion of the Black Hills consists of beautiful parks and valleys, through which flows a stream of clear, cold water, perfectly free from alkali, while bounding these parks or valley is invariably found unlimited supplies of timber, much of it capable of being made into good lumber. In no portion of the United States, not excepting the famous blue grass region of Kentucky, have I ever seen grazing superior to that found growing wild in this hitherto unknown region. I know of no portion of our country where nature has done so much to prepare homes for husbandmen, and left so little for the latter to do, as here. The open and timbered spaces are so divided that a partly prepared farm of almost any dimensions, of an acre and upward, can be found here. Not only is the land cleared and timbered, both for fuel and building, conveniently located, with streams of pure water flowing through its length and breadth, but nature oft times seems to have gone further and placed beautiful shrubbery and evergreens in the most desirable locations for building sites, while on Harney's Peak I could contrast the bright green verdure of these lovely parks with the sunburned and dried yellow herbage to be seen on the outer plains. Everything indicates an abundance of moisture with in the space inclosed by the Black Hills. The soil is that of a rich garden, and composed of a dark mold of exceedingly fine grain. We have found the country in many places covered with wild raspberries, both black and red varieties. Yesterday and today I have feasted on the latter. It is no unusual sight to see hundreds of soldiers gathering wild raspberries. Nowhere in the States have I tasted cultivated raspberries of equal flavor to those found growing wild here, nor have I ever seen them as large or in as great profusion as I have seen hundreds of acres of them here. Wild strawberries, wild currants, gooseberries, two varieties of pure berries, and wild cherries are also found in great profusion and of exceedingly pure quality. Cattle could winter in these val-

leys without other food or shelter than that to be obtained from running at large. As there are scientists accompanying the expedition who are examining into the mineral resources of this region, the result of whose researches will accompany my detailed report, I omit all present reference to that portion of our explorations until the return of the expedition, except to state, what will appear in any event in the public prints, that gold has been found at several places, and it is the belief of those who are giving their attention to this subject that it will be found in paying quantities. I have upon my table 40 or 50 small particles of pure gold, in size averaging that of a small pin head, and most of it obtained today from one panful of earth. As we have never remained longer at our camp than one day, it will be readily understood that there is no opportunity to make a satisfactory examination in regard to deposits of valuable minerals. Veins of lead and strong indications of the existence of silver have been found. Until further examination is made regarding the richness of the gold, no opinion should be formed.

Veins of what the geologists term gold-bearing quartz crop out on almost every hillside. All existing geological or geographical maps of this region have been found incorrect. This will not seem surprising when it is remembered that both have been compiled by guess-work and without entering the country attempted to be represented. The health of the command continues excellent. I will begin my northward march in four days from this date. I do not expect to arrive at Fort Lincoln until the 31st of August.

G. A. Custer,

Bvt. Maj. Gen. U. S. A., Commanding Expedition.

Postscript, 10.30 p. m., August 3.—I left our main camp near Harney's Peak at 6 o'clock this morning, with five companies of cavalry, and after a march in a southerly direction of 45 miles, reached the south fork of the Cheyenne River, at the mouth of a creek flowing from the north and emptying into the Cheyenne midway between the mouths of Hot and Horsehead Creeks. From this point Reynolds, the scout, sets out in one hour with

this dispatch for Ft. Laramie. I reached here at 9 p. m., and will proceed to Harney's Peak by a different route tomorrow morning. The country between here and Harney's peak is generally open and rolling, and, excepting the southeastern portion, covered with excellent grass.

G. A. Custer,

Bear Battle,[6] Dak., August 15, (via Bismarck.)

Headquarters Black Hills Expedition.

Bear Battle, Dak., August 15, (via Bismarck.)

My last dispatch was written on the 2nd and 3rd instant, and sent from the south fork of the Cheyenne, from a point on the latter nearest to Fort Laramie. On the morning of the 4th instant I began my return march to our main camp, near Harney's Peak, arriving there by a different route on the 6th. On the morning of the 7th the expedition began its march northward, Bear Butte being our next objective point. We advanced without serious obstacle until ten or twelve miles of Bear Butte, when we found our further progress barred by a high range of impassable hills. We attempted to effect a passage through some one of the many valleys whose water courses ran directly through the hills in the desired direction, but in every instance we were led into deep- broken canyons, impassable even to horsemen.

Through one of these I made my way on foot, and from a high point near its mouth obtained a view of the plains outside. Retracing my steps I placed the command in camp in a fine valley, in which it had halted, and devoted the remainder of the day to a further search for a practicable route through the hills. The result decided me to follow down a water course, which led us first toward the south, and afterwards toward the east. This stream proved to be Elk Creek, the valley of which, as well as the stream itself, proved to be at least equal in beauty and extent to any passed through during our march. We camped twice on this stream, and as far as we proceeded down its course we had a most excellent road; but finding that, like nearly all other streams leaving the hills, its course would take

[6]This is certainly intended for Bear Butte.

us into a canon which could be barely made practicable for our wagons, I searched for and discovered a narrower gap in the rocky wall which forms the northern boundary of the valley, and which was conveniently large to allow our wagons to pass through. A march of an hour up a gradual ascent, and through a pine forest, brought us to a beautiful park, containing thousands of acres, and from which we obtained a fine view, in the distance, of our old acquaintance—the plains. Here we pitched our tents for the last time in the Black Hills; nearly every one being loathe to leave a region which had been found so delightful in almost every respect. Behind us the grass and foliage were clothed in green of the freshness of May. In front of us, as we cast our eyes over the plains below, we saw nothing but a comparatively parched, dried surface, the sunburnt pasture of which offered a most uninviting prospect both to horse and rider, when remembering the rich abundance we were leaving behind us. A march of 26 miles, gradually bearing northward, brought us to the base of Bear Butte, at which point I concluded to remain one day before beginning our return march. I propose to return by a different, although, perhaps, not shorter, route than that adopted in coming to the Black Hills. I am induced to make this change in order to embrace a larger extent of unexplored country within the limits of our explorations, and particularly to enable us to locate as much as possible of that portion of the Little Missouri of which nothing is now known. I expect the expedition to reach Fort Lincoln on the 31st of August. The health of the command has been, and is, most excellent. This expedition extered the Black Hills from the west side, penetrated through the eastern and most southern ranges, explored the major portions of the interior, and passed out the most eastern ranges which form the boundary of the Black Hills. From the fact that in all our principal marches through the Black Hills we have taken, without serious obstacle, a heavily laden train of over 100 wagons, it may be inferred that the Black Hills do not constitute the impenetrable region heretofore represented.

In entering the Black Hills from any direction, the most serious, if not the only, obstacles were encountered at once, near the outer base. This probably accounts for the mystery

which has so long existed regarding the character of the interior. Exploring parties have contented themselves with marching around the exterior base, and, from the forbidding aspect of the hills as viewed at a distance, inferred that an advance toward the interior would only encounter increased obstacles. In regard to the character of the country inclosed by the Black Hills, I can only repeat what I have stated in previous dispatches.

No portion of the United States can boast of a richer or better pasturage, purer water, the natural temperature of which in midsummer, as it flows from the earth, is but 12 degrees above the freezing point, and of greater advantages generally to the farmer or stock raiser than are to be found in the Black Hills. Building stone of the best quality is to be found in inexhaustable quantities. Wood for fuel and lumber sufficient for all time to come. Rains are frequent, with no evidence in the country of either drought or freshets. The season, perhaps, is too short and the nights too cool for corn, but I believe all other grain could be produced here in wonderful abundance. Wheat would particularly yield largely. There is no doubt as to the existence of various minerals throughout the hills, as this subject has received special attention of experts who accompany the expedition, and will be reported upon in detail. I will only mention the fact that iron and plumbago have been found, and beds of gypsum of apparently inexhaustible extent.

I referred in a former dispatch to the discovery of gold. Subsequent examinations at numerous points confirm and strengthen the fact of the existence of gold in the Black Hills. On some of the water courses almost every panful of earth produced gold in small, yet paying quantities. Our brief halts and rapid marching prevented anything but a very hasty examination of the country in this respect; but in one place, and the only one within my knowledge where so great a depth was reached, a hole was dug 8 feet in depth. The miners report that they found gold among the roots of the grass, and, from that point to the lowest point reached, gold was found in paying quantities. It has not required an expert to find

gold in the Black Hills, as men without former experience in mining have discovered it at an expense of but little time or labor. As an evidence of the rich pasturage to be found in this region, I can state the fact that my beef herd, after marching upward of 600 miles, is in better condition than when I started, being now as fat as is consistent with marching condition. The same may be said of the mules of the wagon train. The horses of the command are in good working condition. I have never seen as many deer as in the Black Hills. Elk and bear have also been killed. We have had no collision with hostile Indians.

G. A. Custer,
Brevet Major-General, Commanding Expedition.

To Assistant Adjutant-General,
Department of Dakota, St. Paul.

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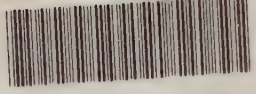
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